

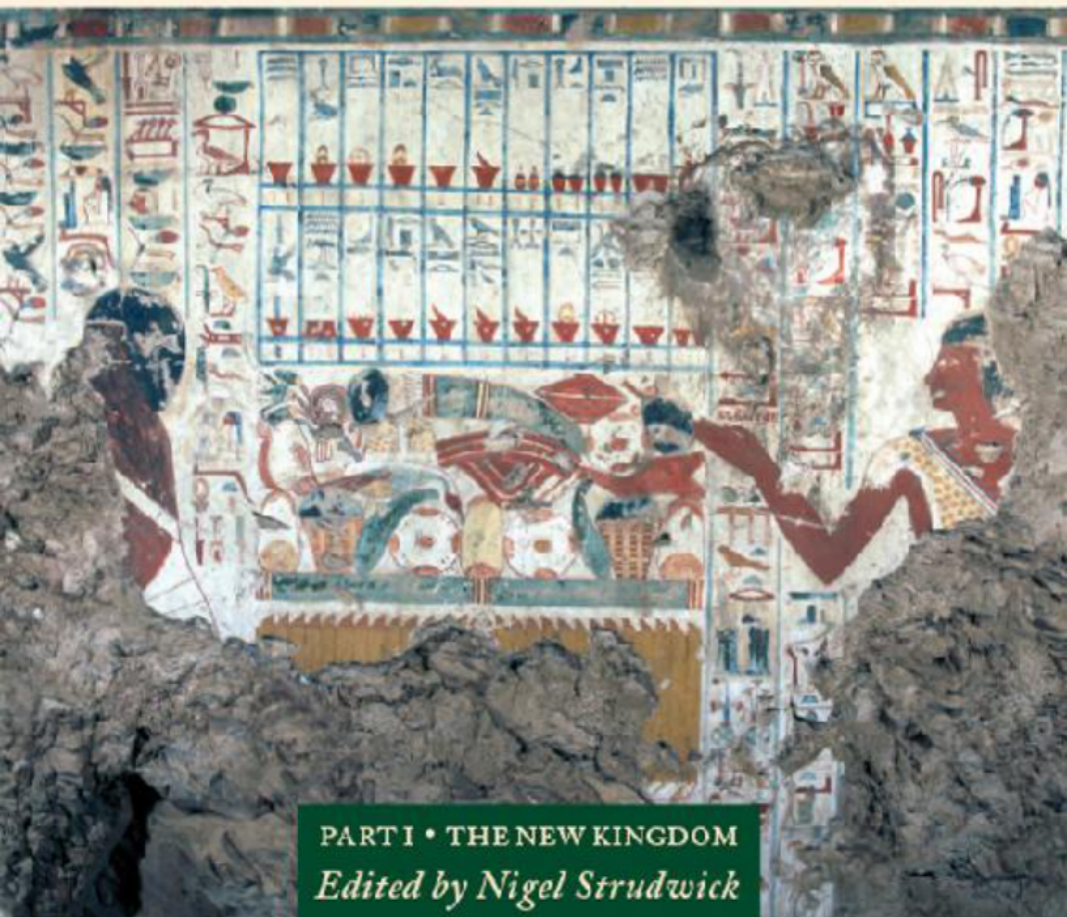
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**The Tomb of Pharaoh's
Chancellor Senneferi at
Thebes (TT99) [Retail]**

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THE TOMB *of* PHARAOH'S CHANCELLOR
SENNEFERI
at THEBES (TT99)



PART I • THE NEW KINGDOM

Edited by Nigel Strudwick

THE TOMB OF PHARAOH'S CHANCELLOR SENNEFERI AT THEBES (TT99)

Volume I: the New Kingdom

Edited by

NIGEL STRUDWICK

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Front cover: Wall 16, Sc. 16.1, one priest making a libation to the couple (not in photo)

and another priest presenting offerings. Photo by Anthony Middleton

Back cover: TT99 from the south-east in 1992. Photo by Nigel Strudwick

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Preface

The tomb of Senneferi was identified as a potential subject for research in the late 1980s. TT99 took our attention as it was a large tomb, and a potential change from the smaller chapels on which we had cut our teeth in Thebes, and yet had been the subject of no systematic work. It was hoped the work would not take too many years, but in this we were sadly mistaken, firstly because we underestimated the amount of archaeological work needed, and secondly because the work circumstances of all persons involved, particularly mine, just did not permit the devotion of the amounts of time needed to the writing up of the work. However, I believe the result is better for the delays.

A project that has been in the making for twenty years requires numerous acknowledgements of thanks to colleagues and friends the world over.

Our first and foremost debt is to the Egyptian Antiquities Organisation/Supreme Council of Antiquities of Egypt (now the Ministry of Antiquities and Heritage). We have had the pleasure of working with many Chairmen of that body who, with the members of the Permanent Committee for Archaeology, granted the original concession to the tomb to the University of Cambridge Theban Mission and renewed it annually. The Chairmen with whom we worked were: Prof. Dr Mohamed Ibrahim Bakr, Prof. Dr Abd el-Halim Nur ed-Din, Dr Aly Hassan, Prof. Dr Gaballa Aly Gaballa and Prof. Dr Zahi Hawass. Their senior colleagues in Abbassiya and Zamalek were infallibly helpful: Dr Mutawa Balboush, Dr Mohamed el-Saghir, and Mr Sabri Abdel Aziz.

All EAO/SCA staff in Luxor have made the Mission the success it has been. I begin with the Directors of Upper Egypt, and of the East and West Banks, and their deputies. In addition to the aforementioned Dr Mohamed el-Saghir and Mr Sabri Abdel Aziz, in this category I wish to thank Dr Mohamed Nasr, Dr el-Sayed Aly Hegazy, Dr Mohamed el-Bialy, Mr Nour Abdel Ghaffar Mohamed, Mr Ibrahim Mahmud

Soleiman and Mr Bakhit.

Our inspectors, who bore the day-to-day task of representing the SCA to the Mission, were of course key members thereof. Over the years we were privileged to have the services and help of Mr Abd el-Latif Ibrahim (1992), Mr Ahmed Rabia Ahmed (1993), Mr Said Jibril Mohamed (1994), Mr Ashraf Okasha (1995), Mme Hanaa Moursi el-Dessouqi (1996), Mr Ramadan Ahmed Aly (1997–1998), Mr Abdulrahman Ahmed Hassan (1999–2001) and Mr Ahmed Ezz ed-Din (2002). We could not have managed without them all.

Egyptian colleagues and friends have also provided assistance during visits to the Egyptian Museum, Cairo; in addition to all Directors of the Museum in these years, I particularly thank Mr Adel Mahmoud and Miss Sabah el-Razeq for making objects in their care accessible to us.

During the years of excavation, we were able to rely on a very hard-working team of local workmen, many of whom joined us year after year, and on whom we came to rely. Their unflagging enthusiasm and hard work, notably during the digging seasons which often took place during Ramadan, contributed to the timely completion of what at time often looked like a Herculean task. We thank them profoundly; we were fortunate to have the services of only three *reis* during the time of the Mission: Baghdadi Diab Ittahir, Ittahir Diab Ittahir, and Hassan Mohamed Shamseddin. And we thank those taxi drivers who worked with us, in particular Aly el-Gazar and Aly es-Sakkit.

Now to the non-Egyptian members of our team. The names of many of the following will be found on their contributions to this volume; every member of the team played a key role in ensuring the maintenance of a friendly and highly co-operative atmosphere during the field season. I believe that a happy staff produces better work, and that is embodied in the volume: Helen Strudwick (1992–2001), Julie Dawson (1993–2001), Rachel Walker (1993–1995), Alexandra Whittaker (1993–1994, 1997), Pamela Rose (1994–2001), Anthony Middleton (1995, 2000–2001), Lynn Meskell (1995–1996), Helen Howard (1996), Alison Gascoigne (1996), Günter Heindl (1997–1998), Lisa Shekede (1997), Rebecca Hardy (1997–1998), Rita Lucarelli (1997–1998), Tony Waldron (1998, 2002), Gillian Pyke (1998–2001), Rosalind Janssen (1998), Bridget Leach (1999–2000), John Taylor (1999–2000), Alan Clapham (1999), Amanda Dunsmore (2000), Heike Behlmer (2001), April Farmer (2001) and Evan York (2001). I also wish to acknowledge the important contributions of three further individuals whose names grace chapters of this book: Briant Bohleke took time out from his work at Chicago House to

examine the hieratic inscriptions found; Irmtraut Munro was kind enough to put her unparalleled expertise on the Book of the Dead to work on the papyrus and linen fragments; and Trevor Emmett found time to write the geology report in the final stages of publication without having the opportunity to see the site for himself. I also want to acknowledge again Julie Dawson, who has done so much work on this project and whose main contributions will appear in Part II; without her deeply thoughtful comments and perceptive eye, the sections on the wall paintings would be so much poorer. It has been an honour to work with this industrious, productive and delightful group of people.

I am particularly indebted to all those involved in writing chapters in the present publication. Despite their regular work commitments and the unpredictability of modern life, they have produced their essential contributions. Many factors have contributed to the unconscionably long time it has taken to bring the first part this publication to completion, but everyone has persisted admirably and exhibited great patience with the inevitable delays, and at times my constant pestering.

No expedition can go into the field without financial backing. The University of Cambridge Theban Tombs Project has benefited from the support of both institutional bodies and from the financial assistance of many private individuals. Principal among the institutional sponsors were the British Academy and the Gerald Avery Wainwright Fund for Near Eastern Archaeology (1993–1998), but essential contributions came from the Thomas Mulvey Egyptology Fund (1995–1997), the Townley Group of the British Museum Friends (1999–2002) and the Society of Antiquaries of London (2000–2002).

Individual donors are many: Mrs S. Sparrow, the Sussex College of Egyptology, Mr & Mrs A. W. Ladd, Dr Joseph S. Klemek, Robin Young, Catella UK Ltd, Mr R Hardy, Noel Sweitzer, and Wim Hance; we thank Hanwell Instruments for the loan of a data-logger.

We are very grateful to the Egypt Exploration Society for the use of the facilities of their Cairo office, and to their representative at the time, Rawya Ismail, for her help and support. The progress made in the excavation of the large shaft in 1998 would not have been possible without the loan of an electric winch belonging to the Gnosarch Foundation, and the assistance of Erhart Graefe is deeply appreciated. The help in Luxor of Chicago House and the German Archaeological Institute is gratefully acknowledged.

There are many other Egyptological colleagues and friends whose help and support has been constant over the years, and who have

contributed helpful practical advice as well as moral support: Aly Omar Aly Abdalla, Jan Assmann, Peter F. Dorman, Craig Hartley, Heike Heye, W. Raymond Johnson, Friederike Kampp-Seyfried, Anthony Leahy, H. de Meulenaere, Dietrich Raue, Nicholas Reeves, Pamela Rose, Mohamed Saleh, Gábor Schreiber, Karl Seyfried, Donald Spanel, Patricia Spencer, John Taylor. The contributions of many other colleagues who have helped with specific input will be noted in the footnotes, but I must draw attention to Raimond Spekking and Bruce Allardice who were happy for us to use their wonderful aerial photos of Qurna.

The publication of this project has been, for practical reasons, split into two parts, one dealing with the New Kingdom use of the tomb, and the other with everything since. This split will enable the first fruits of research to appear now while the later crop is still growing.

Oxbow Books, through my editor Clare Litt and their Managing Editor Julie Gardiner, kindly responded positively to my proposal to publish this work. I thank them profoundly, especially in understanding of the delays and the need to publish it in two parts. I also wish to express my gratitude to their production manager, Mette Bundgaard, for helping me to smooth the passage of this complex manuscript through the production process.

Lastly, I must record personal debts to those who have been there for me in good and bad times and whose moral support has been inestimable. My late parents and parents-in-law all saw this project in the field stages, and I regret that none of them will see the appearance of this first volume; without them neither Helen nor I would be whatever we are today. Friends have also been there for conversation and drinks at all times, and I must thank for this Galina Bradley, Joanna and Peter Haselden and Martine and Mark Smith, as well as all the members of Devil's Dyke Morris Men, which group I joined in the year this project began. And lastly of course, Helen Strudwick has not only worked on this project since its inception, has read every word multiple times and contributed so much, but has always been there, Egyptologically and personally. Thank you Helen and everyone.

Nigel Strudwick

Cambridge

June 2016

Introduction

Nigel Strudwick

The tomb of Senneferi is located in the Upper Enclosure of Sheikh Abdel Qurna on the West Bank of Luxor, close to the similarly-named but better known monument of Sennefer (TT96), and immediately above that of Rekhmire (TT100). The tomb consists of a classic 18th dynasty T-shaped decorated tomb chapel, with a superstructure and a large Courtyard, and shafts were sunk in the Courtyard and inside the tomb chapel.

The geographical and geological settings are described in more detail in [Chapter 3](#). Two colour images of the tomb before work commenced will be found as [Colour pl. 2A](#) and [Colour pl. 2B](#).

1.1 Publication structure

Far too many Theban tombs continue to be published simply as presentation of the data by theme, such as the description of the decoration followed by an archaeological report and a catalogue of finds. While there is nothing *a priori* wrong with this approach, it makes no real concession to the complex use phases of the typical Theban tomb, which are generally more complex than those typically seen for, say, a mastaba of the Old Kingdom at Giza or Saqqara. The present publication is structured round a history of the tomb from its initial cutting until the Cambridge Theban Tombs Project began work in 1992, and we wish to acknowledge the pioneering work of Heike Guksch in this respect.¹

It was originally intended to publish all the data in a single volume. However, it became evident that there was such a mass of material that more than one volume might be needed.

The present volume (Part I) deals with material related to the tomb down to the end of the 18th dynasty. It begins with an introduction to

the tomb, detailing previous research, methods used, and the different contexts which feature in the publication. The next chapter looks at Senneferi himself, his family, the date of the tomb, and monuments of Senneferi outside the Chapel. The topographical and geological setting of the tomb is considered, which leads into the central chapter of the book describing the archaeology and architecture of the different 18th dynasty contexts, including descriptions of the excavation. The historical conclusions about the original tomb are presented there; these particularly concentrate on the different use and robbery phases of the main burial shaft. The following chapters present the research results from study of the decoration of the Chapel and the various categories of excavated material from the burial shaft of Senneferi (Shaft I).

The second volume (Part II) will take the story of the tomb from the end of the 18th dynasty until the 20th century AD. Nonetheless, for practical reasons, some material of the later New Kingdom, in particular the second part of the chapter on the hieratic jar labels (§ 10.3), has been incorporated here.

1.2 Recent history and earlier work in TT99

The private tombs of Thebes have over the past two centuries been worked on by a wide variety of persons, from early travellers through to modern scholars, and most have also not escaped the depredations of the tomb-robber. A glance at the entries in the *Topographical Bibliography* will show that for the majority of the monuments the only extant documentation is a miscellaneous collection of variable records in many different places. The number of tombs that have received full and systematic treatment is woefully low.

The tomb of Senneferi fits into the former of these groups, which is why it was selected for fieldwork. There are few records of any scholarly activity in it. The following history of the tomb since the later 19th century AD can be pieced together.

Percy Newberry claims to have discovered the tomb in 1895, and in his brief published note he refers to a few of Senneferi's titles.² He also made the connection between the tomb and statue British Museum EA 48 (below, [p. 22](#)) and the Silsila shrine of Senneferi (below, [p. 32](#)). The next person to work in the tomb was Robert Mond, who excavated in this area of Sheikh Abdel Qurna during his first season in Thebes which began on 10 January 1903. He wrote in his first report:

§4 – The tomb of Sen-nefera. I opened up and examined the large pit of the tomb of Sen-nefera, and in it I found fragments of papyrus, the rifled mummy, a

sandstone face of a statue, the wooden face of a sarcophagus, and fragments of a limestone stela bearing his name and titles. Here we also found in the débris a fragment of a stela with the name of Ken-Amen. In the débris surrounding this tomb, I discovered fragments of a painted limestone stela in bas-relief and a small papyrus roll (a charm?) which requires to be unrolled.³

His second report additionally presented plans of the ‘mummy pits’ from the tombs which were unable to be included in the original report. For TT99, he gives sketches of two shafts.⁴ He also found at least one funerary cone of Senneferi, of the Davies–Macadam Corpus 154 type.⁵ In the copy of ASAE 5 in the Department of Ancient Egypt and Sudan in the British Museum, there is a marginal note ‘EA 10742?’ against the remark about the rolled-up papyrus. EA 10742 was bequeathed to the museum by Mond in 1939, and is in fact a Third Intermediate Period text; there is no evidence that it is the papyrus referred to in the report.

Enquiries relating to the archives of Mond have so far revealed next to no further material.⁶ Among the Mond manuscripts in Oxford is a notebook of Emery’s dating to 1924 in which he says ‘No 99. Sennefer, Chancellor. Large shaft excavated recently. Reliefs mainly obliterated’.⁷ It is intriguing that he does not mention that it was his current employer who had carried out the excavation!

The Mond description of the excavation ties in relatively well with the material from the present excavations (to be described further below). The fragments of papyrus in the above quote are surely more of the Book of the Dead papyri of Senneferi (§ 7.1). But where are those finds now? In the early years of the 20th century, Howard Carter used the upper tomb of Sennefer as a magazine (TT96; the chapel is often termed TT96A and the burial chamber as TT96B), and Mond placed his inscribed and decorated material therein (see further [p. 91](#) below). It is thus plausible that some of the large quantities of miscellaneous material still in TT96 in 2001–2002 incorporated some of that of Mond’s work in TT99 found in 1903.

Roughly at the time that Mond was working in Thebes, Emile Baraize made his maps of the necropolis, and these indicate the presence of a shaft in the Courtyard.⁸ In 1905, Kurt Sethe visited the tomb as part of his contribution to collecting texts for the *Wörterbuch*. He was particularly interested in the Lebanon text, which he published separately in 1906,⁹ and most of the remainder of the texts appeared in Urk. IV, 528–44.¹⁰

Sethe was apparently the first to mention that the tomb was inhabited. There is no clear information as to the identity of the inhabitants, but the local tradition still had it in the 1990s that they were a family of Coptic weavers. Archaeological and architectural

evidence certainly suggests that weavers lived here at some time, and this will be considered in Part II.

Along with most of the more prominent chapels, the tomb of Senneferi was included in the first stage of Arthur Weigall and Alan Gardiner's project to catalogue the private tombs.¹¹ Weigall refers to its being allocated the number 99 in 1909, and that it was then accessible to visitors:

A family was expropriated from this tomb, and an iron door was fixed by the Department, at the expense of Prince Djemil Pasha Tousson.¹² Very little of the painting now remains. I think this is the tomb the pit of which was cleared by Mond (*Annales*, V, II, p. 101).¹³

At the end of the article, Weigall added:

I have to record that, of the sum of L.E. 11,963 which remained as the balance of the L.E. 390 given by Prince Djemil Pasha Tousson, L.E. 10,656 was expended in the expropriating of the people from tombs nos 97, 98 and 99 and on putting on iron doors, and the balance of L.E. 1,307 will be spent later.¹⁴

Gardiner remarks that the occupants of TT97 were bought out in 1907,¹⁵ and on the basis of Weigall's statement above it can reasonably be assumed that this date also applies to TT99.

After this busy time in the early years of the century, the tomb lay quiet for many years. Both Norman and Nina de Garis Davies worked at some time in the tomb. TT99 features briefly in Norman's notebooks in Oxford,¹⁶ but there are no tracings in the Davies archive. Neither does it appear that Nina made paintings of any scenes, but she did take detailed notes on the coloured hieroglyphs, and published colour copies of five signs.¹⁷

Other scholarly visitors have passed through the Chapel at various times. Siegfried Schott took a number of photographs,¹⁸ one of which was reproduced by Bruyère.¹⁹ A number of texts were copied by Jan Assmann in the 1960s.²⁰

1.3 The Cambridge Theban Tombs Project

Following work in the tombs in Khokha,²¹ our project to record Theban tombs turned its attention to the tomb of Senneferi. TT99 was chosen as, following some book research and an examination in 1989, it was clear that this was one of those Theban tombs about which very little was known, thus making a prime candidate for attention.

The reason for the lack of attention paid to TT99 is not really hard to seek. The Chapel, although once surely magnificent, had lost most of its painted decoration, and such tombs had never been among the priorities of our predecessors in the study of the necropolis. This relatively limited amount of decoration appealed to us in view of in

the relatively limited fieldwork time available to us in the early 1990s, and it appeared a project which could be completed in a relatively short period of time. Initial permission was obtained from the SCA, as well as some funding, and the first season, consisting of a basic survey, took place in September 1992.

While the opportunity for closer and more careful examination of the paintings confirmed our initial assessment, a closer look at the interior floors of the Chapel made us realise that there was going to be a considerable archaeological component to the project, with no fewer than six shafts inserted into the Chapel, plus those excavated by Mond in the Courtyard.

Excavation of the shafts commenced in 1993. Work on the interior shafts was completed in 1996, when work was transferred to the Courtyard, and completed in 1998 (a total of six seasons); following that, four further study seasons saw the work in the field completed in 2002.²²

This long programme of fieldwork was dictated by the sheer volume of material which came from the tomb. The Chapel may have a relatively small proportion of its original decoration surviving, but this was more than outweighed by the finds deriving from the shafts and Courtyard. The reward for this is that we are left with a detailed picture of the myriad uses and reuses through which TT99 has passed since it was cut for Senneferi in the fifteenth century BC until the tomb was provided with an iron gate by the Service des Antiquités in AD 1907.

This excavation was among the first to take advantage of the Internet for disseminating news about projects. <http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/tt99/>, ongoing since 1997, has served an even more important role than originally envisaged due to the extended publication time. The outline of much of what will be found in the following pages has appeared on that site, and the rapid technological developments of the past two decades have allowed the inclusion of certain media types which cannot be used in print. It is also planned that this site will also house project data which cannot for practical reasons be placed in this book.

In addition to the web site, members of the mission and other scholars have been able to publish a number of interim reports and studies of individual aspects to ensure that the tomb has become quite well known.²³ These studies are referred to where they are relevant in this volume and in Part II.

The duration of this project has seen an enormous amount of technological change in the world, above all else the adoption and

availability of more and more digital technologies, both for fieldwork and publication. The fieldwork in TT99 took place when many of these changes were relatively new and the associated products were beyond our means, and thus it is inevitable that some of the field methodologies used would not be applied in the second decade of the 21st century. This is particularly true for photography, as during the study seasons in 1999–2002, a mix of analogue and early digital photography was used, and it was not possible to take full advantage of the latter.

1.4 Theft and damage

There is no obvious evidence of the cutting out in modern times of pieces of the wall paintings for sale. Comparison with the Schott photographs in Trier (see [p. 3](#)) do not indicate any deterioration or damage since they were taken in the 1930s.²⁴ Further comments on damage, including Amarna erasures, will be found in § 4.3.7; the report on the geology of the tomb should also be consulted (§ 3.2).

The subject of theft of the burial contents in the main shaft (Shaft I) will be considered in some detail in § 4.5.4.

1.5 Presentation of the material in this volume

Methods of referencing walls, scenes and texts: The decorated scenes are numbered using the same basic principles as were applied in the publication of TT253 and 254,²⁵ whereby each wall and doorway is assigned a number (here 1–18). Major registers are numbered from the top of the wall, the principal depiction usually numbered first and sub-registers given further lower hierarchical designations; thus ‘Scene 1.1.a’ means ‘Wall 1, upper register, upper sub-register’. The two pillars are designated A and B, and their faces are referred to using the normal abbreviations of the cardinal points. The description of each wall begins with a summary of the contents and notes on reconstruction (where possible). References to Porter and Moss scene numbers are given in each scene header.

This numbering system does encounter problems from the damaged nature of the decoration, but is intended as a method whereby the reader can quickly find his or her way to an area in conjunction with the wall plans, and also with the location diagrams which are provided for the walls with more decoration. It has been criticised as somewhat mechanical, but I firmly believe it permits the reader to relate quickly the scenes to their location in the tomb in conjunction with wall plans.²⁶

Each text in a scene is numbered with the wall number and a

sequential number for the text within that wall (thus ‘Text 1.1’, or in the case of a pillar ‘Text AS.1’). ‘Left’ and ‘Right’ are used from the perspective of the viewer. To simplify consultation of the texts, relevant sections of the facsimiles are reproduced in the running text. Where a significant reconstruction has been attempted, or a parallel given, this is reproduced in normalised computer hieroglyphs. The ceiling texts are presented as a group in normalised computer hieroglyphs and numbered sequentially, and their positions will be found on the location diagrams of the walls.

A flexible system of presentation of the transliterations and translations of the texts has been adopted. Rather than a ‘one size fits all’ approach, with a mixture of more or less complete and very incomplete texts, sometimes the texts are presented with the columns run together, usually with the line numbers in superscript, while in other cases each column is given its own line in the letterpress. The aim is to present each in the most comprehensible manner and the reader’s understanding is requested.

Tomb plans and sections: The Mission was fortunate to obtain the services of Günter Heindl to create the plans and sections of TT99. He has vast experience of making plans of Theban Tombs, having produced documentation for both the German Archaeological Institute and the Heidelberg Ramesside Tomb Project.²⁷ The totality of these plans and sections will be found in the present volume, although some of the architectural features to which they refer are primarily considered in Part II.

Method of documentation of the wall surfaces: Areas of good quality stone are relatively rare in the Theban necropolis (see § 3.2 for the geological setting of TT99), and in consequence most of the private tombs have painted decoration on a prepared surface which smooths out the inevitable roughness which comes from cutting into poor limestone. The techniques vary widely. This surface preparation has been documented in wall plans.

The concept of the ‘Wall Plan’ (*Wandplan*) as a way to document the walls of tombs which bear not only decoration, but where significant areas of this damage were missing, was first applied in a tomb publication by Eberhard Dziobek, for TT63.²⁸ It permits the documentation of the archaeology of a wall (the damage and construction techniques are not easily reproducible by other methods) and is also a very convenient way of indicating accurately the location of scenes on a wall. Such plans can also then be used as a basis for a possible reconstruction of the original wall decoration.

Conservators have long used a form of wall plan as a way of documenting the condition of decorated surfaces; they seem first to have been applied in an Egyptology context in the documentation and conservation of the tomb of Nefertari.²⁹ Such conservation diagrams of TT99 will appear in the second volume of this publication.

For these plans, a 1 m grid was set up over each wall, and the overall dimensions of the wall were measured and plotted on A0 sheets of graph paper at a scale of 1:10. The areas of decoration were then added by making periodic marks relative to the grid and the outlines joined. Then significant areas of damage or indications of the construction of the decorated surface were similarly added. A key is provided to identify whether the marked areas were plaster, mud, stones or actual holes in the wall; faults in the rock were also marked. The sheets for each wall were scanned, and the outlines of each different area traced in Adobe Illustrator. Small-scale versions of the facsimiles of the decoration were imported to complete the plan for each wall.

The wall plans of the pillars are slightly different, in that we have not attempted to ascertain fully the original width of each finished surface. The pillars were clearly very roughly cut and substantially built up with plaster; they have subsequently suffered severely from fracturing (p. 43).

A plan of this type was not produced for the ceilings of the tomb, for purely practical reasons. Instead, the locations of ceiling texts and damaged areas have been superimposed on a simplified but scaled plan of the Chapel.

A small number of photographic details are included below to illustrate some of the main points, and readers can also consult the photographs of the wall paintings to obtain an idea of the appearance of the wall and the construction work.

The extent of damage in TT99 means that it has thus far been possible only to make limited use of these wall plans for reconstructing the decoration. In most cases, only the upper parts of the scenes have survived, and there are no older records on which reconstructions can be based. The reconstructions of the decoration will be considered at appropriate points in [Chapter 5](#).

Documentation of the paintings: Every wall in TT99 has been documented in facsimile drawings and colour photographs, and all the facsimiles are presented here, with as many photographs as possible. The facsimiles were made at the wall at full size, and are presented here at as consistent a scale as the book format allows.³⁰ As usual, we have attempted to follow the original line thickness as much as

possible, although there is always a problem with unoutlined areas of pure colour; these are drawn with the thinnest pen. Damage is outlined with a broken line.

Conservation: The decorated surfaces of the tomb have been the subject of condition checking, consolidation and cleaning by the project's conservators, Julie Dawson, Lisa Shekede and Helen Howard. Condition diagrams have been made, and, for practical reasons, these will appear in Part II, along with a report on the process; in the meantime, the reader is referred to the interim reports produced at the end of each field season and available on the TT99 web site.³¹

Limited conservation, mostly emergency consolidation, was performed on certain objects. Notes on these processes will be found in the section on the relevant objects; in the present volume, this primarily concerns the papyri and shroud fragments in [Chapter 7](#).

General principles of excavation: For far too long, excavators have excused Theban tombs from the rigorous principles of excavation adopted within and without Egypt on the grounds that the tombs are all likely to be robbed and nothing is to be gained from taking detailed notes on the excavated contexts. Far too many tombs have just been emptied out on such a basis, and my hero, Norman de Garis Davies, is as guilty of this as anyone. Some of this is without doubt due to the practical impossibility of clearing a shaft while also keeping notes on sections.

Daniel Polz was the first to express in writing a method whereby this could be done in a shaft, using a series of artificial horizons or levels.³² We have used this system for the excavation of shafts, terming it 'artificial vertical stratigraphy'; the reader can think of it as a series of 'sweeps' across a shaft or chamber. The depth of each artificial level or layer varies according to the context, averaging about 50 cm in the vertical shafts, less in the longer horizontal sweeps in corridors and rooms. Frequent absolute measurements were taken to complement the layer information.

The excavation described in this volume took place in the courtyard of TT99, and for this, a conventional 2 m square grid was applied over the area.³³ These simple techniques permitted the isolation of a particular find or archaeological feature to an acceptable degree of accuracy. The position of an item will thus be related to its shaft, room or courtyard square and then to the layer therein.

Object reference systems: Objects excavated in the course of work were numbered according to the following system. '99' is prefixed to

the year and the find number within that year; thus 99.95.0345 comes from the 1995 field season. Due to the quantity of material being recovered, numbers were often allocation to groups of similar objects, unless a piece was exceptional and demanded a number on its own. Thus all the miscellaneous faience fragments from a single layer of Shaft E are given the number 99.93.0377; all examples of shabti type 1 from Shaft A, Room 1, layer 9 are 99.93.1051; and pieces of painted cartonnage from Shaft B, layer 4 are 99.94.0172.

As study of these larger groups of finds has progressed, some limited renumbering has taken place, particularly to allow significant examples to be extracted from a larger mass of material. Lower-case alphabetic suffixes has been added in these cases so that they can be featured with a unique number in the publication. This has typically happened for stone and coffin fragments: thus 99.98.0519, a group of coffin fragments from Shaft I, Room 3, layer 2, now has four sub-entries (a-d).

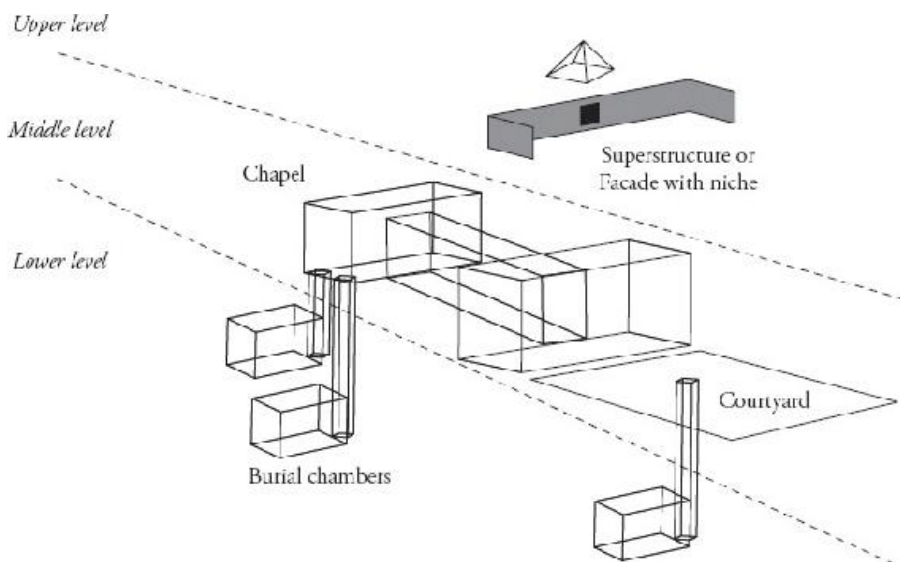


Fig. 1: Schematic diagram of a Theban tomb such as TT99

The TT99 web site and object database: Over the course of the six excavation seasons, some 6,000 object slips were created. Publication has to be selective for obvious reasons, and so only those objects and fragments which have been deemed significant have been mentioned by object number in the text and are included in the Index. However, the TT99 web site contains a simple version of the complete database which can be accessed online, and it is intended that this database will continue to be enhanced once the paper publication is complete.³⁴

Illustrations: Most photographs were taken by Anthony Middleton, with supplementary material by Nigel Strudwick, Pamela Rose and John Taylor. Facsimile drawings are the work of Nigel Strudwick; object drawings and computer models are by Helen Strudwick. All computer-generated artwork and photographic enhancement was carried out by Nigel Strudwick. Image credits by image will be found on the lists of figures and plates.

1.6 General description of contexts

TT99 can be divided into a number of broad contexts which will be briefly introduced here as they will feature very frequently in the text. All are described in more detail in [Chapter 4](#).

Facade and superstructure: Theban tombs all have some form of facade and some have a superstructure. No actual structure has been located above TT99; the solar level of the tomb is incorporated into the facade, focused on a niche on the central axis of the tomb. The Facade is built up with stones and mortar. See further § 4.2 below.

Courtyard: The Courtyard is roughly square. The north and south sides of the Facade slope down to the east to reach the same level as the Courtyard. The Courtyard seems to have had a plaster floor, into which two small depressions were cut for trees or plants, and also three shafts. See further § 4.2.4 below. The contents of the Courtyard will be fully covered in Part II.³⁵ It contained a mass of material of all periods, with the largest single group being ceramic sherds, particularly from the Late Roman/Coptic periods. The mix may suggest that the Courtyard was used as a dump at some point, either by the numerous Coptic monks who lived in the vicinity,³⁶ or even by some legal or illicit excavator, as well as by the Qurnawi who lived in the tomb since the 18th century AD. As a result, with the exception of items from TT99 itself (funerary cones, § 4.2.3; false door, [p. 90](#); stela, [p. 107](#)), a provenance for Pharaonic material in the Courtyard should generally be considered as relatively meaningless.

Shafts in the Courtyard: Three shafts were located in the Courtyard. All were originally cleared by Robert Mond in the course of his early work at Thebes. **Shaft G** was a small incomplete shaft located just in front of the southern side of the tomb Facade. See further § 4.5.1 below. **Shaft H** consisted of an 8 m deep shaft with two associated chambers, located east of Shaft G, still in the southern half of the Courtyard. See further § 4.5.2 below. **Shaft I** is the main shaft in the Courtyard, and the burial place of Senneferi and several family

members. It is 14.25 m deep; at the bottom of the shaft is a Corridor which leads to three further chambers. See further § 4.5.3 below.

Offering chapel: The Chapel is a conventional ‘T’-shaped Theban tomb of early 18th dynasty design. It has a wide Front room, which leads to a long Passage which gives into a Rear room, often termed the Shrine due to its cult function. There are two pillars cut into the Shrine. See further § 4.3 below and [Chapter 5](#).

Shafts and chambers inside the tomb chapel: Six shafts, A–F, were cut into the floor of the Chapel, all of a broadly similar style of a 2–3 m deep shaft leading to one or two chambers. The archaeological information from these shafts indicate that they were cut in the Third Intermediate Period, and thus full information will be presented in Part II.

The above elements can be fitted into the tripartite schema of a Theban tomb (superstructure–chapel/courtyard–shafts) as originally proposed for the Ramesside Period by Seyfried but which works equally well for the earlier New Kingdom ([Fig. 1](#)).³⁷

¹Guksch, *Nacht-Min*.

²Newberry, *PSBA* 22 (1900), 61–62.

³Mond, *ASAE* 5 (1904), 101–102.

⁴Mond, *ASAE* 6 (1905), 87 (fig. 21, 22), Fig. 55 on p. 66 below.

⁵*ASAE* 6 (1905), 94 (282 (A)). See further below p. 49.

⁶I am grateful to Patricia Winker of the School of Archaeology, Classics and Egyptology in Liverpool for checking Mond’s notes in Liverpool (fax dated 30/11/1995).

⁷I am grateful to Jaromir Malek for permitting me access to this material. I regret not noting the specific reference.

⁸*Plan des nécropoles thébaines*, feuille 32. The map does not indicate the ownership of the tomb.

⁹*SPAW* 1906, 356–363. The sketch plan on p. 358 is erroneous (the tomb has two, not four, pillars); perhaps he confused it with TT96A?

¹⁰Sethé’s Zetteln for the tomb are numbered 994–1006.

¹¹Gardiner and Weigall, *Topographical Catalogue*, 24–25.

¹²Probably the son of Mohamed Toussoun Pasha, and thus grandson of Said Pasha (see genealogical table in *Reports by his Majesty’s High Commissioner on the Finances, Administration, and Condition of Egypt and the Sudan for the year 1920* (London 1921), 6; he lived from 1874 to 1933 (http://www.egyptedantan.com/famille_souveraine/famille_souveraine.32.htm, accessed 29 January 2015). He was the younger brother of the better-known Omar Toussoun Pasha (Bierbrier (ed.), *Who was who in Egyptology*, 543–544).

¹³*ASAE* 9 (1908), 135.

¹⁴*ASAE* 9 (1908), 136. The LE 390 referred to was offered to the Antiquities Service

in January 1905, and noted by Quibell, *ASAE* 7 (1906), 10 (4) (there as LE 400). Much of it was used for Weigall's excavation of the mortuary temple of Thutmose III. [British and American readers should note that the numbers are set in French notation, with ',' in place of '.'] Weigall's excavations are briefly referred to in his *A guide to the Antiquities of Upper Egypt*, 255.

¹⁵ZÄS 47 (1910), 87.

¹⁶Davies Mss 11.1.120 (Malek, in Strudwick and Taylor (eds), *The Theban Necropolis*, 233).

¹⁷*Picture Writing*, Pl. I, 1; Pl. VIII, 2, 10; Pl. IX, 4; Pl. X, 14.

¹⁸The Schott photos are kept in Trier (see Winter, *GM* 83 (1984), 95–98); an online database of images is at <http://www.schott.uni-trier.de/> (accessed 1 July 2015). Schott photographed a limited number of scenes in the Shrine of the tomb (nos 8359–8366).

¹⁹Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1934–1935)*, Pt. 3, fig. 39; cf. p. 107 n.1, using Schott photo 8360.

²⁰This material is located in the Theban Ramesside Project archives in Heidelberg. I am grateful to Karl-Joachim Seyfried for permitting me to consult them in 1996–1997.

²¹Strudwick, *Amenhotep*.

²²The unpublished reports submitted to the SCA for each season are available on the TT99 web site (<http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/tt99/reports.html>, accessed 4 August 2014). Two of these were published by the SCA: Strudwick, *ASAE* 75 (1999–2000), 133–152; Strudwick, *ASAE* 79 (2005), 157–164. A general article on the tomb is Strudwick, *Memnonia* 11 (2000), 241–266.

²³Most items are listed on the web site (<http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/tt99/publish.html>, accessed 23 October 2015).

²⁴I would like to thank Sven Vleeming for allowing me to see these images in Trier.

²⁵As in the diagrams Strudwick, *Amenhotep*, pl. 39–43.

²⁶cf. Guksch's review in *JEA* 85 (1999), 250–255.

²⁷For example, Dziobek, *Ineni*, Taf. 47; Assmann, *Amenemope*, Taf. 1–4.

²⁸Dziobek and Mahmud Abdel Raziq, *Sobekhotep*, Taf. 31–41, with discussion and description on p. 15. Dziobek further used the technique in *Gräber des User-Amun*, Taf. 71–78, and primarily just to illustrate the layout in TT81 (*Ineni*, Taf. 48–59). It has subsequently been used by Guksch in TT87 (*Nacht-Min*, Plan 7–9). It is important to distinguish this technique from that of using plans only to show the layout of scenes (such as Assmann, *Amenemope*, Taf. 6–11).

²⁹Mora et al., in Corzo (ed.), *Wall Paintings of the Tomb of Nefertari*, 112–123.

³⁰Not every kheker of the friezes is drawn, but rather a sample for each wall. The ceilings are not drawn but are published in colour photos.

³¹<http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/tt99/reports.html>, accessed 4 August 2014.

³²Polz, in Assmann et al., (eds), *Problems and Priorities*, especially 128–130.

³³See H. Strudwick, in Jiménez-Serrano and von Pilgrim (eds), *From the Delta to the Cataract*, 262–271, and Fig. 54 on p. 65 below. The exception to the 2 m squares was the central baulk giving access to the main door, which was left in place as long as possible for access and was finally gridded as a series of 2 m wide rectangles.

³⁴http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/tt99/tt99_dbf/index.html, accessed 15 November 2015.

³⁵Helen Strudwick has provided a summary in Jiménez-Serrano and von Pilgrim (eds), *From the Delta to the Cataract*, 262–271.

³⁶Behlmer, *Hallesche Beiträge zur Orientwissenschaft* 36 (2003), 11–27.

³⁷Seyfried in Assmann et al., *Problems and Priorities*, 219–222.

2

Senneferi, his family and related monuments

Nigel Strudwick

This chapter principally considers what is known about Senneferi and his family (§ 2.1–§ 2.2). Evidence for his career in particular requires reference to material in addition to that from TT99 (§ 2.3–§ 2.5).

2.1 Senneferi

2.1.1 Writing of name

The phonetic elements of the name of the tomb-owner are written in two ways  and ; these will be consistently transliterated as *sn-nfr* and *sn-nfri*, and translated ‘Sennefer’ and ‘Senneferi’ respectively. In non-specific references I write ‘Senneferi’, primarily as it is the more common writing, and to make as clear as possible a distinction between the owners of TT99 and TT96.¹

The distribution of these basic writings, with some variability of determinatives, over his monuments is as follows. The non-TT99 sources are presented later in this chapter (§ 2.3–§ 2.5).

2.1.1.1 *sn-nfr* Sennefer

Other than TT99:

Statue BM EA 48 (no determinative);

Statue CG 1013 (4x, no determinative);

Statue Wien ÄS 5978 (1x, );

Papyrus Louvre E 3226 (2x, both written );

Theban Tomb C3 (2x );

Sinai relief 194 (no determinative);

Sinai stela 199 (no determinative);

Sinai stela 71.93 ();

Wadi Hammamat inscription 103 (no determinative).

In TT99:

Stela on Wall 5 (no determinative);

Scenes 16.1 (𐩉), 16.2 (𐩉, 2x);

Ceiling text 3 (𐩉), Ceiling text 9 (𐩉), Ceiling text 10 (𐩉𐩉); Funerary cones DM (Davies and Macadam) 93 and 154 (both 𐩉);

Box A, fragment 99.98.0361 (𐩉);

Papyrus: Roll 1 uses both 𐩉 and 𐩊 as well as no determinative; Roll 2 has no determinative; Roll 3 uses both 𐩊 and 𐩉; Shroud: uses both 𐩊 and 𐩉.

2.1.1.2 *sn-nfri* 𐩈𐩉𐩊 Senneferi

Other than TT99:

Statue CG 1112 (2x, no determinative);

Silsila shrine (1x 𐩉; 1x no determinative);

Statue CG 1013 (1x, no determinative).

In TT99:

1.2 (4x, space for possible determinatives lost);

2 (not clear if determinative);

False door (6x, no determinative but large seated figure at bottom of jambs as a form of the determinative 𐩊);

6.1 (space for possible determinative lost);

7.4 (no determinative);

16.2 (no determinative);

Ceiling text 2 (2x, no determinative);

Ceiling text 4 (no determinative);

Ceiling text 5 (𐩊);

Ceiling text 6 (4x, no determinative);

Ceiling text 7 (2x, no determinative);

Ceiling text 8 (no determinative, but with the characters transposed 𐩉𐩊𐩉);

Ceiling text 9 (2x, 𐩊);

Alabaster vase A (no determinative).

2.1.1.3 Indeterminate writing

Texts: 16.4 in TT99

‘Sennefer’ seems to be written with a determinative more often than ‘Senneferi’. While both variants are found in the wall paintings in the tomb, there is a preference there for the Senneferi form, although on Wall 16, we find both forms in adjacent columns of the same text. It is possible to see them, on the tomb walls at least, as graphic alternatives, in that it is possible to fit the two basic signs forming the name across one column with either the yodh or the determinative,

but not both. This solution is, however, not adopted on, for example, the papyrus and shroud, which, in addition to exclusively using the ‘Sennefer’ form, employ the determinative below the phonetic signs. These texts are of course written in ink in a more cursive manner, which generally might be expected to display more consistent orthography than elaborate painted hieroglyphs.

Antonio Loprieno has commented to me that *sn-nfr* and *sn-nfri* are in fact writings of the same name. The *ri* of *sn-nfri* indicates that the final *r* was changing into a vowel, probably *e* or *i*, as ultimately attested in Coptic.² If they are essentially the same name, then it would explain the variability of the writing, particularly if this phonetic shift was relatively new.

I have compared this considerable variation in writing of the name to that of the better-known Sennefer, owner of TT96. Of the published material from both the chapel and the burial chamber, I have seen only one example of his name written as Senneferi, on one of the pillars at the rear of the tomb chapel.³ I also recall seeing a carved block with the same writing of the name built into the entrance to the burial chamber.⁴ The present excavator of the tomb, Laurent Bavay, has confirmed that the above is broadly correct, and that there may be some other examples on the pillars, and that there is a second such reused block.⁵ Clearly the writers of the texts in TT96 did not exhibit the degree of variability of those working a few years before in TT99; it is unclear whether this is due to the later date, or the preferences of the persons concerned.

2.1.2 Titles and epithets

See **Table 1 on p. 10** to **Table 3 on p. 12**, and lists beginning **p. 35**.

As with so many high-ranking Egyptian officials, the number of Senneferi’s titles that occur more than once is very limited. There is, however, no doubt from the data that the title that appears most frequently is that of *imy-r sḏwty*, ‘overseer of seal-bearers’, ‘chancellor’, ‘treasurer’ or the like; it appears on all but one monument. In the discussion that follows, only the most significant titles and epithets are covered. Some titles are discussed both in the present section and also under the career of Senneferi (§ 2.1.3).

2.1.2.1 Honorific titles and epithets

The dividing line between the terms ‘titles’ and ‘epithets’ as used in Egyptology is a fine one, and as this chapter has progressed some epithets have been redesignated as titles.⁶ Indeed, it seems probable to me that the Egyptians would not have understood the distinction we attempt today. No doubt every one of these terms, for want of a better word, brought prestige and quite possibly some wealth, since they all

related to royal service, and one of their principal functions, particularly those termed ‘epithets’, is as part of the deceased’s ‘self-presentation’, where he stresses his importance.⁷ In the case of Senneferi this is concentrated on the statues BM EA 48 and CG 1013 and in his biographical text (Texts 12.1 and 12.2). ‘Honorific’ some titles and epithets may have been, but it does not mean that they did not have a role to play, the nature of which we can only guess. Hence we try and put the terms into sub-categories in an attempt to understand them; it could be argued that their individual meaning should not be investigated too closely.

I am not of course referring to terms with an obvious function like Senneferi’s principal title, *imy-r sḏswty*. Rather I refer to such as *ḥry-tp smrw ḥ* which, although it looks like a title, clearly does not belong to an administrative department, but is yet another courtly role. A comparable epithet might be *shrr pṯ rhyt*, given that I consider below the title *r shrr m t3 r drf* as probably having a distinct purpose (p. 14).

After these general remarks, the classic honorific titles of Senneferi fall quite consistently into the most common grouping of *iry pṯ* and *ḥsty-ḥ* (found everywhere except at Gebel Silsila and in the brief mention in tomb C.3), accompanied in several cases by *sḏswty bity* and *smr wṯy*.⁸ This is a more or less standard set of honorific titles for contemporary officials of the highest rank, although they appear with varying regularity.⁹ I discuss the use of *ḥsty-ḥ* without *iry pṯ* as ‘mayor’ below on p. 14.

Table 1: Titles of Senneferi across all of his monuments (see also Table 2)

	TT99	BM EA 46	CG 1613	CG 1112	Wien AS 5978	Sinai (any)	Silsila Shrine	Hanout- anwat	Louvre E 3226	Tomb C3
<i>imj-r šmwt nš lnan</i>	X									
<i>imj-r 'š wšm</i>	X									
<i>imj-r 'qwt nt lnan</i>	X									
<i>imj-r pwt hmwwt [abt]</i>	X									
<i>imj-r pr m pr lmsw</i>			X							
<i>imj-r pr n mwt</i>	X									
<i>imj-r hmw-afw n mntw gbyw</i>	X	X								
<i>imj-r hmw-afw n mntw nšw</i>	X									
<i>imj-r hmw-afw n špr //</i>	X									
<i>imj-r hmw-afw n šbk n lnpw</i>	X									
<i>imj-r hmw-afw n lms</i>	X									
<i>[imj-r hmw-afw] šr nb mntw</i>	X									
<i>imj-r hmw-afw //</i>	X									
<i>imj-r hš m hš nbt</i>	X									
<i>imj-r hmwut šwb nt lmsw</i>	X							X		
<i>imj-r ššwty</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X
<i>imj-r ššwtyw</i>	X									
<i>imj-r ššwty n mntw</i>	X									
<i>imj-r šwt mntw</i>	X									
<i>imj-r šmwty</i>	X									
<i>imj-r //</i>	X									
<i>imj wdkn r' nb m pr lmn-r'</i>		X								
<i>imj pr</i>	X	X	X	X		X		X		
<i>imj mntw m mntwt rwt 'skwyf m spw n-mbw</i>			X							
<i>iti mnt' zš mntw zš-lmn</i>				X						
<i>iti ngt mty</i>				X						
<i>upwty mntw</i>	X									
<i>wt wntw m n r gnf</i>	X									
<i>wt wntw m n r gnf hr nš' psw mntw mntw</i>	X									
<i>wpms mntw</i>	X	X	X				X			
<i>r m n r gnf</i>	X					X				
<i>r n mntw 'hwyw z bity</i>	X									
<i>r hwy m nnt mntw</i>	X	X								
<i>r špr m n r gnf</i>	X									
<i>[hwy-] (as hcrort.fic)</i>	X	X	X	X		X		X		
<i>hwy- (as rirt- 'maynt')</i>	X									
<i>hwy- n lmn</i>		X								
<i>imj-tp 'n m pr mntw</i>		X	X							
<i>imj-tp n 'nt nbt</i>	X									
<i>imj-tp m hwyw-'</i>	X									
<i>imj-tp mntw 'h</i>	X				!					
<i>imj-tp n n r gnf</i>				X						
<i>mntw 'n mntw</i>	X									
<i>mntw 'hwy</i>	X			X		X				
<i>mntw pte rhyt</i>		X								
<i>mntw hš n mntw mntw lmnw</i>	X									
<i>mntw hš n mntw</i>	X									
<i>ugwty hty</i>	X	X	X	X		X				

Table 2: Titles of Senneferi in TT99 alone (see also Table 1)

	Front	Passage	Shrine	Biography	Ceilings	Burial	Coues
<i>imy-r 'b wlm</i>	x				x		
<i>imy-r 'thut nt tmn</i>				x	x		
<i>imy-r pwt hnut [nbt]</i>						x	
<i>imy-r pr m pr tmn</i>							
<i>imy-r pr n nwut</i>					x		
<i>imy-r hmw-ngrw n mnu gbyw</i>						x?	
<i>imy-r hmw-ngrw n ngrw nbw</i>	x				x		
<i>imy-r hmw-ngrw n 'thr ///</i>				x			
<i>imy-r hmw-ngrw n sbk n tnpw</i>				x			
<i>imy-r hmw-ngrw n tm</i>					x		
<i>[imy-r hmw-ngrw] hr nh men</i>				x			
<i>imy-r hmw-ngrw ///</i>			x				
<i>imy-r h m ht nbt</i>	x						
<i>imy-r hnut nwb nt tmn</i>	x		x		x	x	
<i>imy-r sduwy</i>	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
<i>imy-r sduwyw</i>						x	
<i>imy-r sduwy n nwut</i>						x	
<i>imy-r swt nmt</i>					x		
<i>imy-r: inwy</i>				x			
<i>imy-r ///</i>	x				x		
<i>ity udnx vt' ah m pr tma-v'</i>							
<i>ity pt</i>	x	x	x	x	x		x
<i>ity nwut m nlwut ryt 'shwyf m spt ts-mhw</i>							
<i>iti mnt' as nwut as-tmn</i>							
<i>iti ngr mry</i>							
<i>upwy nwut</i>			x	x			
<i>ur urw m ts r dnf</i>			x				
<i>ur urw m ts r dnf tr nf'psw nwut rmn</i>				x			
<i>wlm nwut</i>			x			x	
<i>r m ts r dnf</i>							
<i>r n nwut 'nbwy n bly</i>			x		x		
<i>r hry m att twt</i>				x			
<i>r shr: m ts r dnf</i>			x				x
<i>hry-' (as honorific)</i>	x	x	x	x	x		x
<i>hry-' (as title 'mayor')</i>	x			x	x		
<i>hry-' n hnt</i>							
<i>hry-tp ' m pr nwut</i>							
<i>hry-tp n 'at nbt</i>					x		
<i>hry-tp nw hnyw '</i>				x			
<i>hry-tp mruw 'h</i>					x		
<i>hry-tp n ts r dnf</i>							
<i>smr ' n mruw</i>	x		x				
<i>smr w'ty</i>	x		x		x		x
<i>sprt pt rhyt</i>							
<i>sm h' n ngrw nbw iuww</i>					x		
<i>sm h' n tm</i>	x						
<i>sduwy bny</i>	x		x		x		x

Shrine does not encompass titles just in the Biography
Shaded rows indicate titles held by Senneferi that are not in TT99

Table 3: Epithets of Senneferi as found across his monuments

	TT99 chapel	BM EA 48	CG 1013	CG 1112	Wien AS 5978	Sinai (any)	Silsila Shrine
<i>nut-ib a ///</i>	X						
<i>tmy 'th</i>	X						
<i>tmy-ib</i>	X						
<i>tmy-ib puw n nb twuy</i>	X						
<i>tmy-ib n ntr nfr</i>	X						
<i>tmy-ib hr nb twuy</i>			X				
<i>tsq twuy n nb 'th</i>	X						
<i>tr nfr spwut nwt rma</i>	X						
<i>tr mwt mnhp lfwut zp f nb</i>	X						
<i>tr hzwut pddi 'te</i>	X						
<i>tr kni</i>	X						
<i>q m s'bf</i>	X						
<i>twuy mnhp zp sa nb twuy</i>	X						
<i>q r hst pr hr ph</i>						X	
<i>q hr nfrwt pr hr hzwut</i>	X						
<i>q hr nfrwt pr hr hzwut hr lrt shru nw ts puw m w'wt</i>		X	X				
<i>n m n idm</i>							
<i>q ///</i>	X						
<i>w' n hr tmy ///</i>	X						
<i>w' n-rp</i>				X			
<i>wb twy tr dbrw hr w'p 'th dbrwt</i>		X					
<i>wr m twf</i>	X						
<i>wr hzwut m pr nwt</i>	X						
<i>wr ///</i>	X						
<i>wd mduw n smyt</i>		X	X				
<i>wdi drry</i>				X			
<i>ph tw m tr ta mnh</i>	X						
<i>nan hzwut q nwt</i>	X						
<i>nan thry m t-hwtwy</i>		X	X				
<i>nar(y) n nwt hz(y) a bity u 'te n mnhp hry-ib</i>	X						
<i>nary n nwt m mti lbf mrtw'f m nwb hr hwb</i>		X	X				
<i>nary nb twuy</i>	X						
<i>nsh-ib a nwt ht twuy</i>	X						
<i>nsh-ib a nwt ///</i>	X						
<i>nsh-ib a nb twuy</i>	X						
<i>nsh-ib a hr m 'thf</i>						X	
<i>nsh-ib a hr m prf</i>						X	
<i>nsh-ib i</i>	X						
<i>nry hry</i>				X			
<i>n shm nfr qdd hr shru nb twuy</i>				X			
<i>n shmfz ///</i>	X						
<i>nn tr nfr zp sn m rmt</i>				X			
<i>nht</i>	X						
<i>hr n ///</i>	X						
<i>hrrw hr dduwf nbt hptw hr prw n rf</i>		X	X				
<i>kh sbt</i>	X						
<i>kay n ntr nfr</i>	X						
<i>kay</i>	X						
<i>kaw n nb twuy</i>						X	
<i>kptw hr prw n rf</i>		X	X				

	TT99 chapel	BM EA 48	CG 1013	CG 1112	Wien ÄS 5978	Sinai (any)	Silsila Shrine
<i>s'r mdwcn</i>	x						
<i>sr wby nḥ ib</i>		x	x				
<i>sr m ḥst rhyt</i>	x						
<i>shrr p't rhyt</i>		x	x				
<i>shnt nst m pr bity</i>		x	x				
<i>shntf hnt rhyt n 'st n mnḥf ḥry-ib</i>	x						
<i>sgm sgmt w'</i>	x	x	x				
<i>sg'r rsu-br</i>	x						
<i>sg'rf sw III</i>	x						
<i>qn</i>		x					x
<i>qn n nsut</i>					x		
<i>tmw in ddt nḥ nbt</i>		x	x				
<i>tkn m nsut</i>			x				

Monuments with no epithets are excluded from this table

2.1.2.2 Religious titles

Senneferi held a number of priestly titles. Some are damaged *imy-r ḥmw-ntrw n ?ḥr III*, *imy-r ḥmw-ntrw III*. Otherwise, the priestly title that appears most often is the non-specific *imy-r ḥmw-ntrw n ntrw nbw*, which is perhaps to be considered a mark of Senneferi's status as much as a reference to any particular office. There is a small group of offices which appear once each and seem to relate to Delta cults: probably *imy-r ḥmw-ntrw ḥr nb msn*, and a small group of titles associated with cults in Heliopolis (*imy-r ḥmw-ntrw n tm*, *šsm ḥb n ntrw nbw twnw*, *šsm ḥb n tm*). All of these last may possibly relate to Senneferi's earlier career (see p. 16). The two remaining titles which relate to the south of Egypt are *imy-r ḥmw-ntrw n mnw gbtwy*¹⁰ (statue BM EA 48 below and possibly papyrus roll 2 from Senneferi's burial (p. 172)) and *imy-r ḥmw-ntrw n sbk n inpw* (biography). I discuss the use of *ḥsty-ε* with these titles on p. 14.

He also exercised some functions associated with the administrative aspects of the cult of Amun. One is *iry wdn n rε nb m pr imn-rε* and the other *imy-r pr m pr imn*, the one ostensibly looking after the offering cult and the other concerned with the estate administration. *imy-r shwt/ḥwt n imn* falls also into this category;¹¹ these two titles might be variants of one another.¹²

2.1.2.3 Administrative offices

As indicated, *imy-r sdḫwt* is more or less ubiquitous¹³ (only Wadi Hammamat inscription 103 does not mention it) and was clearly the title of greatest significance to him when his monuments were erected. This title, variously translated 'overseer of the seal/overseer of seal-bearers', 'treasurer' or 'chancellor', German 'Schatzmeister', has its origins in the 11th dynasty, and it usually designates the official who oversaw the personal wealth and resources of the king.¹⁴ This person

was particularly concerned, in the earlier 18th dynasty at least, with the organisations of foreign expeditions and with some aspects of foreign tribute, all matters which can be seen as prominent royal concerns.¹⁵ Senneferi carried out at least two such missions, to Lebanon and to the Wadi Hammamat.

The signs  (Gardiner S19) or  (Gardiner S20) in this title and in the honorific   can be read two ways. Traditionally, they were read *sdzwt* or *sdzwtj*, but as  is also used in *h_{tm}*, the latter transliteration now tends to be the more commonly used. Simply from habit, I persist with the less fashionable reading. *imy-r sdzwtj* can be written with two separate hieroglyphs representing the seal in the title,  and .  is used overwhelmingly in TT99, but there is an example on Wall 16 where the same text uses both (**Colour pl. 28A**). In Senneferi's burial,  is found on coffin (**Fig. 145**), box (**Fig. 245**), papyri (**Colour pl. 38B**) and shroud fragments (**Colour pl. 40**), but  is used on an alabaster jar (**Colour pl. 45A**). Beyond the tomb, the statues in London and Cairo employ  but that in Vienna uses , while the Silsila shrine shows  and the Louvre papyrus  (§ 2.4.1). A similar degree of variation in the title *sdzwtj bity* is also seen, and together it is clear that the use of these two signs is little more than as graphic variants, presumably dictated largely by the space available.

Only two other titles are found in both the tomb and on other monuments, primarily the three major statues. These titles are *imy-r h_{swt} nwb nt imn* (several times in TT99, including in the burial, and once in the Wadi Hammamat) and *wh_m nswt* (twice in the tomb and burial, and once each in the Silsila shrine and on statues EA 48 and CG 1013). The former title seems probably to have entailed an element of quarrying and foreign travel, seemingly also a role of the *imy-r sdzwtj*. Another title in his titulary which might have related responsibilities is *h_{ry}-tp n st nbt*.

The accounting of state animals was surely also a concern of his office as treasurer, hence the offices *imy-r b wh_m* and *imy-r šwt nšmt*.¹⁶ The latter titles may hint at an explanation for the apparently otherwise unknown title *imy-r p_{swt} h_{nnwt} (nbt)* in the papyrus. This phrase appears occasionally, for example in the Great Hymn to the Aten in the tomb of Ay at Amarna;¹⁷ in TT99, it would appear to be used in a title, presumably referring to birds: '(all) that which takes off and alights'. It does seem strange that it should only appear on a papyrus buried with Senneferi (**p. 172**).

An unclear title is *imy-r h₃ m ht nbt*. This could be one of these very general titles which are intended to express Senneferi's importance, although I would note that in the Old and Middle Kingdoms at least

imy-r ḥs can refer to a cattle overseer,¹⁸ although the presence of *m ḥt nbt* might render this less likely.

Senneferi possessed two similar titles concerned with the administration of fields, *imy-r ḥwt nt imn* and *imy-r ḥwt nt imn*, one concerned with the fields themselves and the other with those who worked on them. These only appear in TT99, but in several places, including the burial. Again, one suspects a link with his role as *imy-r sdswty*. See also the comments immediately below regarding *imy-r šnwty*.

In the early 18th dynasty, the title *ḥsty-ε*, when it does not just follow *iry pṯ*, had already acquired a sense beyond that of age-old honorific title and is in some contexts usually translated ‘mayor’. Helck suggests that by the time of Senneferi it is as likely to refer to a benefice rather than a true administrative office, particularly when used in conjunction with titles of ‘overseer of priests’,¹⁹ although this may be contradicted by the example of Sebekhotep who held these titles in respect of the Fayum.²⁰ Senneferi clearly uses the title *ḥsty-ε* both ways: with the name of a site, *ḥsty-ε n ḥm* (BM EA 48), and several times followed by *imy-r ḥmw-ntr*, referring to the specific priesthoods of Horus (Text 12.1 col. 4), Sobek and Anubis (Text 12.2 col. 29) and Atum (Ceiling text 5), as well as ‘all gods’ on Wall 1 (Text 1.2) and a damaged reference on Wall 13 (Text 13.1). In addition, in his biography he refers to being charged with being *ḥry-tp nw ḥstyw-ε* as one of his last promotions. The latter will be considered further below in my discussion of Senneferi’s career.

An intriguing title is *imy-r šnwty*, ‘overseer of the double granary’. This is normally regarded as a major state office, but it appears only in his biography. It is unclear to which granaries this title relates. The principal administrator of the state granaries would appear to hold the title *imy-r šnwty šmꜣw (t3-)mḥw*, and the reference to what may be an abbreviated version of this title in TT99 is seemingly never discussed in considerations of this office,²¹ and no other attestations of Senneferi in this post are known, nor does any other official apparently hold both *imy-r sdswty* and *imy-r šnwty*. Even when Senneferi is mentioned in Louvre Papyrus E 3226 in connection with grain deliveries (below, § 2.4.1), his title is *imy-r sdswty*. The *imy-r sdswty* Sebekhotep is shown inspecting granaries of the king’s estate,²² but this is probably a part of the function of *imy-r sdswty*; titles incorporating *šnwty* presumably refer to the grain of the Two Lands in some form. For the moment, Senneferi’s links with (state) granaries must remain somewhat mysterious, not helped by the rarity of this title in his titulary.

The office of *wḥm nswt* probably functioned as something of a

spokesman for the king.²³ The office of *wꜥwꜣty nswt* was held by high-ranking officials who were, for example, in charge of diplomatic and economic missions,²⁴ which types of work our tomb-owner certainly seems to have undertaken. Senneferi held several other titles which, while they may not have had a specific purpose, indicate that he would have been charged with putting forward the decisions of the king, specifically those beginning with $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$ ‘mouth’ (*r n nswt nꜥꜣwy n bity*, *r ꜥꜣꜣ m ntt iwt*, *r shrr m t3 r drf*, *r m t3 r drf*, although the last title may be a shortened writing of the previous one). These titles, if they can be termed that, form a group along with those referencing eyes and ears which indicate clearly a close relationship with the king. Other titles that may be concerned with personal service to the king relate to the royal establishment, thus *imy-r pr n nswt* and *ꜥꜣꜣ-tp ꜥ n pr nswt*; presumably *ꜥꜣꜣ-tp t3 r drf* fits here too.

Another aspect of Senneferi’s relationship with the king is specified by two titles only found on statue CG 1112, *iti ntr* and *iti mnꜥt z3 nswt z3-imn*. Roehrig considers the title *iti mnꜥt* a variation on the more normal title *iti mnꜥ/imnꜥy*, and not a conflation of *iti ntr* and *mnꜥy nswt*.²⁵ Both offices show that for a time Senneferi was charged with the care and education of prince Siamun, who perhaps died prematurely as he is otherwise unknown, and never featured in TT99 in its present condition. Senneferi’s main title on this statue is *imy-r sdꜣwty*, but at least three other holders of that title were associated with the bringing-up of royal children.²⁶

2.1.2.4 Distribution of titles across his monuments

Table 1 on p. 10 lists title across all monuments, and **Table 2 on p. 11** examines the distribution within TT99 itself. The bulk of titles in **Table 1** come from the tomb and two statues in London and Cairo, and the context and function of each monument is all important: on rock inscriptions and on royal and smaller monuments the space and role of Senneferi is restricted, most notable probably in Wadi Hammamat inscription 103. There not even the usual title *imy-r sdꜣwty* appears, but that more relevant to a desert mission, *imy-r ꜥst (nbt) n nbw imn*, along with the basic honorifics.

In the TT99 complex (**Table 2**), the frequency of titles is more even, dictated to some extent by the better preservation of decoration in the Rear room, although the long biographical texts on Wall 12 account for many occurrences, and include some of the more unusual examples. The ceiling texts that have survived or were finished are largely in the Front room, but there seems no indication that further particular distinction was made in the title component of the texts in different parts of the Chapel. The survival of any texts from the burial

is minimal given the smashed condition of the assemblage, and writing only appears to a large extent on the papyri and shroud. *imy-r sḏswty* is found several times as is to be expected, but the title *imy-r pswt ḥnnwt (nbt)* makes its only appearance on papyrus roll 2 (p. 172).

2.1.2.5 Concluding comments

From the above it will be evident that most of the titles are found in one location only, very often with just one example. This is a very common and ancient phenomenon in Egypt, and is evidently a central plank of the manner in which the Egyptian court and administration operated. Some titles doubtless encompassed specific functions, were regularly held, and were attached to sections of the administration in a way which is more or less recognisable today. However, there is also a body of uncommon or unique ones, and all titles presumably brought with them wealth; in some cases this was ‘payment’ for services rendered, but in many cases they were granted more as a mark of favour, a sinecure or benefice with income attached and (one suspects) without clearly specified duties, if any. I speculate that many of these latter titles are those which one finds only once in an official’s inscriptions.²⁷

It is not unreasonable to begin from the premise that an individual’s most significant titles (to him) were those inscribed most commonly on his monuments. In the case of Senneferi, these include firstly the honorific titles *iry pṯ*, *ḥsty-ꜥ*, *sḏswty bity* and *smr wṯy*; some or all of these appear on nearly every monument, and where they do not, it is perhaps reasonable to assume they originally figured in the damaged areas. Only the Louvre papyrus certainly does not bear an honorific title; administrative papyri tend towards compactness, and the other senior officials in the same text are only mentioned by their primary office.²⁸ The above group of titles clearly shows that Senneferi’s position in the official hierarchy was at the very top, and thus were of paramount importance.

His most common non-honorific title is *imy-r sḏswty*, found on all monuments with the exception of the Wadi Hammamat inscription. No other title approaches this frequency; the next most common is *wḥm nswt* (four monuments), followed by *imy-r ḥswt nwb nt imn* (two monuments) and *r shrr n t3 r drf* (with variants on three monuments).²⁹ *imy-r ḥmw-nṯrw n mnw gbtw* may also appear twice.³⁰ I think we are thus right to talk overwhelmingly about Senneferi as ‘overseer of seal-bearers’ or ‘chancellor’.

The remaining titles are found only on one monument each, the majority in TT99. The situation is more extreme for the epithets.

in somewhere; if correct, he was not in Thebes at this point, since then he went to Thebes (allowing for the damaged state of the text) as *imy-r šnwty*. Evidently he considered this all to be one stage of his career, at least as far as the biographical account was concerned. The third and final clear stage from this text was as *ḥsty-ꜥ imy-r ḥmw ntrw n sbk n inpw*; were the next two clear titles (*ḥry-tp nw ḥstyw-ꜥ* and *ḥry-tp nw ḥstyw-ꜥ*) also associated with this phase of his career, or was there another phase indicated in the lacuna? Does the mention of Thebes again at the top of column 30 before those titles indicate that he was reappointed to Thebes to carry out these offices?

Thus, following the biography, we have the following reconstruction of his career progression:

1 *r ḥry m [ntt iwtt]*

2 *imy-r sḏwty*

(2a) To Thebes as *imy-r šnwty*

3 *ḥsty-ꜥ imy-r ḥmw ntrw n sbk inpw*

(3a) *ḥry-tp nw ḥstyw-ꜥ* and *imy-r ḥwt nt imn* (unless these are a separate phase)

The precise stages of Senneferi's career are actually far from clear, although we must not lose sight of the purpose of the tomb texts, which is not to give an accurate *curriculum vitae* but to indicate Senneferi's importance. Nor must we forget that we should not over-interpret the administrative significance of some of these titles. It is possible that the geographical focus of his work changed against after his better-known initial move to Thebes, if the second reference to Thebes is indeed significant.

From where did Senneferi originally come? The title *imy-r st m wstt-ḥr* of his father Haydjehuty will be considered below [p. 18](#)); it most probably refers to a location in the north-east Delta. Indications in the titulary of Senneferi himself support this: the clearest are titles which associate him with the cult of Atum (in Heliopolis), but there are also probable references in his biography to Horus of Mesen, and the principal place named Mesen is also in the eastern Delta,³⁴ while statue EA 48 calls him 'mayor of Letopolis' and statue Cairo CG 1013 addresses a formula to Horus of Letopolis. It thus is clear that he grew up and undertook his first offices in the north of Egypt.

Dissecting the different stages of an Egyptian official's career is never easy, since the multiplicity of titles held by an individual probably reflects his importance and the financial resources at his disposal over the whole of his career as much as anything else. While

many officials of the earlier part of the 18th dynasty describe their careers in their biographical texts, none presents them in quite the enumerated stages of Senneferi,³⁵ and yet it is not easy to relate this text to the titles known from the whole range of his monuments. As has been observed, the main titles enumerated in the biographical section just quoted rarely appear on these other monuments (compare [Table 2](#) with [Table 1](#)).

If we follow the biography, Senneferi acquired his most distinctive title *imy-r sꜥꜣwty* mid-career; despite the biography indicating that he obtained other offices after that, it is the only title found consistently on all his monuments (except the Wadi Hammamat inscription). In contrast, the important title *imy-r šmwtj* in the biography is found nowhere else in his inscriptions; similarly, the titles concerned with the prince on statue Cairo CG 1112 appear on that object only.

The biographical text makes no reference to Senneferi's missions outside of Egypt proper, even though one or two of these are mentioned elsewhere in the tomb. Thus in the Front room of TT99, he gives the highest prominence to two scenes in which he is being sent by Thutmose III to Lebanon to retrieve wood for the flagpoles of the temple of Amun (Walls 3 and 4, § 5.5.3 and § 5.5.4 below). In addition, there is the enigmatic fortress on Wall 5, manned by persons clearly of Western Asiatic origin ([p. 105](#)). Whether these represent one or two discrete voyages is unknown. Other foreign travel is attested in Sinai, where he (presumably) helped erect the Thutmoside temple and also set up two stelae of his own (below § 2.3.6). An inscription indicates his presence in the Wadi Hammamat, although whether he was on a mining expedition or en route to other destinations is unknown (§ 2.4.3).

Precious little information can be gleaned from the titles accompanying the foreign scenes just noted. Damage to Walls 3–5 in TT99 means that the only example of a functional title evident in these scenes is one example of *imy-r sꜥꜣwty*, on Wall 4 ([Text 4.2](#) on [p. 101](#)). The same functional title is found on the Sinai monuments; only in the Wadi Hammamat does a different title, *imy-r ḥst (nbt) n nbw imn*, appear alone. The latter title is attested several times in TT99, in the Front and Rear rooms and on the ceilings, and also on his mummy shroud ([p. 176](#)). It must thus have been important to him but it is not in his biography, and as yet I cannot locate this office, and these foreign trips, within his career.

Does the biography reflect his true career, or is it rather intended to reflect his own importance? My present impression is that it has elements of both. It indicates his non-Theban origin and his principal

title, but it also stresses a number of other offices of which further evidence is lacking on the monuments. Perhaps these latter indicate posts which were of great significance to him in terms of income and prestige, but which for some reason did not feature elsewhere in the tomb. Did he perhaps exercise them for a short time only, or was the biography composed and painted in the tomb after the other inscriptions? With Egyptian title strings it is almost never known how long someone held a title, or whether they relinquished it with a promotion, although we can probably be reasonably confident that Senneferi held the office of *imy-r sḏswty* for much of his later career. Similarly, the point at which an official created his tomb is poorly understood.

However, this all shows how much more needs to be understood about the system, if it can be called that, of title-holding in ancient Egypt. It should never be forgotten that as much as we study titles, career patterns, and so on, the importance of a person within the elite was principally due to their relationship with the king. He needed his elite as much for their closeness and trustworthiness as for their administrative abilities. Hence the abrupt rise and fall (or sudden disappearance) of so many major families throughout Egyptian history. Rarely in times of political stability did one family maintain high office for more than two or three generations.

2.1.4 Dating

We are blessed with a variety of data for assigning a date to the owner of TT99. His principal period of activity is hardly in doubt, as he appears on monuments of Thutmose III (p. 34) and that king's name, and almost certainly his image, appear, or appeared, in several places in TT99. The Gebel Silsila shrine (p. 32) appears to associate his name with that of Hatshepsut (see further below). In addition, there is the date of year 32, undoubtedly of Thutmose III, in the Louvre papyrus (p. 34).³⁶

However, there is some disagreement as to the detailed interpretation of the above material, and the overall range of time in which he lived. Most of this has been associated with discussions of the precise sequence of holders of *imy-r sḏswty* in this part of the 18th dynasty. Thus the first such consideration, by Helck, dated his holding of this post primarily to the reign of Hatshepsut and partly that of Thutmose III, and saw him as the successor of Nehsy, and the predecessor or contemporary of Tay.³⁷ This view was followed by Megally.³⁸ Twenty years later, Helck revised his opinion about the significance of the Silsila shrine, and preferred to see this monument as left unfinished by a third party in the reign of Hatshepsut and then

taken over by Senneferi in the sole reign of Thutmose III.³⁹ On this view, Senneferi became the successor of Tay. Helck's revision has now been challenged by Dziobek, considering it as rather speculative and based on a very damaged source.⁴⁰

Evidently the dating of Senneferi is very much linked in with the sequence of holders of the title of *imy-r sꜥꜣwty*. While I do not wish to enter this question in depth, the evidence for Tay preceding Senneferi seems plausible, as the former is better attested in the reign of Hatshepsut and early in that of Thutmose III than Senneferi,⁴¹ and the one date so far available for the latter is later than the last date of Tay. This does leave as problematic the date of the Silsila shrine; in addition, or as an alternative, to the argument of Helck, it could be that Senneferi carried out his decoration of the shrine over a longer period of time than was perhaps thought, although this would mean his holding high office in the reign of Hatshepsut which I feel is unlikely.

Study of the decoration of the tomb of Senneferi has added no new information to our knowledge of his dating, only confirming the presence of the name of Thutmose III. However, a jar label excavated from Senneferi's burial might offer more help. A pilgrim flask bore the inscription 'good wine (to be) for Regnal Year 38' (p. 243). At this period of the 18th dynasty, the date of the label can only refer to the reign of Thutmose III. This can, however, only serve as an earliest possible date for the burial. The lack of any attribution, normal with jar inscriptions, means that it is unsure for which occupant it was intended, although all the other identifiable finds in the burial chamber point to the contents only being associated with Senneferi (p. 76). In addition, the date of 'bottling' does not need to relate to the date of the burial. Thus in the tomb of Tutankhamun, the only parallel whose approximate date of death is known, there were vessels dated to his years 4 and 5, and possibly 10 (although this could refer to Akhenaten), but there was also one bearing a year 31, doubtless of Amenhotep III.⁴² The possibility that the latter was reused has been re-examined and rejected by Tallet, preferring to see this as an example of a special item for the burial.⁴³ Further jar inscriptions from TT99 give dates of regnal years 25 (p. 248) and 28 (p. 249), almost certainly also of Thutmose III, suggesting a long period between vintage and burial.⁴⁴ The issue of the drinkability of tomb wines, and the maximum amount of time which would pass between bottling and consumption, is perhaps misleading, as it is very likely that their symbolic presence and prestige value in the burial was of far more importance than their potability; compare the use of model food

and other items. The reader is also referred more generally to Briant Bohleke's discussions of this issue in [Chapter 10.45](#)

This evidence indicates the decease of Senneferi could not have taken place before year 38 of Thutmose III. The stages of his career as discussed above are not easy to define by date, not least because we cannot be sure of how many titles he exercised simultaneously, and where; we can only be reasonably certain that he was exercising the role of *imy-r sdwty* in Thebes in year 32 of Thutmose III, and this was a very senior office. However, he clearly took on other offices later in his career, but there are no indications that he survived into the reign of Amenhotep II. Four of the bodies found in his burial chamber were of mature adults ([p. 77](#)), and it seems most likely that he was born either early in the reign of Thutmose II or late in that of Thutmose I.[46](#)

2.2 Family

The numbers of persons depicted in Theban tombs of the 18th dynasty is very variable. Due primarily to the damage to the wall scenes, little information about Senneferi's family, particularly his children, is forthcoming.[47](#)

2.2.1 Parents

Father: Haydjehuty

hry-dhwty,  

Certainly named: [Text 14.1](#), [Ceiling text 2](#) (*ir n zsb*), [Ceiling text 6](#) (*ir n zsb*), BM EA 48 *ir n imy-r st m wstt-hr*, mummy shroud (see below). Suggested: false door panel, stela, [Scene 7](#), Pillar [Text BN.1](#) (*ir n zsb*), [Ceiling text 5](#).

Titles: *zsb* 'revered one' (tomb), *imy-r st m wstt-hr*, Overseer of the bureau of *wstt-hr*  (BM EA 48); *zš* 'scribe' (mummy shroud, see below).

zsb seems to have been the conventional way in which an official referred reverentially to his father in a tomb of this date, and probably has no relevance to his real titles or social status.[48](#) The title found on statue BM EA 48 is perhaps more informative. Goods from *wstt-hr* are shown in the tomb of Puyemre (TT39), brought by a *hry k3mw*, and are probably wine,[49](#) and also in an unpublished scene from the tomb of Sennefer (TT96A).[50](#) The location of *wstt-hr* is not totally certain; the better-known 'Ways of Horus'  across North Sinai are one possible identification,[51](#) but the writings are different and scholars are divided as to whether it is a separate toponym, even if it is most probably located in the north-east Delta.[52](#) This agrees well with the suggestion made above that Senneferi may have come from this area,

and it would seem not illogical that his parents might have accompanied him to Thebes, and that they were commemorated and buried in his tomb.

The appearances of the name of Senneferi's father on the mummy shroud are odd (p. 176). The name *ḥsy[-dḥwty]* was probably present, and is visible at the bottom right of one of the fragments (visible part written ). However, on another fragment of the same, Senneferi is given the parentage *irm zš z3-dḥwty mš-ḥrw*. The title *zš* is not found in association with his father's name elsewhere. I speculate that the name *z3-dḥwty* might possibly have been written in error, perhaps due to the similarity of the names of both parents, and in an absent-minded moment, the scribe might have written *z3* for *ḥsy*.

Mother: Satdjehuty

z3t-dḥwty, 

Certainly named: [Text 7.4](#) (*mwtf*), [Ceiling text 2](#) (*ms n nbt pr*), [Ceiling text 5](#) (*ms n nbt pr*), papyrus and mummy shroud (*ms n nbt pr*), BM EA 48 (*ms n ḥkrt nswt*). Probable: [Text 14.1](#) (*[mwtf]*). Suggested: false door panel, stela.

Satdjehuty's appearances on Senneferi's monuments largely parallel those of her husband. Like him, the only example of a more specific title of hers is found on statue BM EA 48. In [Ceiling text 6](#), Haydjehuty alone is named, but one wonders whether the omission of Satdjehuty is merely due to the lack of space at that point, as the two of them are otherwise named together in the tomb, and indeed on BM EA 48. A lintel near the entrance to the tomb of Senenmut (TT71) may be adduced in support; although it shows the owner receiving and not making offerings, each representation of Senenmut is accompanied by a depiction of one parent.⁵³ Senenmut, like Senneferi, was an official who gave particular prominence in his monuments to his parents (and in fact buried them in the area).⁵⁴ The interesting observation has been made that in some New Kingdom tombs the deceased's mother is sometimes given greater prominence than the deceased's wife.⁵⁵

2.2.2 Wife

Taiamu

t3-ḥmw, 

Taiamu is only named in two surviving scenes in the tomb: in the offering scene on Wall 16 (twice), and as the main presenter of the New Year's gifts on Pillar AE. The only physical depiction remaining is the top of her head on Wall 16. In these texts she is called:

sntf mrtf st-ibf nbt pr [Text 16.1](#)

sntf mrtf nbt pr [Text 16.4](#)

I speculate, however, that she may also have appeared on the false door on Wall 2 and the stela on Wall 5 of the Front room in addition to other destroyed scenes.

No burial equipment bearing her name was found in Senneferi's burial chambers (Shaft I), but it is speculated that one of the four adults buried there could be Taiamu (p. 77).

2.2.3 A brother?

A text in [Scene 9.1](#) mentions a brother, after which there is a small undecorated area (it begins *sn.f* and the rest is partially reconstructed, see [Text 9.2](#) on p. 120). A catalogue entry on statue Turin 3089 by Leospo speculates whether the owner of this statue (Maa) is Senneferi's brother.⁵⁶ This seems presently impossible to prove, as the name Sennefer/Senneferi is not uncommon in Thebes, and without further titles it must remain pure speculation, based only on the possibility of a reciprocal name in TT99.

Text AE.2 also mentions the general term *snw.f* 'his brothers/siblings', as part of the family presenting New Year gifts, but no texts naming them are preserved.

2.2.4 Children

Children are mentioned on the east face of Pillar A, but only in general and formulaic terms, and no texts naming them are preserved in the Chapel. The priest making offerings to the couple on Wall 16 could be a son, but no name is given. It is speculated below that a juvenile buried in the Senneferi burial chambers might have been a child of his. Otherwise there are two references from outside the tomb:

Renena (daughter)



šmꜣt nt [imn] rnns ir n imy-r sꜣswty sn-nfr

Renena is mentioned as a daughter of Senneferi in tomb C.3. This is considered immediately below in the discussion of his son-in-law Amenhotep.

Neb-s/// (son?)

A text in the shrine at Gebel Silsila attributed to Senneferi⁵⁷ might be interpreted as mentioning a son: *zꜣf mry.f nb-s///*.⁵⁸ The fact that there are usurpations in this shrine (see dating discussion above) might of course mean that this individual is not necessarily Senneferi's son.

2.2.5 Son-in-law: Amenhotep

This individual is not mentioned in the decoration of the tomb, but a

remarkable statue of him was found in the shafts inside the tomb (see immediately below). His title was that of *idnw n imy-r sḏswty*, ‘deputy overseer of seal-bearers’, and he is without doubt the official first known from lost tomb C.3.⁵⁹ A prominent woman in the ceiling inscriptions of that tomb, and thus almost certainly his spouse, although no relationship is explicitly indicated, is Renena, Senneferi’s daughter (see above).

Porter and Moss suggested that the location of the missing tomb C.3 was somewhere on the north-east slope of Sheikh Abdel Qurna.⁶⁰ However, in 2009, the tomb of Amenhotep was located by the mission from the Université Libre de Bruxelles just south of TT29, a mere 60 m from the entrance to TT99. Initial reports confirm the existence of the texts noted by Piehl, plus the remains of some decoration.⁶¹ The false door from tomb C.3 was discovered in 1974 far from the tomb, adjacent to the temple of Khonsu in Karnak, broken into eleven pieces.⁶² It had been presumably taken there for reuse, in the same way as that of Useramun, discovered in 2009.⁶³ The false door makes no mention of genealogical information, despite there being an (anonymous) depiction of a spouse on the panel.

On the basis of the dating discussed above for Senneferi and while awaiting further news from tomb C.3, Amenhotep would probably have been active in the later years of the reign of Thutmose III and the first part of that of Amenhotep II. His tomb was perhaps the first of the group of monuments cut into the hillside to the south of TT99.⁶⁴

2.2.5.1 The statue of Amenhotep, Senneferi’s son-in-law

Colour pl. 4, Colour pl. 5, Fig. 2

A remarkable find in the excavation of TT99 was the sandstone statue of Amenhotep, the main part of which came to light on 22 December 1993. The present restored statue is composed of five separate fragments: the body, the bulk of the head, two wig fragments, and a small piece of the body of the statue. The fragments were taken to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo in September 2002 for inclusion in the ‘Hidden Treasures’ exhibit which opened to coincide with the centenary of the museum. The statue was reassembled by the museum for this exhibit and has now been added to the permanent inventory of the museum as JE 99148.⁶⁵

From the identical title, this Amenhotep appears to be the same person as the owner of formerly lost tomb C.3, who was married to Senneferi’s daughter Renena (p. 19).

Description

Height as reconstructed 0.91 m, depth, 0.57 m, width 0.25 m. Sandstone with paint.

The details of the fragments of which the statue is composed are as follows, in the order in which they came to light:

99.93.0308.Body of statue.*Shaft E, layer 10. Sandstone.H 85, W 25, Depth 57.*

99.93.0542.Fragment.*Shaft E, layer 13. Sandstone.L 9.1, W 3.5, Th 2.8.*

A small fragment of the seat of the statue, with white paint still attached.

99.93.0308a.Fragment.*Shaft A, layer 08. Sandstone.L 15.0, W 10.0, Th 16.5.*

Principal part of head.

99.94.0002.Fragment.*Shaft A, Room 1, layer 12. Sandstone.L 13.0, W 7.5, Th 7.5.*

Bottom right of wig and bottom of right ear of statue.

99.94.0003.Fragment.*Shaft A, Room 1, layer 13. Sandstone.L 14.7, W 11.2, Th 6.0.*

Part of right hand side of the face of statue, consisting of part of the eye and eyebrow.

The fragments were thus found in Shaft E, Shaft A, and Shaft A, Room 1. The body and the fragment of the seat were in Shaft E, while the head was broken into three separate parts and located in Shaft A; these fragments were found in the course of two successive excavation seasons.

The following description relates to the statue as reassembled, and as such is almost complete. The different parts were conserved in the field by Julie Dawson; the following is taken from the 1993–1994 season report to the SCA:

The statue was generally in sound condition with the surviving pigment and varnish adhering strongly to the stone. The surface was covered in scattered efflorescences of insoluble salts and a thick layer of superficial dirt. The statue was brushed to remove loose dirt, then cleaned using very small quantities of filtered water (on varnished areas) and alcohol (on unvarnished painted areas) applied from cotton wool swabs. Some of the areas of insoluble salts were thinned mechanically with a scalpel. The statue was protected by covering with acid-free tissue paper and unbleached cotton fabric and was stored in a wooden crate. The head was packed separately in acid-free tissue and Plastazote (polyethylene foam) and stored in the same crate. [Two further fragments found the following season were conserved in the same fashion.]⁶⁶



Fig. 2: Text on statue of Amenhotep (99.93.0308)

The missing areas – much of the proper right arm, areas of the right lower leg, and right hand part of the base, the centre of the wig, and the front of the proper left side of the wig – probably were damaged as a result of the treatment of the statue before 1993. They are now either dust or unrecognisable among very small fragments of sandstone found in the tomb.

The owner is shown seated, on a cube throne with a small raised ‘cushion’. Extending to just below the top of the head is an uninscribed back pillar; a thin red line delineates the join of the body and the back pillar. The base of the statue is rounded at the front. His right arm is held against the side of his body, and the hand was

probably just above the right knee; his left arm is folded across his chest, and he holds a lily against his chest. The flower has blue/green petals with white space between them, and the bottom is yellow with black lines on it; the stalk is red-brown.

Despite the breaking of the head into three parts, the face is remarkably well preserved, and is quite striking with its black painted eyebrows and pupils, white cornea, and intact nose. Amenhotep wears a shoulder length striated wig, and a short black beard. The skin of his face, chest, left arm, ankles and feet is red-brown. Clothing takes the form of a white ankle-length kilt, and in addition over part of his kilt and over his left shoulder only is a white shawl or cloak which disappears into the back pillar, leaving the right side of his upper body bare. Across his chest above his left arm, the shawl/cloak is fringed with a simple pattern of thin red lines; below the arm the edge of the garment is marked with a single thin red line and slightly raised above the kilt. The edge of this shawl/cloak runs down to the ankles, and is visible just to the right of the vertical text.⁶⁷

A single column of text in sunk relief filled with blue paint runs down the lap and onto the top of the kilt.

*ḥtp di nswt wsir ḥnty m imntyw nb (n)ḥḥ ḥqj dt dif ḥt nbt nfrt wrbt
n k3 idnw n imy-r sḏwty imn-ḥtp*

An offering that the king gives and that Osiris gives, foremost among the Westerners, lord of eternity, ruler of the everlasting, so that he may give all perfect and pure things to the *ka* of the deputy of the overseer of seal-bearers, Amenhotep.

To summarise the colours used on the statue:

White: base, throne, robe, ‘negative space’ between the right side of the body and the right arm and the support for the beard, cornea, toenails.

Black: wig, beard, pupils, eyebrows, lily stem. There is a drip of black from the wig onto the back pillar.

Red-brown: skin

Red: edge of cloak and fringe, also line between rear of body and back pillar

Blue/green: body of lily, and bottom of its base

Yellow: base of lily

Blue: text; the paint now survives only at the bottom of the incised hieroglyphs

The back of the statue is unpainted.

The following notes on the technique are a mixture of my observations and those of Julie Dawson, who examined the statue very

closely in course of her conservation work. I am grateful to her for permitting them to be incorporated here.

A thin layer of gesso is used to give a painting surface on most of the body; it seems to be thicker on the wig. The red paint of the skin is on an inconsistent white ground. Blemishes in the stone were filled in, particularly on the head.

There are considerable traces of varnish on the statue: the largest concentrations are on the wig, on the face, on the white area behind the beard, on the chest, where it has run onto the top of the lily, in the white area between the ankles, in the white area between the right arm and the body, and for at least 1 cm on the body below the wig. There are isolated drops of this material in other places, such as between the feet, as if it dripped during application.

This varnish would appear to be the clear to yellow coloured material identified on various funerary objects and on wall paintings. In origin this type of material is thought to be a tree resin.⁶⁸ None of the sources yet examined mention varnish on painted statues.⁶⁹

The date of Amenhotep is considered on [p. 20](#) above.

Parallels and discussion

These topics are considered in a separate article.⁷⁰

Why was the statue in the tomb?

The tomb of Amenhotep (lost tomb C.3) is now known to be located a mere 60 m or so from TT99 (see [p. 20](#)). Two possibilities suggest themselves as to why the statue was in this tomb.

The first possibility is that the statue was originally placed in TT99. Amenhotep may have taken the apparently unusual step of commemorating himself in three dimensions in his father-in-law's tomb as he surely owed his advancement in his career and the prominent location of his tomb for a relatively lowly official to Senneferi.⁷¹ It may also explain why his wife Renena was also prominently, and unusually, named in the ceiling texts in tomb C.3.⁷² Perhaps he also played an important role in Senneferi's cult; unfortunately we know little about the placement of statuary of persons other than the tomb owner in these chapels.

The second suggestion is that the statue may originally have been in tomb C.3 and was moved there either in the 18th dynasty for cultic reasons or in more modern times by robbers, and for some reason it was never sold on. Further research on tomb C.3 is needed to know whether there are any grounds for such a theory.

The family connection of Amenhotep with Senneferi makes the first suggestion at least possible. Given the probability that all the shafts

inside TT99 were robbed in the 19th century AD, it is tempting to suggest that the statue was already then in a broken state, as otherwise it is difficult to imagine that it would not have been removed for sale, although even then it is perhaps surprising that it remained here in its relatively intact state. There is no evidence that it was attacked at a period very shortly after that at which it was set up, as any *damnatio memoriae* could be expected also to result in damage to the inscription. It is possible that it could have suffered at the hands of iconoclasts. Unfortunately we have little evidence left in context to learn of the fate of free-standing statues in tombs.

2.3 Monuments of Senneferi other than in TT99

2.3.1 Block statue in the British Museum, EA 48

Fig. 3

Provenance, see below. Granodiorite. Height of complete statue: 89.9 cm; height of figure without base: 70 cm. Maximum width: 37 cm.

This statue has been widely illustrated. PM II², 454 should be consulted for bibliography prior to 1972, of which the most important are Urk. IV, 544–548 (177) and Edwards, *British Museum. Hieroglyphic Texts* 8, 4–5, pl. V. The texts are translated into German in Blumenthal et al., *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, 121–123. See also now Schulz, *Entwicklung und Bedeutung*, 365–366, Taf. 94; Strudwick in Russmann, *Eternal Egypt*, 122–124 (46), and Strudwick, *Masterpieces*, 134–135. For discussion of its acquisition and early display by the museum, see Strudwick, *EDAL* 1 (2009), 113–119.

The so-called block or cube statue represents a squatting man with his robe pulled tightly over his knees. The earliest examples date from the Middle Kingdom, but they become particularly common in the Ramesside period and later. They were most commonly set up in temples, and the squatting style of representation, with arms crossed on top, is probably intended to express deference and devotion to god and king; the hands often hold symbols which are associated with regeneration and the afterlife, and of course the concept of being cloaked or wrapped in Egypt is linked to death and rebirth. The placing of statues in temples also would generally permit the owner's spirit to act as a passive participant in the rituals and partake of the offerings.⁷³

EA 48 is surely one of the finest examples of this form ever produced in Egypt. The form is uncomplicated, with the body shape rendered in smooth curves. No personal details other than the face and hands were carved by the sculptor, and this concentrates the attention on the superbly carved and polished serene face of Senneferi. The quality of the carving of the body is in sharp contrast

with the rather roughly scratched hieroglyphs which make up the text on the front and base. Why this is we can only speculate: perhaps the statue had to be completed in a rush, or perhaps the master craftsman completed his work with the body and left the text to one of his apprentices. Does the unusual presence of another name at the end of the text have any bearing on this (see further below)?

The large blank surfaces resulting from this style of statue presented the Egyptians with the chance to cover them with texts. Senneferi's texts are in three parts: most of the front of the statue is taken up with an elaborate prayer for funerary offerings for Senneferi, in which he is accorded an elaborate range of epithets which express his importance to the king, in addition to his basic set of titles. The second part, beginning on the robe over his knees and extending onto the base, consists of a speech in which Senneferi proclaims his own upright character. The third elements are the names of his father Haydjehuty and his mother Satdjehuty, in columns either side of his feet. The statue bears many titles and epithets not seen in the tomb.

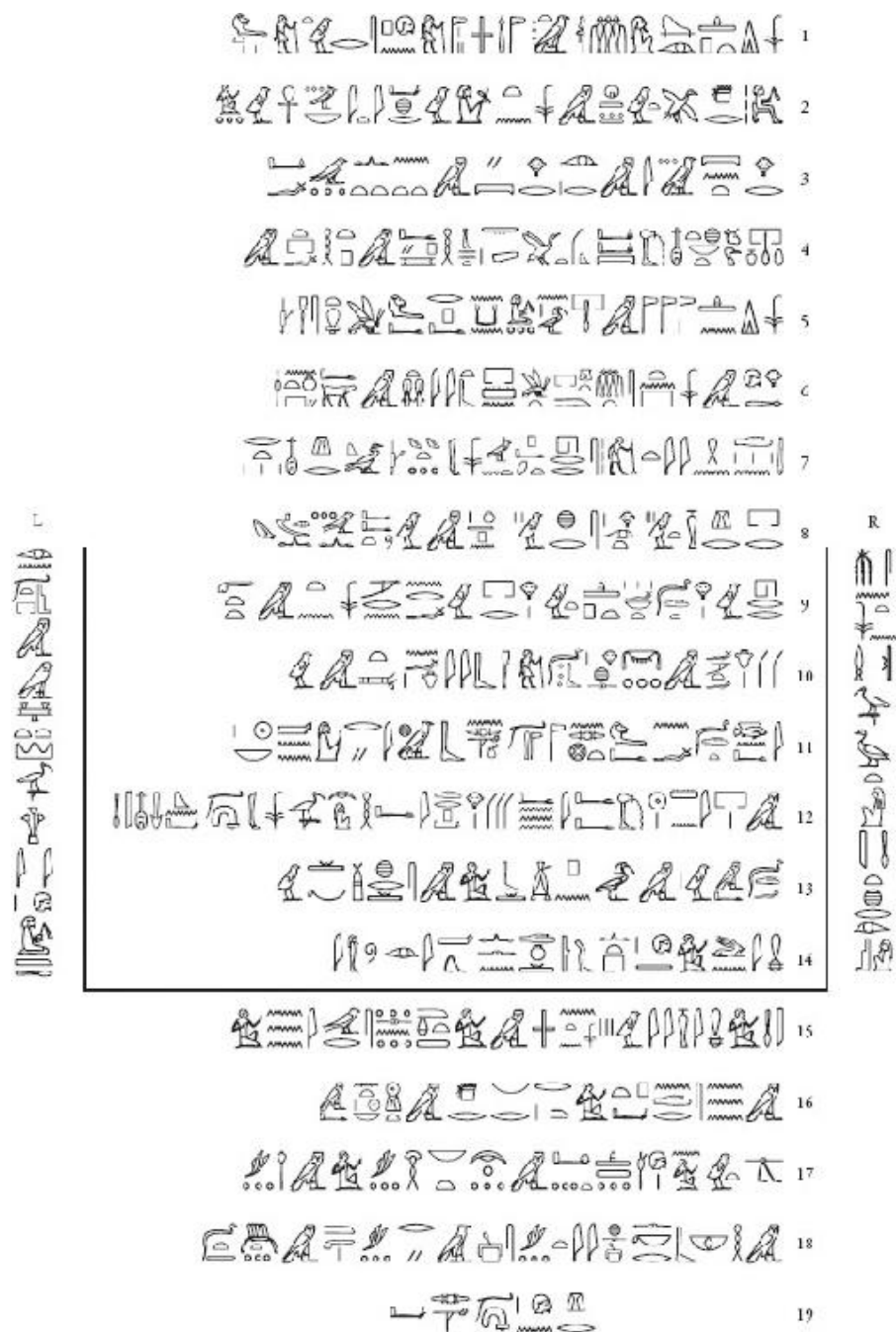


Fig. 3: Texts on statue BM EA 48 of Senneferi in normalised hieroglyphs

Date of accession to the British Museum

Some confusion exists as to the date the statue was acquired for the museum. The date of 1829 has been in the literature for many years. However, I have shown that the statue is without doubt part of Henry

Salt's first collection, and was acquired by the museum in 1823 with the rest of the collection, although there is evidence that it may have arrived earlier in the UK.⁷⁴

Provenance

The published provenance is 'From behind the Colossi at Thebes',⁷⁵ which is presumably based on the statement 'From behind the statue of Amenophis III or the so-called vocal Memnon' in the slips of Samuel Birch, which in turn comes from the first of the two lists of the collection of Henry Salt.⁷⁶ The second Salt list gives a slightly different version, that it came from a tomb shaft. How much we can rely on the provenances given by Salt for objects bought from the local antiquities diggers is open to question, although it does seem safe to say that it came from the West Bank.⁷⁷

It is physically possible for the statue to have fitted into the niche in the Rear room or Shrine of TT99,⁷⁸ but this type of statue is really a temple rather than a tomb type.⁷⁹ Schulz suggests that a West Bank provenance might equate with the funerary temple of Thutmose III,⁸⁰ and I feel this is perhaps the least unsatisfying of a poor set of possibilities. Could this be one of the objects to which Senneferi refers in [Text 9.1](#) on [p. 119](#), when receiving his funerary equipment? He refers to 'statues of august stone [which are intended for the temples...(r-pr)]', and the determinative to the word *twt* 'statue' in that text is unusual and looks just like a block statue such as this or CG 1112.

Texts

¹ *hṭp dī nswt wsir hnty-imntyw ntr ʿi imy ntrw sr tp(y) n swt^a hṭy^b*
² *špsw dr pwt t3 m nswt mnwlszw rhyt nb ʿnhw³ hry ntrw im tr*
r hry m ntt twt dīf^a prt-hrw t hngt kzw pḏw hī nbi nfr(t) wʿb(t)
dd(t) pt qmst t3 innt hʿpy m tpḥf m⁵ hṭp dī nswt n ntrw m prt-hrw
n šhw n k3 n hry pṯ hṭy-ʿ sḏswy bity smr wʿty⁶ hry-tp ʿi m pr nswt
shnt nst m pr bity mn tbt y m ʿhntwy wd⁷ mdw n šnyt shr pṯ rhyt
whm nswt sḏm sḏmw w⁸ ʿq hr nfrwt⁸ pr hr hzw hr irt shrw nw
t3 pn m wʿwt n m3 n sḏm⁹ hrw hr ddwt nbt hṭpw hr prw n rf
mr(y) n nswt m¹⁰ mtt ibf mrt(w)f m wʿb hr hzbd sr wby nf ib
tmw¹¹ in ddt nf hṭy-ʿ n hm<t> imy-r hm(w)-ntr n mnw gbtwy iry
wdnn r¹² nb¹² m pr imn-r^c wʿb ʿwy ʿ dbrw hr drp iḥ dḥwy whm
nswt imy-r sḏswy qn sn-nfr m3^c-hrw

An offering that the king gives and that Osiris gives, foremost of the Westerners, the Great God among the gods, the first official of officialdom, the foremost of the noble ones since the antiquity of the land in respect of the king, the herdsman/guardian of the *rekhyt*, lord of the living, in charge of 'those who are there', who acts (as) the mouth in charge of what is and what is not, that he may give invocation offerings of bread, beer, oxen and fowl, and all good and pure things which heaven gives and which the earth creates, that which Hapy brings from his

hole, in the form of an ‘offering that the king gives’ for the gods, in the form of an invocation offering for the *akh* spirits, (all) for the *ka* of the *iry pꜣt bity-r*, seal-bearer of the *bity*, sole companion, great chief in the house of the king, who promotes (his) place in the house of the *bity*, firm of sandals in the audience chamber, who judges for the courtiers, who makes the *pat* and the *rekhyt* content, the royal messenger, he who hears what is heard in private, who enters carrying perfect items and who exits bearing praise while making plans of this land in private, none seeing, none hearing, who is content with everything which he says, for one is satisfied with what has come forth from his mouth, beloved of the king in relation to his exactitude of heart (for) he is beloved in the manner of gold and lapis lazuli, an official to whom the heart is opened, who does not push aside that which is said to him: the mayor of Letopolis, overseer of priests of Min of Koptos, the supervisor of the daily offerings in the house of Amun-Re, pure of arms, clean of fingers, when he offers to the moon-god Thoth, the royal messenger, overseer of seal-bearers, the brave one, Sennefer, true of voice.

He speaks: Look, I am this *akh* spirit who repays (good) conduct, for I am prepared like a man who is upon earth; my character does not go astray; my form does not transgress, for my ‘trueness of voice’ is in accordance with the favours of the king; I eat their bread and beer and I drink their water. I am offered to daily at the side of the Lord of All. Look, one sends me commands of *hetep* and *henket* offerings in every month and my garland (is made of) garlic in the festival of Sokar and bryony and *srt*^e in the (divine) presence for the span of eternity.

The functionary of the overseer of the seal-bearers, Minnakht f.

Engendered of the overseer of the office in *wstt-hr* Haydjuhuty, true of voice

Born of the royal ornament Satdjehuty, true of voice in the sight of Osiris

any way connected with the observed roughness of the inscription when compared to the rest of the statue?

2.3.2 Pair statue, Egyptian Museum, Cairo, CG 1013

Fig. 4–Fig. 10

Provenance unknown, probably Thebes. Granodiorite. Height 39.5 (max.), width 31 (base, rear), depth 31 cm.⁸¹

PM I², 785: Borchardt, *Statuen* IV, 25–26, Bl. 160; text Bouriant, *RT* 9 (1887), 86 (58).

CG 1013 is the lower part of a pair statue in granodiorite broken at the base of the torso. The male figure (proper left) is seated wearing a long ankle-length cloak, wrapped across the front of the figure, and is relatively undamaged. There has been considerable damage to the female figure, of whom only the bottom of the long robe and the feet can be discerned. Borchardt's description of the statue speculates that the second figure is in fact another representation of Senneferi.

There are texts on the front of the man's robe, around the base of the statue, on the left and right sides of the seat, and on the back; the latter is particularly abraded. There appear to be a number of inaccuracies in Borchardt's copy of the text in the *Catalogue Général*.

Text on front of kilt of man (Fig. 4 (1))

*iry pꜣt hꜣty-ꜥ sꜥꜣwꜣty bity tꜣn m nswt imy-ib hr nb tꜣwy imy-r sꜥꜣwꜣty
sn-nfrꜣ mꜣ-hrw*

The *iry pꜣt hꜣty-ꜥ*, seal-bearer of the *bity*, one who is near to the king, one close to the heart of Horus, lord of the two lands, the overseer of seal-bearers, Senneferi, true of voice.

Text on proper left side of the seat (Fig. 4 (2))

*¹ hꜣp di nswt mut nbt pꜣt hry(t)-ib iꜣrw^{a2} ...w^b nn ꜣnw imf imꜣhy
nfr hr³ nswt swꜥ<t>/swꜥ<t> iꜣwt hr iꜣwꜣw ib hꜣp(w) m⁴ iꜣt nfrꜣ n
kꜣ n imy-r pr m pr imn sn-nfrꜣ mꜣ-hrw ///^c*

An offering that the king gives and that Mut gives, mistress of the sky, who dwells in Isheru, ... *w*, in whom there is no sadness/ stress, the one who is provided for perfectly in the sight of the king, who passes on the offices to the heir, whose heart rests in perfect old age, for the *ka* of the overseer of the house in the estate of Amun, Sennefer, true of voice ///

a. The space for a group immediately below the last signs given here is smooth, as if it were never used, but the area below seems to have been deliberately damaged.

b. Exactly how the following text up to *n kꜣ n* relates is presently unclear. Was another deity named at the bottom of the first column, although this seems odd given the smoothness after *iꜣrw*? The phrases employed are reminiscent of the style of epithets applied to New Kingdom officials as seen on this and EA 48 as part of their self-presentation and are not always part of the title strings, hence the unclear context. A limited search has revealed a parallel to *nn ꜣnw imf* on

the Memphite statue of the *imy-r pr wr* Amenhotep (reign of Amenhotep III), and there is a not dissimilar expression *swsdw tbt* in the next line of that statue text (both, Petrie, *Tarkhan I and Memphis V*, pl. LXXIX (47–49); Urk. IV, 1800, 15–17). And of course *imshy ... hr* is unlikely to be used to refer to anyone other than a private person.

c. The upper part of this area looks rather abraded rather than the recipient of deliberate damage, although there is more stone missing at the bottom.

Fragmentary text on proper right side of the seat (Fig. 4 (3))

At present this is too fragmentary to admit of interpretation.

Back of seat (Fig. 4 (4))

This text closely parallels lines 6–11 of that on BM EA 48 above, and restorations have been made from that source. The surface appears generally worn, making the signs more difficult to read, a problem which is only serious at the end of the last column.

¹ */// [hry-tp 3] m pr nswt shnt nst ² [m] pr bity mn tbt m c-hnwty*
wd ³ mdw n shyt shrr p^t rhyt whm nswt ⁴ sdm sdm w^c q hr nfrwt
pr hr hzwt hr irt sh^r ⁵ [w] nw t3 pn m w^c n ms n sdm hrr(w) ⁶ [hr
ddwt] f nbt htptw hr prw n rfmry n ⁷ [nswt] m mty ibf mrwtf m
nwb hr hzb^d sr ⁸ [wb]y nf ib tmw An ddt nf] ntrwy⁹ imy-r sdwtwy
sn-nfri ms-hrw

... [great chief] in the house of the king, who promotes (his) place [in] the house of the king of Lower Egypt, firm of sandals in the audience chamber, who judges for the courtiers, who makes the *p^t* and the *rhyt* content, the royal herald, who hears what is to be heard in private, who enters carrying what is good and who exits bearing praise concerning making the plans of this land in private, none seeing, none hearing, who is content [with everything] he [says], for one is satisfied with that which comes out of his mouth, beloved of [the king] in respect of the exactitude of his heart (for) he is beloved in the manner of gold and lapis, an official to whom the heart is opened, who does not [push aside that which the] two gods [say to him], the overseer of seal-bearers, Senneferi, true of voice.

1. Front



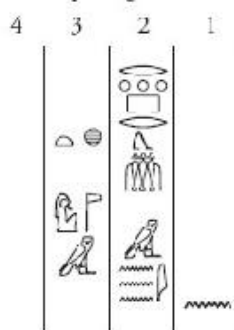
4. Back



2. Proper left side



3. Proper right side



Base

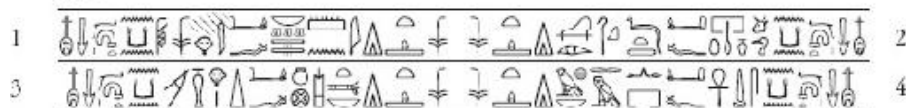


Fig. 4: Texts on statue Cairo CG 1013 in normalised hieroglyphs



Fig. 5: CG 1013, front



Fig. 6: CG 1013, front and part of proper right side



Fig. 7: CG 1013, back

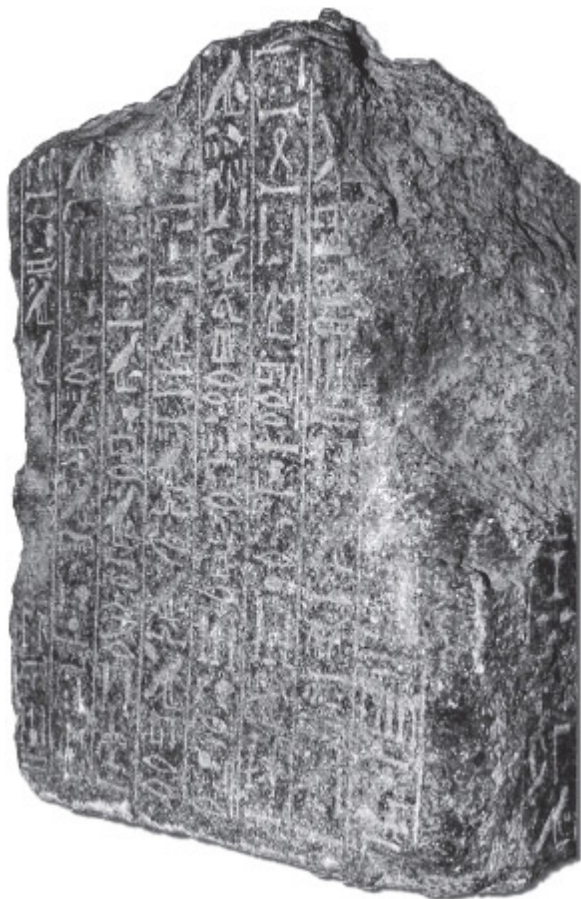


Fig. 8: CG 1013, back and part of proper right side



Fig. 9: CG 1013, proper right side and part of front



Fig. 10: CG 1013, proper left side

- a. Much of this text follows that on EA 48 closely, and yet here *nbt* appears to be replaced by *ntrwy*.

As indicated, the bulk of this text other than the beginning and end parallels the phraseology of EA 48. However, the writings on CG 1013 are generally more extensive, with more phonetic complements and determinatives, and the occasional deviation.

On the base (Fig. 4 (5))

¹ *hṭp di nswt imn nb nswt twy di f nḏm^r-ḥr šms nswt n k3 n imy-r
sḏswty sn-nfr*

An offering that the king gives and that Amun gives, lord of the thrones of the two lands, that he may give sweetness of face (in) the royal retinue, for the *ka* of the overseer of seal-bearers, Sennefer.

² *ḥtp di nswt wsir ḥqꜣ dt diḥ prt-ḥrw t ḥnqt knw ḥpdiw n kꜣ n imy-r
sḏswty sn-nfr*

An offering that the king gives and that Osiris gives, the ruler of eternity, that he may give invocation offerings of bread, beer, oxen and fowl for the *ka* of the overseer of seal-bearers, Sennefer.

³ *ḥtp di nswt tm nb iwnw diḥ spd-ḥr ḥz mr n kꜣ n imy-r sḏswty
sn-nfr*

An offering that the king gives and that Atum gives, lord of Heliopolis, that he may give sharpness of face, praise and love for the *ka* of the overseer of seal-bearers, Sennefer.

⁴ *ḥtp di nswt ḥr nb ḥm diḥ nḥ wdꜣ snb n kꜣ n imy-r sḏswty sn-nfr*

An offering that the king gives and that Horus gives, lord of Letopolis, that he may give life, prosperity and health for the *ka* of the overseer of seal-bearers, Sennefer.

^a I think this sign is  and not 

Borchardt suggests (without explanation) in a footnote dated 1933 in the *Catalogue Général* that it is a Middle Kingdom statue of someone with a similar name and title to Senneferi which the latter then reused. There are no known holders of the title *imy-r sḏswty* with this name in the Middle Kingdom, and my notes from examination of the statue indicate that I felt it was not of that period. The statue exhibits the variations in the writing of the owner's name as *sn-nfr* and *sn-nfri* which so characterise the monuments of the owner of TT99, whereas EA 48 consistently writes *sn-nfr*. Some of the damage on the statue does look suspiciously like erasure, particularly on the sides of the seat, adjacent to the legs of the figures, and, as observed, it is not damage which can easily be attributed to the Amarna period.

2.3.3 Fragment of a statue, Egyptian Museum, Cairo, CG 1112

Fig. 11–Fig. 15

Provenance unknown, probably Thebes. Granodiorite. Height (front) 33 max., width 32, depth 32 cm.⁸²

PM I², 785. Borchardt, *Statuen* IV, 64; Schulz, *Entwicklung und Bedeutung*, 230–231 (123). Photo in Roehrig, *The Eighteenth Dynasty titles*, 102–103, pl. 11.

The head and feet of this statue are missing, but the block body is more or less intact. This statue shows Senneferi holding the otherwise unknown prince Siamun.⁸³ Schulz is unsure as to the configuration, but points out that the arrangement of the hands makes it unlikely that the prince's head was depicted as on the engaged and free-standing statues of Senenmut and Neferure.⁸⁴ I concur with that view, believing it most likely that the broken section was the chin and beard

of the head of the statue's owner and that there was insufficient room for more than one head.

Roehrig observes that the names of Amun on the statue were damaged and later restored, suggesting that the statue was in some public place both before and after the Amarna period.⁸⁵ While there is some damage to the inscribed area, both hands on the top of the statue are also damaged, and it does not appear to me that the damage has been aimed specifically at the name of Siamun, as the damage resembles more a series blows to a larger circular area. These are, however, the only instances of the name of Amun on the statue, so if there is erasure it is as likely to be due to Akhenaten as anyone else.

See above [p. 15](#) for consideration of the titles on this statue. The texts are as follows:

On top of robe (twice repeated, facing each other):

iti mn't z3 nswt z3-imn imy-r sḏwtj sn-nfri

The father nurse of the king's son Siamun, the overseer of seal-bearers, Senneferi.



On front of robe:

An offering that the king gives and that Osiris gives, lord of Abydos, the Great God, ruler of eternity, that he may give invocation offerings of bread, beer, oxen and fowl and all perfect and pure things on which a god lives daily for the *ka* of the *iry pr bity-r*, seal bearer of the *bity*, sole companion, beloved god's father, chief of the entire land, one who is vigilant, there is no overpowering him in sleep in respect of the plans of Horus, lord of the two lands, the two eyes of the king in the cities of Upper Egypt, his two ears in the nomes of Lower Egypt, prosperous of hands, exact of heart, for whom there is no making a second chance in relation to the ?unseeing? people ///



Fig. 12: CG 1112, top



Fig. 13: CG 1112, front



Fig. 14: CG 1112, proper right side



Fig. 15: CG 1112, front and proper left side

- a. The CG entry misreads ꜥ as 𓂏 with a stroke.
- b. The ending of this line is less than clear due to the missing base. The last word does appear to be written špš with a rectangular sign under 𓂏. Is it šp ‘blind’ or similar (Wb. IV, 443) or an error for —○— giving šps?

This statue does not just bear the only example of this title of ‘father nurse’ held by Senneferi, but it also gives a number of epithets not seen on the other monuments. It seems likely that this particular statue represents an aspect of Senneferi’s career not documented elsewhere, and so perhaps these epithets are associated with the role of nurse or tutor. No particular similarity of texts is however evident in the statues of contemporary tutors given by Roehrig.⁸⁶

2.3.4 Fragment of block statue, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien ÄS 5978

Fig. 16

Provenance unknown; bought by J. Krall in Egypt in 1885. Granodiorite. Height 14, width 19.7, depth 19 cm.

PM VIII, 621 (801-643-620). Rogge, *Statuen des neuen Reiches und der dritten Zwischenzeit*, 22–24; Schulz, *Entwicklung und Bedeutung*, 533 (328), Taf. 137b.

Part of a block statue, with the left hand held flat on the top, and the

beginning of the robe passing over the knees; on the front are parts of inscriptions. The latter consist of the ends of two horizontal lines, below which are seven vertical columns. The two horizontal lines read:

Top line: */// mn m pr*

///^a

Lower line: */// m ḥ^b imy-r sḏwty qn n nswt sn-nfr*

/// in the palace, the overseer of seal-bearers, the brave one of the king, Sennefer

a. Possibly an offering formula, ending with ‘[that my name] be established in the house’?

b. With the preceding plural word this could perhaps have been *[ḥry-tp smr]w m ḥ*, very similar to *ḥry-tp smrw ḥ* in TT99 (Ceiling text 9 on p. 158).

Each of the columns below begins with the identical text *ḏḏfiw mn(i)* ‘He says: “I have seen...”’. Only three columns give any idea of their original content, one perhaps beginning *n*, another *b3*? and the last *b3*, either ‘introduce, initiate’ or ‘secret’. Rogge suggests in her edition that it is perhaps an otherwise unknown litany text.

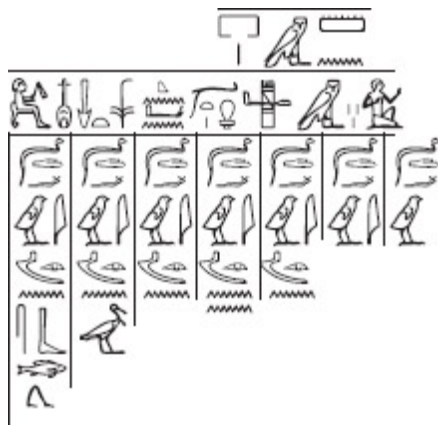


Fig. 16: Texts on Wien ÄS 5978 in normalised hieroglyphs

2.3.5 Shrine 13 at Gebel Silsila

Fig. 17

Caminos and James, *Gebel es-Silsilah I*, 37–39, pl. 26, 27, 30, 31.

Shrine 13 at Gebel Silsila is one of a group of six belonging respectively to Minnakht (no. 12 [TT87⁸⁷]), Senneferi, Nehsy (no. 14⁸⁸), Hepusoneb (no. 15 [TT67⁸⁹]), Senenmut (no. 16 [TT71/353⁹⁰]) and Useramun (no. 17 [TT61/131⁹¹]). All these officials date to the reigns of Hatshepsut–Thutmose III, and will have been to varying extents contemporaries of Senneferi, in particular Minnakht and

Useramun.

The shrine consists of a rectangular chamber, originally with statues in the western wall; much of the original decoration has disappeared. However, the inscriptions on the lintel of Shrine 13 originally bore the cartouches of Hatshepsut, which were recut into those of Thutmose III.⁹² References to Amun have also been excised, presumably during the Amarna Period. Helck has argued that Senneferi usurped the shrine and the cartouches may not be relevant for dating.⁹³ This was considered further above in § 2.1.4. The texts may also make reference to a son (p. 19).

The following texts on the lintel and jamb pertain to Senneferi:⁹⁴

¹ */// mr[ht?] n [k3] n imy-r s[3]swty whm nswt sn-nfri m[3]-brw ... merhet oil* for the *[ka]* of the overseer of seal-bearers, royal messenger, Senneferi, justified.

² */// [ht nbt] nfrt w[3]bt n k3 n imy-r s[3]swty qn sn-nfri m[3]-brw ... [all] perfect and pure [things] for the ka of the overseer of seal-bearers, the brave one, Senneferi, justified.*



Fig. 17: Shrines 12–17 at Gebel Silsila, with Shrine 13 marked

2.3.6 Stela from Serabit el-Khadim (199)

Exact provenance unknown. Sandstone.

Gardiner, Peet and Černý, *Inscriptions of Sinai* I², pl. LXV (199); Černý, *Inscriptions of Sinai* II, 161–162 (199) (the side of the stela bearing the text of Senneferi (face B) is not in the first edition of *The Inscriptions of Sinai*). See also Hikade, *Expeditionswesen*, 164 (15).

This broken stela depicts Thutmose III on Face A offering to Hathor; the king stands at the right facing left, wearing the blue crown. Face B shows a figure of Senneferi standing at the left, his arms at his sides,

with four columns of text before him; above are a *shen* ring and ∇ vessel flanked by *wedjat* eyes. There appear to be no substantive hieroglyphs missing at the bottom of the columns, other than possibly a preposition at the bottom of 3), and thus the titles are effectively complete.

¹ *iry p^t hsty-^c sdswty bity smr w^tty* ² *r m ts r drf mh-ib n hr m h[.f]*

³ *q r hst pr hr ph hz[w ... s]* ⁴ *hrwf imy-r sdswty sn-nfr whm nh*

The *iry p^t hsty-^c*, seal bearer of the *bity*, sole companion, the mouth in the whole land, the trusted one of Horus in the/ his palace, who enters first and comes out last, one praised [on account of] his plans, the overseer of seal-bearers, Sennefer, may he repeat life

a *iry p^t* in this text is written with an extra *t*, as in the other Sinai inscriptions here.

This monument and the next are considered to have belonged to Senneferi, even though one face depicts Thutmose III. Without doubt, it was set up by Senneferi as part of his mission(s) to Sinai as a private monument within the temple complex. The temple scene § 2.4.2 is a monument of Thutmose, doubtless commissioned by Senneferi but in which he is the subordinate figure.

2.3.7 A second stela from Serabit el-Khadim (71.93)

Found in front of the pylon of Thutmose III in the temple. Sandstone.

Giveon, *Tel Aviv* 1 (1974), 106–107, pl. 20; Hikade, *Expeditionswesen*, 164–165 (16).

A further sandstone stela of Senneferi was found during work at Serabit el-Khadim in 1971. The stela is very similar in composition to that just described: Face A also shows Thutmose offering to Hathor, but this time the king is on the left-hand side of the stela, wearing the nemes headdress. Face B shows Senneferi standing at the left again, this time with his arms raised in adoration. In front of him are three columns of text, with his name written horizontally, but without his principal title *imy-r sdswty*. At the top are the same *shen* ring, ∇ vessel, and *wedjat* eyes as before.

¹ *iry p^t hsty-^c sdswty bity smr w^tty r [m]* ² *ts r drf mh-ib n hr m prf*

[q] ³ *r hst pr hr phwy hzw n nb twy ?* ⁴ *sn-nfr whm nh*

The *iry p^t hsty-^c*, seal-bearer of the *bity*, sole companion, the mouth in the whole land, the trusted one of Horus in his house, [who enters] first and comes out last, the favoured one of the lord of the two lands ?, Sennefer, may he repeat life

The similarity of the layout and style of both stelae from Serabit el-Khadim is apparent, and they presumably formed a pair in the temple, although Giveon speculates that one might have been a rejected

item.⁹⁵ Their style is also similar to that of Sinai relief 194 showing Senneferi with Thutmose III (p. 34 below), and it is reasonable to assume that all three were made on the same visit; note also that all three texts write the title *iry p^{rt}* with an additional final *t*.

Stela 71.93 does not, however, bear the title *imy-r s_dswty*, while Stela 199 does. This may perhaps support Giveon's idea of it being a reject, although why the orientation of the two stelae is different would then be very unclear. This may also explain the closeness of *mḥ-ib n ḥr m prf* and *mḥ-ib n ḥr m ḥf*

2.4 Senneferi on other monuments or documents

2.4.1 Papyrus Louvre E 3226

Megally, *Le papyrus hiératique comptable E. 3226 du Louvre*, 17, pl. XI, LXV (A recto XI, 3–4); 24, pl. XXVI, LXIX (A verso XI, 3–4); id., *Recherches sur l'économie*, 159, 161–162, 223, 279–281. The date at the top of the columns is presumed to be in the reign of Thutmose III.

An almost identical text appears on both the recto and the verso of this papyrus.

mpt zp 32 ... šbd 1 šht sw 1 rdyt m gbtjw m ššr imy-r s_dswty sn-nfr
it ḥqst 187.5 ḥr

Year 32 ... First month of the akhet season, day 1, given from Koptos as the grain of the overseer of seal-bearers, Sennefer, 187.5 *khar* measured in (quadruple) heqat

The writing is almost identical in both examples, except that the verso omits the signs  in the specification of the measure.

Unfortunately the nature of these transactions is not stated. Megally considers two possibilities, that these are taxes and dues collected from the estates of Senneferi, or perhaps more likely revenues which were levied by Senneferi and which are then being collected on his behalf.⁹⁶ Nonetheless, this document is extremely important due to the date for Senneferi which it provides. It also refers to a number of his contemporaries, to some of whom we have occasion to refer in this publication, including the overseer of the double granary Minnakht (TT87) and the vizier Rekhmire (TT100), both of whom are mentioned in years ranging from 31 to 34.⁹⁷ The implications of this document for the dating and career of Senneferi are considered above on p. 17 and p. 16.

2.4.2 Scene in the temple of Serabit el-Khadim (194)

Gardiner, Peet and Černý, *Inscriptions of Sinai* I², pl. LXIII; Černý, *Inscriptions of Sinai* II, 158–159 (194). Photo Petrie, *Researches in Sinai*, pl. 96, p. 80. See also

A figure of Senneferi is shown behind that of Thutmose III, on the outer face of the south half of the pylon of the temple. This scene is now lost but it showed Thutmose adoring Hathor. The orientation of the texts is unusual in that they are inscribed in the opposite orientation to the figures to which they apply. The inscription which accompanies Senneferi's figure reads:

iry pṯ^a ḥṣty-^c [sdṣwty bity?] smr wṯty imy-r sdṣwty sn-nfr wḥm nḥ

The *iry pṯ ḥṣty-^c*, [seal-bearer of the *bity?*], sole companion, overseer of seal bearers, Sennefer, may he repeat life.

a *iry pṯ* in this text has an extra *t*, as in the other Sinai inscriptions here.

2.4.3 Wadi Hammamat inscription 103

Couyet–Montet, *Ouadi Hammamat*, 103 (203); Hikade, *Expeditionswesen*, 37, 196 (97).

This reference is given only in typeset hieroglyphs in the publication:

iry pṯ ḥṣty-^c ? imy-r ḥṣt (nbt) n nbw imn nḥt sn-nfr

The *iry pṯ ḥṣty-^c*, the overseer ? of (every) gold land of Amun, the strong one, Sennefer.

Hikade suggests that this might be a reference to Senneferi sent out to carry out a mining commission; he observes that this is the earliest reference to a New Kingdom expedition. Senneferi may have been on an expedition to the wadi, but he could also have been passing through on his way to the Red Sea and Sinai or even Lebanon, since he clearly visited those places if the scenes in his tomb and the presence of other monuments are to be believed.

2.4.4 Theban tomb C.3

In the 1880s, Karl Piehl came across the tomb of Amenhotep, a deputy overseer of seal-bearers, in which a woman named Renena, presumably his wife, is called the daughter of the overseer of seal-bearers, Sennefer (*imy-r sdṣwty sn-nfr*).⁹⁸ The location of the tomb, usually referred to as lost tomb C.3, is considered further above [p. 20](#).

2.5 Uncertain possible references

2.5.1 Karnak

Luc Gabolde has informed me (personal communication 9/12/94) that there may be some fragments in the Sheikh Labib magazine at Karnak bearing the name of a Senneferi.

2.5.2 Hildesheim, Römer und Pelizaeus Museum 5810

Schulz, *Entwicklung und Bedeutung*, 157, Taf. 34a–b, 35a (073).

Schulz wishes to identify this statue with Senneferi. It is presently unclear if this attribution is correct.

2.6 Summary list of titles and epithets of Senneferi

Titles and epithets are not further distinguished here as (see above, § 2.1.2.1). Minor differences in orthography and spelling of the same entry are ignored in the list; [] indicates a restored phrase or source. The sources not from TT99 are referred to by the names of the monuments used in this chapter; those in TT99 are referred to by text numbers, object type or by TT99 chapel scene designations (such as False door, Stela, Scene 18). References to the collection of epithets by Guksch have been made where they could be located.

swt-ib n ///Text BE. 1

*imy ḥ*Text BE.1

*imy-ib*Text BE.1

*imy-ib pw n nb tswy*Ceiling text 10

*imy-ib n ntr nfr*Text BN.1

*imy-ib hr nb tswy*CG 1013

*imy-r shwt nt imn*Ceiling text 9 (see also *imy-r ḥwt* below)

*imy-r ḥ whm*Text 1.2, Ceiling text 5, Ceiling text 9

*imy-r ḥwt nt imn*Text 12.2, Ceiling text 5 (see also *imy-r shwt* above)

*imy-r pswt hnnwt [nbt]*Papyrus roll 2

*imy-r pr m pr imn*CG 1013

*imy-r pr n nswt*Ceiling text 6

*imy-r hmw-ntrw n mnw gbtw*EA 48, Papyrus roll 2 (?)

*imy-r hmw-ntrw n ntrw nbw*Text 1.2, Ceiling text 6, Ceiling text 9

imy-r hmw-ntrw n ḥr ///Text 12.1

*imy-r hmw-ntrw n sbk n inpw*Text 12.2

*imy-r hmw-ntrw n tm*Ceiling text 5

[*imy-r hmw-ntrw*] *hr nb msn*Text 12.1

imy-r hmw-ntrw ///Text 13.1

*imy-r hs m ht nbt*Text 1.2

*imy-r hswt (nbt) nwb nt imn*Wadi Hammamat inscription 103, Text 1.2, Text BN.1,

Ceiling text 5, Ceiling text 6, Ceiling text 9, Mummy shroud

*imy-r sdswty*EA 48, CG 1013, CG 1112, Wien ÄS 5978, Louvre E 3226, Tomb C.3, Silsila shrine 13, Sinai stela 199, Sinai relief 194, Text 1.1, Text 1.2, Text 2, False door, [Stela], Text 6.2, Text 7.4, Text 9.1, Text 12.1, Text 12.2, Text 15.1, Text 15.2, Text 16.1, Text 16.2, Text 16.4, Text AE.1, [Text AW.1], Text BN.1, Ceiling text 2, Ceiling text 3, Ceiling text 5, Ceiling text 6, Ceiling text 7, Ceiling text 8, Ceiling text 9, Ceiling text 10, Funerary cones DM (Davies and Macadam) 93 and 154, Mummy shroud, Papyrus roll 1, Stone vessel A, Box fragments, Coffins

*imy-r sdswty n nswt*Papyrus roll 3

*imy-r sdswtyw*Mummy shroud

imy-r šwt nšmt [Ceiling text 5](#)

imy-r šnwty [Text 12.2](#)

imy-r ///⁹⁹[Text 1.1](#), False door, [Ceiling text 7](#)

inq tšwy n nb ḥ [Text 12.1](#)

try wdnn r^c nb m pr imn-r^c [EA 48](#)

iry p^r [EA 48](#), [CG 1013](#), [CG 1112](#), Sinai stela 199, Sinai stela 71.93, Sinai relief 194, Wadi Hammamat inscription 103, Text 2, False door, [Text 4.2](#), [Stela], [Text 6.1](#), [Text 7.4](#), [Text 7.7](#), [Text 9.1](#), [Text 12.1](#), [Text 13.1](#), [Text 16.1](#), [Text AE.1](#), [Text AS.1](#), [Text AW.1], [Text BE.1](#), [Text BN.1](#), [Text BW.1](#), [Ceiling text 2](#), [Ceiling text 3](#), [Ceiling text 8](#), [Ceiling text 10](#), Funerary cones DM 93 and 154

ir mšwt mkḥz isfwt zpf nb [Text 12.1](#)

irr ḥzwt psdt ʿt¹⁰⁰ [Ceiling text 5](#)

irr ḥnt [Text 12.1](#)

irty nswt m niwyt šm^w ḥḥwyf m spst tš-mḥw¹⁰¹ [CG 1112](#)

iti mn^t zš nswt zš-imn [CG 1112](#)

iti ntr mry [CG 1112](#)

ʿ m sḥf [Stela](#), [Ceiling text 2](#) (may be paired with *wr m ištḥ*)

ʿwy mnḥ zp sn nb tšwy [Text 12.1](#)

q r ḥst pr ḥr pḥ [Sinai stela 199](#), Sinai stela 71.93

q ḥr nfrwt pr ḥr ḥzwt¹⁰² [Text BE.1](#)

q ḥr nfrwt pr ḥr ḥzwt ḥr irt šḥrw nw tš pn m w^cwt n mš n sḏm [EA 48](#), [CG 1013](#)

q /// [Text BW.1](#)

w^c n ḥr imy /// [Text BE. 1](#)

w^c rs-tp [CG 1112](#)

wḥb ʿwy i^c ḏḥw ḥr drp iḥ ḏḥwy [EA 48](#)

wḥwy nswt [Text 12.1](#), [Text 14.1](#) (?)

wr wrw m tš r ḏrf [Text 13.1](#) (could be the same as next)

wr wrw m tš r ḏrf i^c nš špsw nswt rmm¹⁰³ [Text 12.1](#)

wr m ištḥ [Ceiling text 2](#) (may be paired with ʿ m sḥf)

wr ḥzwt m pr nswt¹⁰⁴ [Text AE.1](#)

wr /// [Text 12.1](#)

wḥm nswt [EA 48](#), [CG 1013](#), Silsila shrine 13, Stela, [Text BN.1](#), Mummy shroud

wḏ mdw n šnyt [EA 48](#), [CG 1013](#)

wḏš drty [CG 1112](#)

pḥ iḥw m išt tn mnḥ [Text AE.1](#)

mn ḥzwt ʿ mrwt¹⁰⁵ [Text BE.1](#)

mn iḥty m ḥ-ḥnwty¹⁰⁶ [EA 48](#), [CG 1013](#)

mr(y) n nswt ḥz(y) n biṭy n ʿt n mnḥtf ḥry-ib¹⁰⁷ [Text 16.1](#)

mry n nswt m mtt ibf mrttwf m nwb ḥr ḥzbd¹⁰⁸ [EA 48](#), [CG 1013](#)

mry nb tšwy [Ceiling text 3](#), Mummy shroud

mḥ-ib n nswt ḥt tšwy¹⁰⁹ [Ceiling text 8](#)

mḥ-ib n nswt /// [Stela](#)

mḥ-ib n nb tšwy [False door](#), [Stela](#), [Text 7.4](#)

mḥ-ib n ḥr m ḥf [Sinai stela 199](#) (perhaps a variant of the next?)

mḥ-ib n ḥr m prf [Sinai stela 71.93](#)

mḥ-ib ?Papyrus roll 2

mty ḥsty [CG 1112](#)

n šm nf m qdd ḥr šḥrw nb tšwy [CG 1112](#)

n šm^cf s/// [EA 48](#)

nn i^c nf zp sn m rmt špš [CG 1112](#)

nḥt [Wadi Hammamat inscription 103](#)

*r m t3 r drf*¹¹⁰[Text BE.1](#), Sinai stela 199, Sinai stela 71.93
r n nswt nḥwy n bity[Text BN.1](#), [Ceiling text 10](#); see comment on *irty nswt* ... above,
 and general comments on [p. 14](#)
r ḥry m [ntt twt][Text 12.2](#)
r shrr m t3 r drf[Text AE.1](#), BE.1, Funerary cone DM 93
hr n ///[Text 12.1](#)
*hrrw hr ddwtf nbt ḥtpw hr prw n rf*EA 48, CG 1013
ḥsty-ᶜ [as honorific with *iry pᶜt*]EA 48, CG 1013, CG 1112, Sinai stela 199, Sinai stela
 71.93, Sinai relief 194, Wadi Hammamat inscription 103, [[Text 1.1](#)], Text 2,
 False door, [Text 4.2](#), Stela, [Text 6.1](#), [Text 7.4](#), [Text 7.7](#), [Text 9.1](#), [Text 12.1](#), [Text](#)
[13.1](#), [Text 16.1](#), [Text AE.1](#), [Text AW.1](#), [Text AS.1](#), [Text BE.1](#), [Text BN.1](#), [[Text](#)
[BW.1](#)], [Ceiling text 2](#), [Ceiling text 3](#), [Ceiling text 8](#), [Ceiling text 10](#), Funerary
 cones DM 93 and 154
ḥsty-ᶜ [as ‘mayor’ or similar, without *iry pᶜt*][Text 1.2](#), [Text 12.1](#), [Text 12.2](#), [Text 13.1](#),
[Ceiling text 5](#)
*ḥsty-ᶜ n ḥm*EA 48
*ḥry-tp 3 m pr nswt*EA 48, CG 1013
ḥry-tp n 3t nbt[Ceiling text 5](#)
ḥry-tp nw ḥstyw-ᶜ[Text 12.2](#)
*ḥry-tp smrw ḥ*¹¹¹[Ceiling text 9](#)
*ḥry-tp n t3 r drf*CG 1112
*ḥḥ 3ḥt*¹¹²[Text 12.1](#)
ḥzy n ntr nfr[Text 9.1](#)
ḥzy ... [Text 1.1](#)
*ḥzw n nb twy*Sinai stela 71.93
*ḥtpw hr prw n rf*EA 48, CG 1013
sṛ mdw-sn[Text BE.1](#)
*smr 3 n mrwt*False door, [Text AE.1](#), [Text AW.1](#), [Text BN.1](#)
*smr wᶜty*EA 48, CG 1112, Sinai stela 199, Sinai stela 71.93, Sinai relief 194, [[Text](#)
[4.2](#)], [Text 13.1](#), [Text 16.1](#), [Text AS.1](#), [Text BE.1](#), [Ceiling text 3](#), [Ceiling text 10](#),
 Funerary cones DM 93 and 154
*sr wby nf ib*¹¹³EA 48, CG 1013, [Text AE.1](#)
sr m ḥst rhyt[Ceiling text 2](#)
*shrr pᶜt rhyt*EA 48, CG 1013
*shnt nst m pr bity*EA 48, CG 1013
shntf hnt rhyt n 3t n mnḥf ḥry-ib[Text BE.1](#)
sšm ḥb n ntrw nbw twnw[Ceiling text 5](#)
sšm ḥb n tmr[Text 1.2](#), False door
*sḏswty bity*EA 48, CG 1013, CG 1112, Sinai stela 199, Sinai stela 71.93, [Sinai relief
 194], [Text 4.2](#), [Text 16.1](#), [Text BE.1](#), [Text BN.1](#), [Ceiling text 10](#), Funerary cones
 DM 93 and 154
*sḏm sḏmt wᶜ*¹¹⁴EA 48, CG 1013, False door
*sḏr rsu-ḥr*¹¹⁵[Text 12.1](#)
sḏsrf 3w ///[Text 12.1](#)
*qn*EA 48, Silsila shrine 13
*qn n nswt*Wien ÄS 5978
*tmw in ddt nf nbt*¹¹⁶EA 48, CG 1013
*tkn m nswt*CG 1013

¹Both writings form part of the same entry in Ranke, *PN I*, 309 (5).

²Personal communication made on a visit to TT99 in the mid-1990s, reiterated in email in July 2013, for which I thank him greatly. See further Loprieno, *Ancient Egyptian*, 38 (3.5.1); also, Allen, *The Ancient Egyptian language*, 40.

³Urk. IV, 1431.15.

⁴cf. PM I², 201 (31).

⁵I should like to thank Laurent Bavy for his continual help with matters pertaining to TT96. He has indicated to me that these sandstone blocks may have come from an earlier design of the frame to the doorway of the chapel.

⁶Doxey, *Egyptian non-royal epithets in the Middle Kingdom*, 1 also recognises the difficulty of separating the two; she describes an epithet as ‘consisting of words or phrases describing in laudatory fashion the qualities or attributes of the person responsible for commissioning the text’ (loc. cit.).

⁷Guksch, *Königsdienst*, particularly pp 1–7 and 101–105.

⁸Due to the ubiquity of the pair *iry pꜣt hꜣty-ꜣ* and the difficulty of finding a compact translation, in the presentation of texts in this and other chapters, I leave these as *iry pꜣt hꜣty-ꜣ*, but have done my best to translate all other titles.

⁹See for example the comments on Minnakht (TT87) in Guksch, *Nacht-Min*, 17.

¹⁰The only similar title I have encountered in the cult of Min is that of *imy-r hmw-ntr mnw nb ipw*, referring to Min of Akhmim (not Koptos as in Helck, *Materialien*, 163). The holder is a Ramesside official also named Sennefer (Berlin 21595, *Ägyptische Inschriften aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin* II, 398).

¹¹See comments on this title in Dziobek, *Ineni*, 131–134.

¹²*ḥwt* as a term for cultivated land is probably a variant of the more common *ḥwt*, although in TT99 it appears twice as opposed to *ḥwt*’s once: van den Boorn, *The Duties of the Vizier*, 153–157.

¹³Papyrus roll 3 gives the title as *imy-r sꜣswty n nswt* (below, p. 174); on the shroud it is written once as *imy-r sꜣswtyw* (p. 176).

¹⁴Helck, *Verwaltung*, 77–88; Schmitz, *LÄ V*, 539–543; Bryan in Dziobek and Abdel Raziq, *Sobekhotep*, 81.

¹⁵For example, in the New Kingdom: the *imy-r sꜣswty* Nehsy was ordered by Hatshepsut to organise her Punt expedition (Urk. IV, 354.15–17), while the tomb of Sobekhotep contains many scenes relating to tribute (TT63, Dziobek and Abdel Raziq, *Sobekhotep*, for example Taf. 33).

¹⁶Quirke, in Manuelian (ed.), *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, II, 668–669; Loret, *RT* 38 (1916), 61–68. The four categories of creatures encompassed by these titles can appear in various combinations with *imy-r*. Another New Kingdom holder of one is Senemiah (Urk. IV, 514.10); three are held by Ahmose, the father of Senneferi’s son-in-law Amenhotep (Piehl, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques I*, CXLI (η)). These titles are also held by Re (TT201: Redford and Redford, *The Tomb of Re’a (TT201)*, 24).

¹⁷Davies, *El Amarna* VI, pl. XXVII (col 5); see Wb. III, 288.6.

¹⁸Jones, *An index of ancient Egyptian titles*, 183.

¹⁹*LÄ IV*, 1089.

²⁰Bryan, in Dziobek and Abdel Raziq, *Sobekhotep*, 82–84.

²¹It is not mentioned in, for example, Helck, *Verwaltung*, 153–155, 384–389; Dziobek, *Denkmäler des Vezirs User-Amun*, 133; Guksch, *Nacht-Min*, 18–19.

²²Dziobek and Abdel Raziq, *Sobekhotep*, 40–41, Taf. 5b; Bryan in *ibid.*, 86.

²³Various other holders of this title are found in this area of Sheikh Abdel Qurna; see the list and discussion in Redford and Redford, *The Tomb of Re’a (TT201)*, 29–35 and Pardey, in Aksamit et al., *Essays Lipińska*, 377–397.

²⁴Valloggia, *Recherche sur les “messagers”*, 241–251.

- ²⁵*The Eighteenth Dynasty titles*, 322–327, especially p. 322, n. 54.
- ²⁶Ahmose Pennekhbet, Meryre and Sebekhotep: Helck, *Verwaltung*, 82. See also Drenkhahn, *LÄ* IV, 1106.
- ²⁷This general description developed out of the research I undertook for *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom*.
- ²⁸Megally, *Recherches sur l'économie*, 274–281.
- ²⁹This title (or conceivably epithet) is also held only by the highest officials of state: see Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft*, 103.
- ³⁰I must make the obligatory caveat that the damaged state of TT99 means that further examples could well have been lost and distort the following comments.
- ³¹Bryan, in Dziobek and Abdel Raziq, *Sobekhotep*, 81–88.
- ³²Discussions of his career will also be found in Kees, *Priestertum*, 35–37 and Helck, *Verwaltung*, 348–351.
- ³³See note to the translation on p. 127.
- ³⁴*LA* V, 946–947.
- ³⁵Senneferi seems to use the term *ḥwt* to indicate career stages more than his contemporaries; for example it is only occasionally used by Rekhmire (e.g. *Urk.* IV, 1151.13). The 6th dynasty inscription of Weni uses it much more to describe the owner's earlier career (*Urk.* I, 98–99).
- ³⁶Dziobek conveniently surveys the major officials of this time in his account of Useramun (*Denkmäler des Vezirs User-Amun*, 132–142).
- ³⁷Helck, *Verwaltung*, 350–351. The tomb of Nehsy has since been found at Saqqara (Zivie, in Bergman, Borghouts and Brunon (eds), *Mélanges Adolphe Gutbub*, 245–252).
- ³⁸*Recherches sur l'économie*, 279–281.
- ³⁹Helck, *GM* 43 (1981), 39–41. This has been followed by Roehrig, *The Eighteenth Dynasty titles*, 95–104.
- ⁴⁰Dziobek, *Denkmäler des Vezirs User-Amun*, 134–135.
- ⁴¹Notably the graffito in Habachi, *JNES* 16 (1957), 99–104, and the Sinai inscription in *Urk.* IV, 886.
- ⁴²Černý, *Hieratic Inscriptions from the Tomb of Tut'ankhamun*, 1–4.
- ⁴³*BIFAO* 96 (1996), 370–375. Further relevant work by Tallet on jar inscriptions includes articles in Eyre (ed.), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists*, 1125–1133; in Grimal and Menu (eds), *Le commerce en Égypte ancienne*, 241–267.
- ⁴⁴In his discussion of the jar labels from the tomb of Maya at Saqqara, van Dijk suggested that wine could have been a prime candidate for tomb robbery (*GM* 127 (1992), 27–28). This does perhaps assume too much that the wine needed to be drinkable when buried, although one does then wonder why the product was stolen.
- ⁴⁵Bohleke has discussed with me the possibility that the different year dates in TT99 might relate to the different burials in the 18th dynasty underground chambers (see p. 77). While this cannot be excluded, the lack of objects attributable to the burial of anyone but Senneferi makes this, in my opinion, less likely.
- ⁴⁶This is highly dependent on whether one adopts a shorter or longer chronology for the reign of Thutmose II (Hornung, in Hornung, Krauss and Warburton (eds), *Handbook of Ancient Egyptian Chronology*, 200–201 versus von Beckerath, *Chronologie des pharaonischen Ägypten*, 122–123).
- ⁴⁷The family is mentioned in Whale, *The family in the eighteenth dynasty of Egypt*, 91–92 (34). Some further relationships are suggested by Whale with owners of nearby tombs (TT84 (Imanedjeh) and TT87 (Minnakht)), on the basis of names. I do not believe there is any other evidence to support this.

⁴⁸Whale, *The family in the eighteenth dynasty of Egypt*, 260–261.

⁴⁹Davies, *Puyemrê I*, 81–82, pl. XXXI. See Abd er-Razik, *MDAIK* 35 (1979), 227–247 for *k3mw*.

⁵⁰Texts in Urk. IV, 1421 (9–11).

⁵¹Bietak, *LÄ III*, 62–64.

⁵²The fact that wine was produced there strongly suggests that the location is in the north. Davies, *Puyemrê I*, 81–82 n. 3 favoured the identification with the roads, while Sethe was against it (note added to end of Erman, *ZÄS* 43 (1906), 73). More recent studies seem to assume that they are the same (Valbelle, in Berger et al., *Hommages à Jean Leclant IV*, 383–384; Altenmüller, in Guksch and Polz (eds), *Stationen*, 159–161).

⁵³Dorman, *The tombs of Senenmut*, 37–38, pl. 9.

⁵⁴See comments by Dorman, in Strudwick and Taylor, *The Theban Necropolis*, 32–34.

⁵⁵Whale, *The family in the eighteenth dynasty of Egypt*, 261–264.

⁵⁶EGgebrecht (ed.), *Ägyptens Aufstieg zur Weltmacht*, 352 (302); see also Fabrietti, Rossi and Lanzone, *Regio Museo di Torino, ordinato e descritto*, 424 (3089). I thank Marsha Hill for drawing my attention to this reference.

⁵⁷Camino and James, *Gebel es-Silsilah I*, 38, pl. 31 (2).

⁵⁸Whale, *The family in the eighteenth dynasty of Egypt*, 92.

⁵⁹PM I², 457.

⁶⁰cf. Kampp, *Thebanische Nekropole*, 618.

⁶¹Bavay and Laboury, in *Ceci n'est pas une pyramide...*, 67–71. I thank Laurent Bavay for sharing information and images with me before the discovery was widely publicised.

⁶²Traunecker, *Cahiers de Karnak* 6 (1973–1977), 197–208. See also Strudwick, in Serrano and von Pilgrim (eds), *From the Delta to the Cataract*, 285–287.

⁶³Boraik, *Memnonia Cahier Supplémentaire* 2 (2010), 181–191.

⁶⁴Bavay, *BSFE*, 177–178 (2010), 38–43.

⁶⁵An image of the statue and a description based on one by the present author may be found in Hawass, *Hidden Treasures of Ancient Egypt*, 160–161. A brief mention and a photograph was published in Strudwick, *Memnonia* 11 (2000), 244, pl. LVIA.

⁶⁶<http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/tt99/report93/index.html#co> (accessed 21 February 2016).

⁶⁷Egyptian shawls and cloaks are discussed in Vogelsang-Eastwood, *Pharaonic Egyptian Clothing*, 155–168. Mackay discussed a particular type of shawl seen in Theban tombs in *JEA* 10 (1924), 41–43. Although this is not what is worn by Amenhotep on this statue, such shawls are often worn over the left shoulder in tomb paintings; for example, both examples in TT21 (Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. XXVII–XXVIII).

⁶⁸See in particular Serpico and White, in Davies (ed.), *Colour and Painting*, 33–42. This subject will be considered in Part II of this publication.

⁶⁹Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian materials and industries*, 356–358; Serpico and White, in Nicholson and Shaw, *Ancient Egyptian materials and technology*, 459–460; Serpico and White as in previous note.

⁷⁰Strudwick, forthcoming.

⁷¹As also observed by Bavay and Laboury, in *Ceci n'est pas une pyramide...*, 69.

⁷²Also commented on in Traunecker, *Cahiers de Karnak* 6 (1973–1977), 206.

⁷³Schulz, *Entwicklung und Bedeutung*, 690–771.

⁷⁴Strudwick, *EDAL* 1 (2009), 113–118.

⁷⁵Edwards, *British Museum. Hieroglyphic Texts* 8, 4.

⁷⁶The Birch slips and the Salt lists are unpublished and are kept in the archives of

the Department of Ancient Egypt and Sudan at the British Museum.

⁷⁷See also Strudwick, *EDAL* 1 (2009), 116.

⁷⁸This niche measures: height at south: 1.18 m; at north 1.12 m; width: 0.82 m; depth: 0.83 (to plaster at rear). The height of EA 48 is 0.87 m, and its width 0.37 m. See further p. 134.

⁷⁹Schulz notes a ratio of 14:1 in favour of block statues coming from temples (*Entwicklung und Bedeutung*, 560), and there are only two certain examples from tombs of the Thutmoside period in Thebes, one of which was the engaged statue of Senenmut (op. cit., 559, 762–763). They are really niche figures and/or are outside the tomb proper, and none are made of hard black stone.

⁸⁰Schulz, *Entwicklung und Bedeutung*, 365. Her material shows that there is a roughly 50:50 division in the Theban provenances of New Kingdom block statues, down to the reign of Thutmose IV, between the West Bank and Karnak (op. cit., 564).

⁸¹I should like to thank colleagues in the Cairo Museum, in particular Adel Mahmoud, for permitting me to see this object in 2000 and present it here.

⁸²Once more, I thank Adel Mahmoud and colleagues in the Cairo Museum for permitting me to see this object in 2000 and present it here.

⁸³Roehrig, *The Eighteenth Dynasty titles*, 103. The name of the prince is noted in Schmitz, *Königsohn*, 292 n. 2 and Dodson, *JEA* 76 (1990), 93; it is misread in PM.

⁸⁴*Entwicklung und Bedeutung*, 230 n. 2. The two statues (in TT71 and Berlin 2296) are illustrated side by side in Roehrig et al. (eds), *Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh*, 112.

⁸⁵Roehrig, *The Eighteenth Dynasty titles*, 102. Compare Dodson, *JEA* 76 (1990), 93 n. 56.

⁸⁶Roehrig, *The Eighteenth Dynasty titles*, 284–286.

⁸⁷Guksch, *Nacht-Min*, 88; Helck, *Verwaltung*, 387–388.

⁸⁸Helck, *Verwaltung*, 346–348.

⁸⁹ibid., 286–290.

⁹⁰Dorman, *The Monuments of Senenmut*, 113–115; Helck, *Verwaltung*, 356–363.

⁹¹Dziobek, *Denkmäler des Vezirs User-Amun*, 85–86; Helck, *Verwaltung*, 290–293.

⁹²Caminos–James, *Gebel es-Silsilah* I, 37, pl. 30 (1).

⁹³Helck, *GM* 43 (1981), 39–41.

⁹⁴Caminos–James, *Gebel es-Silsilah* I, pl. 30 (1).

⁹⁵*Tel Aviv* 1 (1974), 107.

⁹⁶*Recherches sur l'économie*, 223, 279.

⁹⁷ibid., 274–281.

⁹⁸Piehl, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques* I, CXLII (X) and CXLIII (Z), with a sketch plan in ibid II, 111.

⁹⁹This title could of course be one of the other titles ending with the name of Amun above.

¹⁰⁰Guksch, *Königsdienst*, 172 ((060)05).

¹⁰¹Presumably a variation on the more common *irty n nswt nbwy n bity*, such that held by Tjenuna (TT76: Piehl, *Inscriptions* I, CIX (7–8)), Useramun (TT131: Dziobek, *Gräber des Vezirs User-Amun*, Taf. 96), and Ptahemheb (TT77, Wb. Zettel 937).

¹⁰²Also found in TT84 (Wb. Zettel 372) and with the addition of *n nb tawy* after *nfrwt* in TT125 (LD III, 26 (1a)). See also the similar next entry.

¹⁰³Guksch, *Königsdienst*, 242 ((123)11).

¹⁰⁴cf. ibid., 144 ((027)10).

¹⁰⁵Both titles are so grouped in ibid., 141 ((026)08).

¹⁰⁶ibid., 163 ((125)06).

¹⁰⁷ibid., 163 ((042)04).

¹⁰⁸ *ibid.*, 164 ((043)01).

¹⁰⁹ *ibid.*, 134 ((024)03).

¹¹⁰ Hikade believes this may be a defective writing for the otherwise better attested title of Senneferi of *r shrr m t3 r drf* (*Expeditionswesen*, 164).

¹¹¹ Guksch, *Königsdienst*, 243–244 ((123)22), with a parallel in a ceiling text in TT96A.

¹¹² *ibid.*, 226 ((111)01) combined with *sdw rsu-tp*

¹¹³ *ibid.*, 128 ((016)01).

¹¹⁴ *ibid.*, 129–130 ((020)01).

¹¹⁵ *ibid.*, 226 ((111)01) combined with *h3 h3t*

¹¹⁶ *in* in this sense is found in Wb. I, 92 (18–19) as only from Graeco-Roman and coffin texts, where it means ‘delay’. That sense, however, seems appropriate here. The same epithet is also found in the tomb of Sennefer (TT96A). CG 1013 does have this variant ending apparently with *ntrwy*.

The geological and geographical setting of TT99

Helen Strudwick and Trevor F. Emmett

3.1 Helen Strudwick: the geographical context

3.1.1 Location in the necropolis

The tomb of Senneferi is located in the southern part of the hill of Sheikh Abdel Qurna, within the Upper Enclosure. The entrance to the tomb chapel has the estimated latitude and longitude of 25° 43' 53.616" N, 32° 36' 25.5024" E,¹ and the height in the centre of the Front room is 117.12 m asl (**Pl. 1**). The location may be found on the maps of Baraize,² the Survey of Egypt,³ Porter and Moss⁴ and Kampp.⁵ Relevant sections of the Baraize and Kampp maps are given as **Fig. 18** and **Fig. 19**. Aerial images of this part of the necropolis will be found on **Colour pl. 1A** and **Colour pl. 1B**

3.1.2 Necropolis development, orientation and pathways

When considering the positioning of Senneferi's tomb, it is necessary to review the layout of tombs in that part of the hill of Sheikh Abdel Qurna. In an article written in 1962, Helck gave an overview of the distribution of tombs in the Theban West Bank in general, from the Old Kingdom to the end of the New Kingdom, largely based on the work of Porter and Moss, but with some revisions according to his own dating.⁶ Many years later, Kampp's work on the Theban necropolis includes the identification of numerous tombs outside the TT system and so amplifies, but also makes necessary a revision of, Helck's ideas.⁷ Using these two sources, Nigel Strudwick and I have drawn up in **Colour pl. 3** a sketch plan of the main hill/Upper Enclosure of Sheikh Abdel Qurna, on which the locations of tombs of different periods are marked in different colours and the alignments of the tombs' axes are also indicated.⁸ For the purposes of this section,

Kampp's proposed dating of tombs has been accepted, with a few exceptions.⁹ In marking the alignment of the chapels, an arrow has been added corresponding to the apparent axis; in the case of tombs spanning more than one time period, the colour appropriate to the earliest reign has been chosen for the arrow, on the assumption that the design and orientation would have been laid out at that time.

It is also important to note that in the following paragraphs only, which deal very much with topography and the geographical setting of TT99, cardinal directions are given their true meaning rather than the local meaning. Thus, for example, 'north' in this section is used to refer to true north, rather than local north, which is in fact true north-east.

The earliest surviving tombs in this part of the necropolis date to the Middle Kingdom (several of which were re-used in the New Kingdom, and probably later). Among them are a number of highly visible tombs with wide pillared facades. Other tombs of the period have plainer facades. A network of paths following the topography of the hillside¹⁰ gave access to the tombs, indicated on [Colour pl. 3](#) as lines in the same colour coding as the periods in which they originated, with their starting point most probably in the area later used for the Ramesseum. Two paths followed the gently sloping shoulders of the hills in the central and northern area of tombs, while the southern area was accessed via a shallow slope running almost directly east-west for a considerable length before climbing steeply to the area where Senneferi's tomb was later to be located.¹¹ The tombs with the largest facades were situated high on the hillside and are clearly visible from a distance, including from the other side of the river, and they therefore had a clear view across the river to the settlement on the east bank of the Nile. The locations of these tombs were almost certainly determined to a great extent by the availability of outcrops of rock facing towards the river.

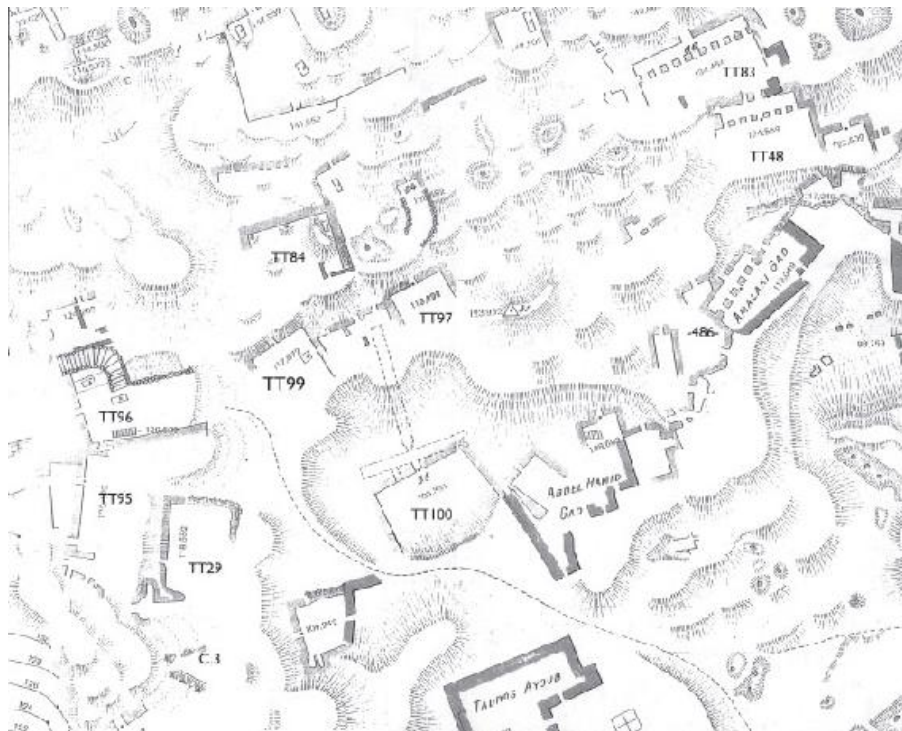


Fig. 18: Section of Baraize map of the area around TT99, with the location of other easily identifiable local tombs added (after Plan des nécropoles thébaines, feuille 32)

During the 17th and early 18th dynasties, new tombs were established on the middle slopes of Sheikh Abdel Qurna, most having pillared facades similar to the most imposing Middle Kingdom tombs and all facing towards the settlement on the east bank. The system of pathways was little affected by these additions. However, the expansion of the necropolis in the reign of Hatshepsut required new areas to be accessible. Almost all of those tombs are in the northern portion of Sheikh Abdel Qurna, in the area closest to her mortuary temple and to the processional way leading up to Deir el-Bahari. Their alignment is towards the temple of Amun-Re at Karnak and, as Helck suggests, they had a view of the landing place where the Valley Festival (given extra emphasis during the reign of Hatshepsut) began.¹²

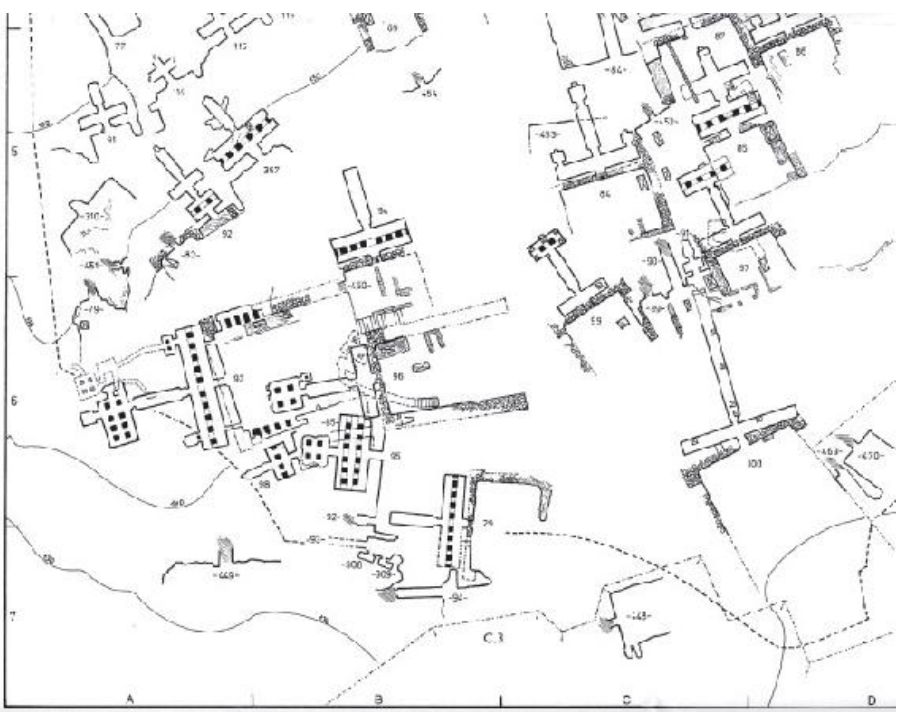


Fig. 19: Section of Kamp map of the area around TT99, with the location of tomb C.3 added (after Thebanische Nekropole, Plan III, used with the author's permission)

The central to southern portion of the hill was more actively developed under Thutmose III, with an extension of the network of pathways giving access to new strata on the hillside. When Senneferi came to choose the location for his tomb, the area he selected had been used only relatively sparsely by this period. He opted for a space close to an existing path that led further up the hillside, but there was already another route running past what would become the courtyard of the tomb, from which there was an extensive view across the river. His was probably the southernmost of the new tombs in the area at that time. Higher up the hill and almost above his tomb, TT84 was begun by Imanedjeh (later completed by Mery) and above was the tomb of Minnakht (TT87), perhaps already begun in Senneferi's time. These latter and other tombs of the same period were most probably accessed from the central necropolis path, rather than from the route close to TT99.

Later during the reign of Thutmose III, further tombs were added in the vicinity of TT99, including two on the path running past his courtyard and two further to the west. The tomb of his son-in-law Amenhotep (C.3, above [p. 20](#)) may also have been begun in this phase of necropolis development. TT100 was probably also begun around

this time, just below TT99. Other tombs higher up the hillside and overlooking TT99 were added in this phase; these were accessed from the central pathway network. Like TT99, almost all the tombs of the reign of Thutmose III in this area appear have an orientation towards Luxor Temple. This may have been to align them towards a set of barque shrines that were associated with the Opet Festival, which had been commenced under Hatshepsut and completed in the reign of Thutmose III.¹³

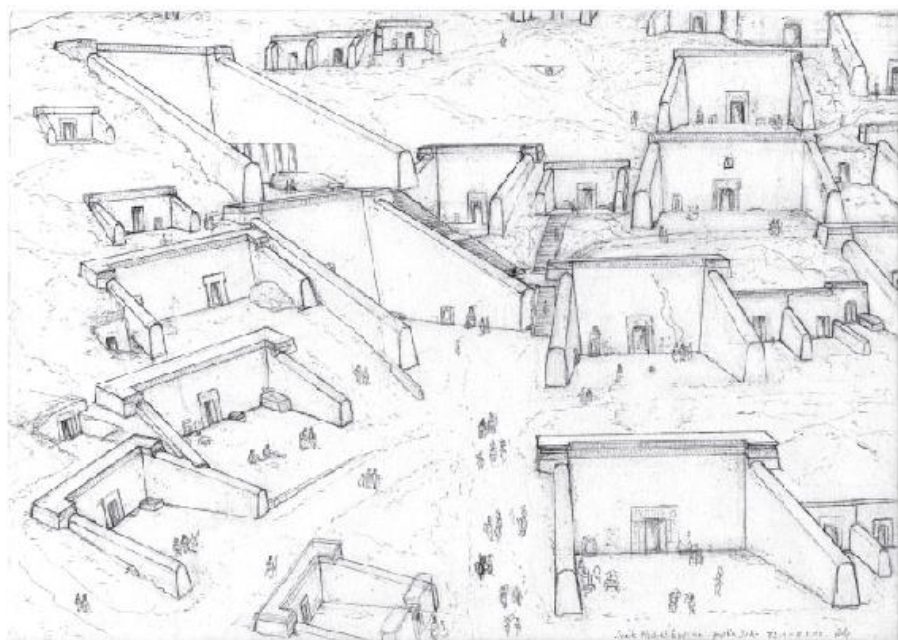


Fig. 20: Sketch indicating the likely appearance of the area around TT99 in Sheikh Abdel Qurna in the New Kingdom (courtesy Laurent Bavy and Rafael Morales; © ULB/Rafael Morales)

After TT99 was completed, but perhaps in the period of use of Shaft H after the burial of Senneferi (see further below, [p. 66](#)), the area to the west became the principal location for tombs of that period, notably the imposing tombs of Qenamun (TT93) and Sennefer (TT96); it is intriguing that the design of the chapel of TT96 seems to have been much influenced by that of TT99.¹⁴ The orientation of many of these tombs is clearly towards the Karnak area and it may be that the exceptions to this rule (TT92 and TT367) had been laid out in a preliminary fashion at the end of the reign of Thutmose III during the process of the construction of the neighbouring tomb -82-.¹⁵ Alternatively, family relationships may have had an influence on the development of this area.

At the time of its construction, TT99 must have been a prominent landmark in that part of Sheikh Abdel Qurna, commensurate with Senneferi's importance and wealth. Even after this area of the necropolis was further developed, his tomb remained an important feature in the landscape there ([Fig. 20](#)).

3.2 Trevor F. Emmett: the geological setting

The major interest in any archaeological study resides in the recovery and interpretation of objects and other artefacts (e.g. wall paintings). However, in the case of a tomb such as TT99 there should also be a consideration of its construction and architecture in its widest sense, if only to ensure that problems with its long-term stability and conservation can be identified and addressed.¹⁶ Construction methods have been dealt with in general by Arnold and more specifically elsewhere in this work.¹⁷

3.2.1 An outline of Theban geology

With respect to the broad geological setting of TT99, the structure and stratigraphy of the Theban hills are well-established. The area is covered by the 1:100,000 scale geological map Luxor (Al Uqsur) sheet produced by the Egyptian Mineral Resources Authority/Egyptian Geological Survey (EMRA). Three distinct geological features can be readily identified:

1. Alluvial deposits of the current Nile flood plain.
2. Wadi and other fluvial deposits.
3. A bedrock stratigraphy consisting of Palaeocene–Pleistocene limestones, sandstones, conglomerates and shales. On the 1:100,000 map these appear to form a tabular sequence uniformly dipping at low angles to the north or north-west. However, it has been increasingly recognised that the stratigraphy between the top of the Nile flood plain and the base of the Theban cliffs has been severely disturbed and complicated by faulting/landsliding.¹⁸ Large blocks of the bedrock have slid south-eastwards on numerous curved, concave-up, so-called listric faults.¹⁹ Fronabarger refers to these structures as 'slump blocks',²⁰ while Aubry et al. use the term 'tilted compartments'.²¹ The geology of the tilted units ('tilted blocks') closest to the Theban cliffs (the 'proximal tilted blocks') has been described in detail by Dupuis et al.,²² in which work will also be found a very useful geological map (Figure 6 therein), a synopsis of part of which is given as [Fig. 21](#). See also [Colour pl. 1A](#).

The bedrock stratigraphy of the necropolis area, including the

Valley of the Kings, has been recently reviewed by Aubry et al.,²³ to where the reader is referred for further details. In summary, the sequence, from the top down, is:

- **Minya** (sometimes El Minya) **Formation**. White and light grey limestones lying in direct contact with the underlying Thebes Formation. This unit is not delineated on the map and, from descriptions in the texts, it is probably included in the upper part of the Thebes Formation on the map.²⁴
- **Thebes Limestone Formation**. A c. 340 m thick sequence of white limestones.²⁵ Most of the tombs in the upper enclosure of the Sheikh Abdel Qurna Necropolis are excavated in this formation.²⁶
- **Esna Shale Formation**. Mostly calcareous shales with phosphatic horizons. Its uppermost unit, the Abu Had Member, consists of marls and pale-coloured limestones. The Palaeocene–Eocene transition occurs within the lower part of the Esna Shale Formation. The detachment horizon of most of the tilted blocks described by Dupuis et al. lies within this formation.²⁷
- **Tarawan Chalk Formation**. A c. 20 m thick sequence of chalky limestone underlies the Esna Shale Formation but is not shown outcropping in the necropolis area on the EMRA map (possibly due to limitations of scale). According to Fronabarger, most of the tombs in the necropolis' lower enclosure are excavated in the Tarawan Chalk Formation, described by him here as a '... buff tan, well lithified, lithographic limestone ...'.²⁸ Dupuis et al. map an extensive outcrop of the Tarawan Formation north-eastwards from the temple of Thutmose IV where it forms, in part, the footwall of the Sheikh Abdel Qurna tilted block (**Fig. 21**).²⁹

Dupuis et al. define a new stratigraphic formation, the **Valley of Colors Formation**,³⁰ which consists of breccias, conglomerates and sandstones that unconformably overlie the Thebes Limestone Formation.³¹ It forms an integral part of the proximal tilted blocks of the Sheikh Abdel Qurna region and may, in part, include some of the Armant Formation as shown on the 1:100,000 map.³² The Valley of Colors Formation is post-Late Miocene in age.

The complete stratigraphic sequence is exposed between Sheikh Abdel Qurna and the top of El Qurn.³³ From the geological map (**Fig. 21**) TT99 is excavated in limestones of the Thebes Formation within the Sheikh Abdel Qurna proximal tilted block. Following a consideration of the available mapping and the structural analysis given below, it is likely that the main part of the tomb together with the pits at its northern end are all excavated within Unit 3 of the

Thebes Formation.³⁴ There is a possibility that the bottom of the pits in the southern end of the tomb, as well as those in the outer enclosure/courtyard lie close to the boundary of Dupuis *et al.*'s Units 2 and 3. If so, this may suggest that the lithological differences between Units 2 and 3, or the nature of the lithological boundary between the units, formed a natural break or limit for excavation activity.

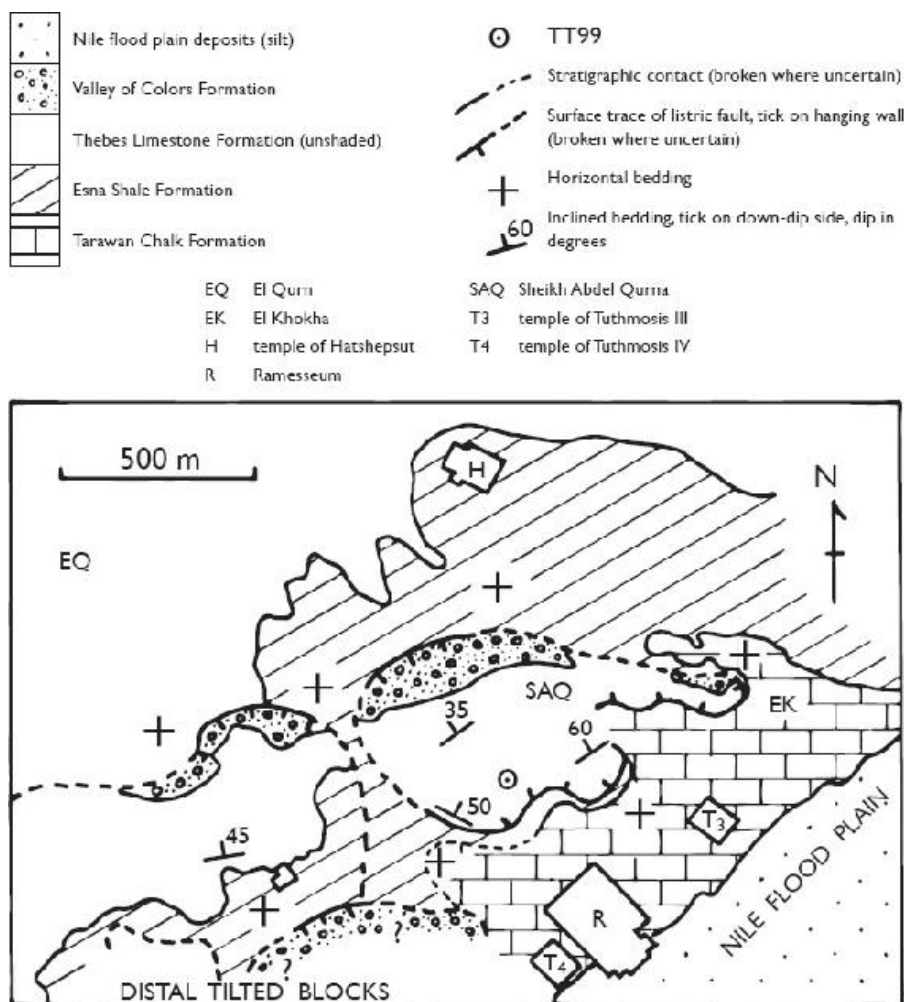


Fig. 21: Geological Map of Sheikh Abdel Qurna and Surroundings.

Adapted from Dupuis *et al.*, Journal of African Earth Sciences 61 (2011), Fig. 6

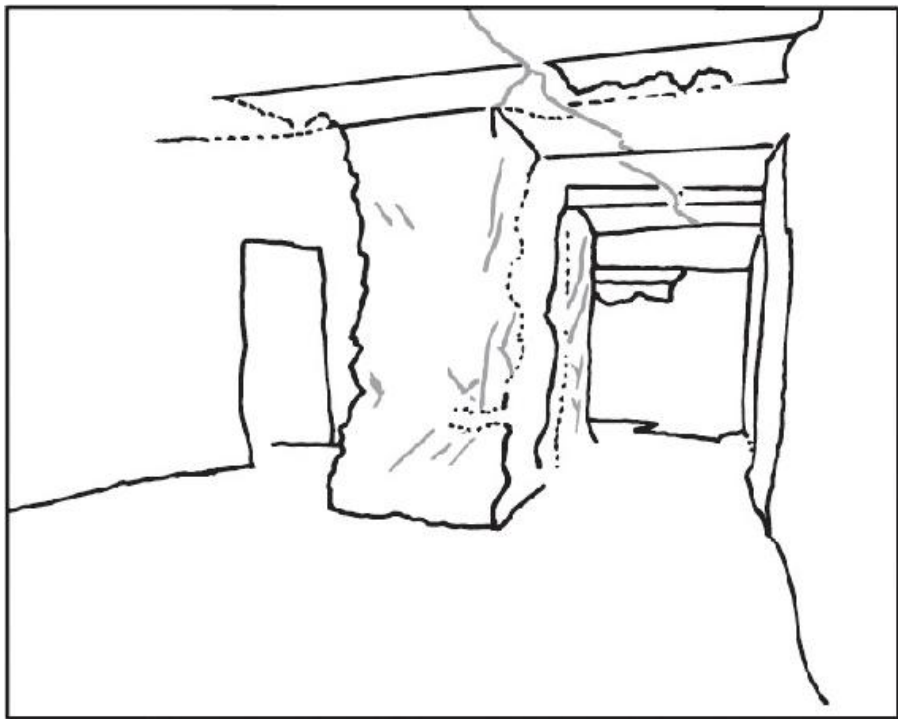


Fig. 22: Location of fractures in Pillar B and in the roof of the Shrine. Drawn from Colour pl. 7A

The orientation of bedding can be discerned in some photographs of the exterior façade of the tomb and also on Walls 11, 13, 16, 17 and 18 in the interior. Ignoring parallax errors, assumed to be small, an analysis of these apparent dips suggest that the bedding dips at about 40° to 005 (i.e. approximately northward). The uncertainty in the determination of the dip direction is $\pm 10^\circ$. This estimate of bedding orientation is consistent with structural data presented by Dupuis et al.³⁵ See [Fig. 21](#).

3.2.2 The interior of TT99

The main features of geotechnical interest lie in the Rear room (Shrine). As will be further described on [p. 58](#) below, a series of fault splays strike across the Rear room on a trend of approximately 070–250 ([Colour pl. 7A](#) and [Fig. 22](#)). The fractures are visible mostly in the roof and dip steeply northward. Displacements of several centimetres can be seen across the fault in the false roof beams (abaci) between the pillars and Walls 14 and 16 – the overall sense of movement is that walls have moved inwards and the ceiling in the vicinity of the two pillars has moved downward (i.e. that the fault has a generally reverse or contractional sense of movement).

Pillars A and B are heavily fractured. In each pillar the fractures form a conjugate set known as cone-in-cone fractures and are indicative of failure in uniaxial compression with the main compressive stress directed vertically. These fractures are particularly clearly seen in [Fig. 43](#), [Fig. 45](#), [Fig. 47](#) and [Fig. 49](#). Wedge-shaped parcels of rock have moved outwards from the vertical axes of both pillars and in some areas have fallen away to produce the characteristic ‘hour-glass’ or ‘diablo’ geometry (e.g. [Fig. 23](#) for Pillar A and [Fig. 24](#) for Pillar B).³⁶ The structural condition of both pillars is such that it would appear advisable to install additional support to the ceiling in their vicinity.

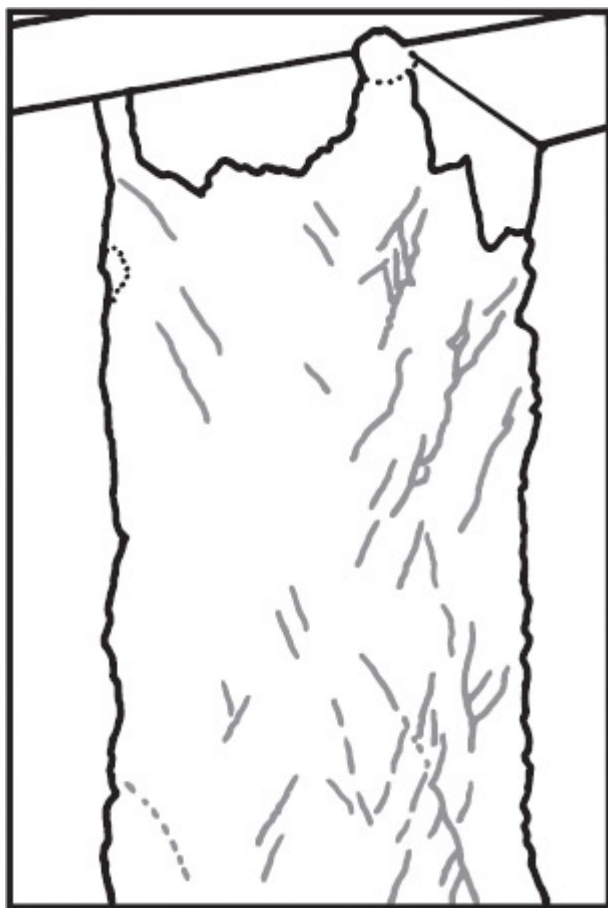


Fig. 23: Cone-in-cone ('diablo') fractures in Pillar A. Drawn from Fig. 43

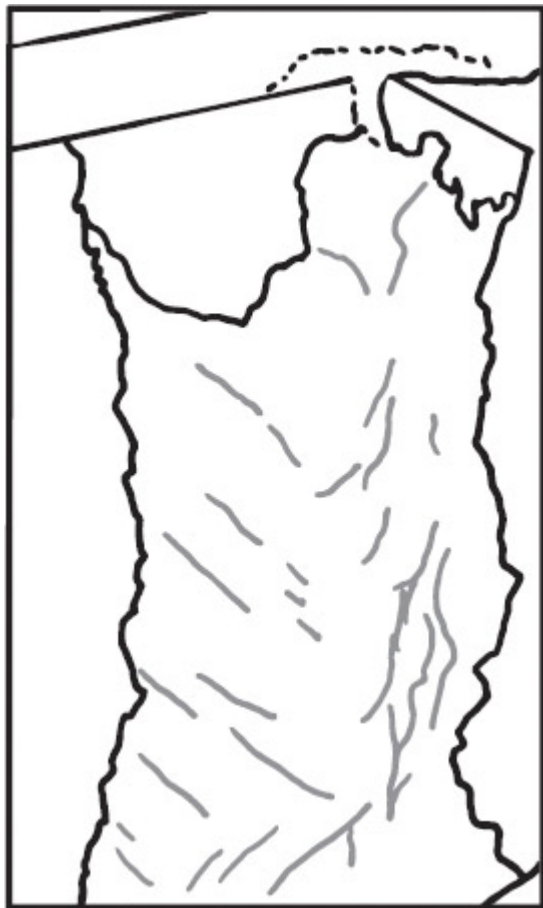


Fig. 24: Cone-in-cone fractures in Pillar B and the roof of the Shrine. Drawn from Fig. 48. Note the loss of material from the sides of the pillar, generating the characteristic 'hour-glass' or 'diablo' geometry

¹Obtained via <http://www.latlong.net> (accessed 25 March 2016).

²*Plan des nécropoles thébaines*, feuille 32 (height 117.872 m).

³The Survey of Egypt maps have not been specifically checked, but they are the basis for the maps in PM.

⁴PM I², Maps V and VI, E-4, d, 1.

⁵*Thebanische Nekropole*, Plan III, C 5–6.

⁶JESHO 5 (1962), 225–43.

⁷Kampp, *Thebanische Nekropole*. Kampp herself addresses the modifications of Helck's suggestions, necessitated by the results of her work, in chapter VII of her publication.

⁸I am grateful to Friederike Kampp for giving us permission to reproduce her plan III from *Thebanische Nekropole* for this purpose.

⁹Sometimes the summary dates in the lists in *ibid.*, 144–149 cannot easily be reconciled with the information in the actual tomb entries, and the colouration given on Colour pl. 3 is our interpretation.

¹⁰In studying the development and location of these pathways, I have made considerable use of aerial photographs taken in 2014 by Bruce Allardice (in particular <https://www.flickr.com/photos/gballardice/15868071278> and <https://www.flickr.com/photos/gballardice/15866855577/in/dateposted/>, accessed 28 May 2016). He has kindly given us permission to publish one of them as Colour pl. 1B. Another similar photo is Bavay, *BSFE* 177–178 (2010), Fig. 1. By careful comparison of these with Kampp plan III, and taking into account the absence of spoil heaps produced during excavations since antiquity, it has been possible to gain a sense of the likely paths used to access the necropolis. Further work requires to be done and I hope to be able to take this discussion further in a more detailed article in the future.

¹¹Kampp's discussion of 'Nekropolenstraßen' (*Thebanische Nekropole*, 120–122) deals with processional routes through the necropolis rather than pathways giving access to particular tombs. She notes, however, (*ibid.*, 122) that routes through the necropolis will have developed according to the topography of the area in question and that it is likely that they will have remained largely unchanged since antiquity.

¹²Helck, *JESHO* 5 (1962), 230. See note 7 on p. 87 below for more references to the Valley Festival.

¹³See Bell, in Shafer (ed.), *Temples of Ancient Egypt*, 147–150, 158–162.

¹⁴Bavay, *BSFE* 177–178 (2010), 41.

¹⁵Further work is needed to ascertain whether, as tomb building seems to have increased during the course of the 18th dynasty in the Sheikh Abdel Qurna area, various areas of the necropolis were developed in a preliminary fashion to be completed after clients arrived to choose their tombs. For example, TT114, TT115, TT116, TT90 and -78- appear to have been laid out along a new path around the reigns of Thutmose IV to Amenhotep III.

¹⁶Fronabarger, *Preliminary report*, 7–13; McLane and Wüst, *Cultural Resource Management* 23 (2000), 35–38.

¹⁷Arnold, *Building in Egypt*, Chapter 5.

¹⁸Cobbold et al., *The Geoscientist* 18 (6) (2008), 19–22.

¹⁹As illustrated in Cobbold et al., *The Geoscientist* 18 (6) (2008), Figures 5(a) and 5(b); Aubry et al., *Terra Nova* 21 (2009), 243–244 and Figure 5(c); Dupuis et al., *Journal of African Earth Sciences* 61 (2011), 251–259.

²⁰*Preliminary report*, 6.

²¹*Terra Nova* 21 (2009), 243.

²²*Journal of African Earth Sciences* 61 (2011), 245–267.

²³*Terra Nova* 21 (2009), 243–246.

²⁴Especially Aubry et al., *Terra Nova* 21 (2009), 246.

²⁵Dupuis et al., *Journal of African Earth Sciences* 61 (2011), 248–258.

²⁶Fronabarger, *Preliminary report*, 5.

²⁷*Journal of African Earth Sciences* 61 (2011), 257–259.

²⁸*Preliminary report*, 4.

²⁹*Journal of African Earth Sciences* 61 (2011), 251 and Figure 6.

³⁰*ibid.*, 251, 266.

³¹**Colour pl. 1A** helps to visualise the location of the Valley of Colors, which runs in front of the Theban cliffs and behind (north of) the hill of Sheikh Abdel Qurna. The flat-lying nature of the Thebes Formation clearly seen in the Theban cliffs contrasts strongly with the steep dip northward of the same formation apparent in the proximal tilted block north of Deir el-Medina (upper left quadrant of image).

³²EMRA, *Geologic Map of Luxor*.

³³Aubry et al., *Terra Nova* 21 (2009), 242–246; Dupuis et al., *Journal of African Earth*

Sciences 61 (2011), 248 (Figure 3), 252 (Figure 7).

³⁴As proposed in Dupuis et al., *Journal of African Earth Sciences* 61 (2011), Figure 6.

³⁵*ibid.*, 251 (Figure 6).

³⁶For an experimental replication of this mode of failure see especially Xie et al., *Journal of Rock Mechanics and Geotechnical Engineering* 1 (2009), Figure 2.

The tomb, its architecture and history

Helen Strudwick and Nigel Strudwick

Like most Theban tombs, the monument consists of four major distinct areas, a superstructure, an open courtyard, a chapel and underground apartments. This chapter is organised according to these four areas. Notes on the construction and preparation of the chapel walls will be included in Part II of this work.

Plans and sections of the tomb complex will be found on [Pl. 1](#) to [Pl. 5](#). As is normal in Theban tomb publications, the cardinal points are given with reference to the logical local orientation, based on ‘west’ being towards the hills. Thus our ‘west’ is true north-west.

For the geological context and structure of TT99, the reader should read the report in § 3.2.

4.1 Superstructure

Theban tomb research has indicated that the presence of superstructures was more common than once thought;¹ in particular, the discovery of an elaborate structure above TT131 has indicated that superstructures are not confined to the Ramesside Period.² With this in mind, a brief examination of the area above the Facade of TT99 was carried out in December 1996. The initial work was begun above the area of the niche and the mud brick visible on the Facade. Here, the upper layer of material was composed of chips of very white limestone, compacted together in a very hard fashion, presumably from rainwater; some of the chips of stone showed the beginnings of disintegration characteristic of limestone affected by water. Below this, the material consisted of limestone chippings and the usual limestone dust. The bedrock was encountered at 7 cm below the top surface, tapering around to a depth nearer the edge of 33 cm. To the east, the bedrock curves away, seemingly approximately in line with

the remainder of the Facade. The area cleared was approximately 0.8 × 0.8 m.

The location of the bedrock cleared seems to eliminate the possibility of a superstructure in the form of a separate item; there appears to be no flat area on which a superstructure could have been built, and no remains of a foundation. It would appear that the traces of mud brick visible on the Facade belong to the construction of that facade only and are not part of another structure. A number of fragments of wall painting were found in this location, but their place of origin cannot be yet identified. These will be considered along with other sculptural and architectural fragments in Part II of this work. TT99 thus is of the most common type in the 18th dynasty, whereby a niche in the facade functions in place of a free-standing superstructure (see further below).³

4.2 Facade of the tomb chapel

Fig. 25, Pl. 6A

Kampp has also shown how much original work took place to build up the basic rock-cut facades of 18th dynasty tombs.⁴ The front of TT99 is no exception to this, and still bears considerable remains of plaster and stones attached to the rock. There seem to be two types of 'plaster' employed. Between the stones is used what broadly appears to be a brownish mud-based plaster. On top of some of these stones, extending down partly onto the plain rock on the lower part of the Facade, appears to be a broadly similar but whiter plaster. The latter layer seems to vary in thickness between 1 and 4 cm.

The stones in the structure are mostly a variable-sized mix of pieces of the same easily fractured rock from which the tomb is made. There are occasional blocks of a harder limestone in it, roughly hewn, but with a less irregular shape. It seems to be broadly laid in courses. There is a particular concentration of larger blocks in the course just below the niche in the centre.⁵



Fig. 25: The Facade of TT99 in 1997

Just above the niche (see further below), almost level with the top of it, seems to be an approximately even ledge. From this ledge upwards it appears that the laying of the stones is less even, and with more of an appearance of a rubble fill. There are at this point some traces of brickwork, in particular one mass just to the south of the niche. There are further traces of mud in the superstructure area at the north end, and perhaps a mud brick about 2 m from the northern corner and 0.5 m above the ledge.

At the bottom of the Facade and extending some way along the north and south walls of the Courtyard are the remains of a band of whitish plaster about 30 cm high. It seems probable that this is from some final covering of the Facade. On the north side of the entrance, about 1.4 m from the recess for the entrance surrounds (below, [p. 56](#)), a ledge protrudes from this plaster band composed of a number of mud bricks finished off with a layer of the same plaster; its length is 1.34 m, and its maximum width 30 cm and maximum height 35 cm. It almost appears as if it could have been a base or pedestal for something of uncertain date (such as a stela).

Either side of the door, approximately level with the top of it, are several areas of plaster directly on the rock. Just to the top left of the door is one area of the brownish material as used in the superstructure, presumably from the original coating. To the right of the door are areas of coarse mud, including one with several

irregularly spaced holes, presumably for the insertion of pegs by the recent inhabitants for supporting structures or the like.

4.2.1 Niche

Fig. 26–Fig. 29

In the centre of the Facade, above the entrance door, and just below the point where the stone of the Facade may have changed into mud brick, is a small niche. It is very roughly made, bordered with thinner pieces of the same roughly shaped pieces of limestone as used for the Facade and very irregular in shape. The following dimensions are only very approximate: the dimensions at the front are a height of 0.5 m, and a width at the top of 0.45 m and at the bottom 0.27 m. The depth is approximately 0.63 m, and the height at the back is 0.35 m and the average width 0.25 m.



Fig. 26: Niche in Facade: top



Fig. 27: Niche in Facade: bottom



Fig. 28: Niche in Facade: south side

4.2.2 Side extensions

The stonework of the Facade extends slightly onto the western end of the northern and southern sides of the Courtyard (marked A' on [Pl. 6B](#) and [Pl. 6C](#)).⁶ The northern side wall of the Facade is the more obvious now, and bears the same brownish plaster on its south and east faces as is visible on the main part of the Facade. The southern extension is, however, more problematic. The ancient part of the main Facade,

clearly identified by that mortared together with ancient brownish plaster, is less evident above the southern side of the Courtyard, where it then appears to turn into a modern dry stone wall presumably associated with the security of the path leading to TT84 and the other tombs further up the hill; however, the bottom 0.5 m has the same mud plaster as elsewhere. A series of stones does extend to the east here, as if in a side wall, but they are not certainly ancient; they could perhaps represent the original position of the wall.



Below the stones of the Facade and on the north and south rock walls of the court are some areas of black mud inset with pieces of limestone. It is unclear whether they are part of the original work on the tomb, or added by a later re-user. In both sides of the court are cracks caused by a fault running across the court; that on the south is below the patch of mud just noted, and the crack is filled in for 1.5 m above the floor level. The crack on the north is to the east of the patch of mud, and this seems in part to have been filled in with mud and stones. It seems possible that they could be ancient repairs.

4.2.3 Funerary cones

Objects resembling funerary cones have been found in Egypt outside Thebes,⁷ and also in Nubia,⁸ but it cannot be denied that the vast majority come from the Theban Necropolis. They provide important information for the existence of tombs presently undiscovered, and it is now reasonably certain that they were built into the facades of many of the private tombs, even though few have been found *in situ*.⁹ Several summaries of the uses of cones and the tombs from which they came have been made since the 1980s.¹⁰

The cones found in a Theban tomb form two principal groups, those from the tomb under study, and those from the remainder of the necropolis. Such groupings can of course only be created for the stamped ends of cones, and there will be another large group of unstamped cone fragments of unknown origin. Most recent Theban tomb publications illustrate the wide range of cones which can be found in a tomb, and consider the matter of how these objects have strayed from their probable original locations over the necropolis.¹¹

As the original context of these cones is reasonably certain, it is most unlikely that much is to be gained from the precise location of a particular cone in TT99, with two possible exceptions. Significant quantities of material in the Courtyard immediately below the Facade would tend to confirm the original location. Groups of inscribed fragments together in other locations might also suggest that the objects were buried together by a collector for later retrieval and presumable sale into the antiquities trade; this would most likely have happened in the past 200 years.

A total of 1320 stamped cones, bricks and other fragments were found. Of these, 251 were whole or partial stamped cones, nine were from bricks with stamps, and the remaining 1060 were fragments. We shall consider the first two groups under the cones of Senneferi and those of others.¹²

4.2.3.1 Funerary cones of Senneferi

DM 154 (Fig. 30)

The only cone identified by Davies and Macadam as belonging to the owner of TT99 is DM 154.¹³ 130 examples of this cone, both intact and broken, were found in the whole complex. 79 of these were found in the Courtyard, and the remaining 51 inside the tomb chapel. Assuming the cones were originally in the Facade, it is logical that the majority should be found outside the Chapel, but no obvious concentration of cones was found in a particular Courtyard location, while in the tomb most of the examples came from the shafts and just a few from burial chambers. These numbers suggest that the fills were very mixed up.



Fig. 30: Cone DM 154, after Davies and Macadam

The cone stamp is clear; the text is as follows:

¹ *imkhy hr wstr* ² *try^a p't hty-^c sdwty bity³ smr wty imy-r sdwty*
sn-nfr m'-hrw

The *imakhw* in the sight of Osiris, the *try p't hty-^c*, seal-bearer of the *bity*, sole companion, overseer of seal-bearers Sennefer, justified.

a. The cutter of the stamp matrix (or the author of the text) has confused the title *try p't* with the preposition *hr*.

Seven complete examples of the whole DM 154 cone were found. They vary between 29 and 31.5 cm in length, and the diameter of the stamped end is very variable at between 8 and 9.5 cm. One example is very ovoid; one example is covered with a white wash.¹⁴

DM 93 (Fig. 31–Fig. 33)

One other cone appeared with some frequency, the very elongated stamp DM 93.¹⁵ Davies and Macadam were not certain of the name of

the owner of this cone, although it clearly ended in *-nfr* 52 examples of this cone were found (plus five stamped bricks, see further below); 41 examples come from the Courtyard and twelve from inside the Chapel. As with DM 154, no more significant distribution is apparent.



Fig. 31: Cone DM 93, after Davies and Macadam (left); reconstruction of text in normalised hieroglyphs (right)

Among this material were some better-preserved examples of this funerary cone to that copied by Davies, although none so clear as an average DM 154 stamp. This lack of clarity, along with consistent obscured areas on the stamps, leads to speculation that the stamp matrix itself was not particularly clearly cut. Davies noted the uniqueness of this shape in his notebooks and speculated that the matrix may have been wooden and cracked.¹⁶

From examination of all the examples we feel sure that it bore the name of Senneferi, and can be reconstructed as follows:

1) *iry p't hity-r sduwty bity smr* 2) *w'ty r s* 3) *hrr m ts r drf imy-r*
sduwty sn 4) *-nfr whm 'nh nb imh*

The *iry p't hity-r* seal-bearer of the *bity*, sole companion, the mouth who makes peace in the whole land, overseer of seal-bearers, Sennefer, who repeats life, possessor of *imakh*.

The only major uncertainty is the bottom of the third column, after the title. We suspect the sign there is , with a person determinative, perhaps  or , at the top of the final column 4.

The particularly interesting feature of the text on this cone is the extraordinary length of many of the writings, in particular that of *smr w^{ty}*. Note also the use of the uncommon title *r shrr m ts r drf*, also found twice on the pillars in the Rear room of TT99.¹⁷ His name is apparently written with a great generosity of space.

The matrix designer seems to have realised that the proposed text would not really fit a standard cone surface and so decided to spread it over two cones (or bricks, see below) and expanded the writings of the required text to fill the available space. Thus some cones were found with the lower part of the stamp and some with the upper, illustrated in [Fig. 32](#) to [Fig. 33](#). The broken line in [Fig. 31](#) (right) approximately represents the division between the two cones. Presumably these were appropriately juxtaposed in the Facade. The stamp is also found on fired bricks (see below). A rapid examination of Davies and Macadam's *Corpus* suggests that the shape of DM 93 may have unique proportions for the multicolumn examples. The only comparable length of stamp seems to be found with the single column examples DM 329–350.



Fig. 32: Example of cone DM 93 bearing the upper part of the stamp (object 99.97.1484)



Fig. 33: Another example of cone DM 93 bearing the upper part of the stamp (object 99.97.0843)



Fig. 34: Example of cone DM 93 bearing the lower part of the stamp (object 99.97.0920)



Fig. 35: Funerary cone brick 99.98.0231 bearing stamp DM 93



Fig. 36: Two fragments of a funerary cone brick bearing stamp DM 93 (objects 99.97.1525 and 99.97.0702a)

Only one complete example of a DM 93 cone was found (object 99.97.0979, from Courtyard square 34). This measured 26 cm in length, with a diameter of 8.3 cm at the stamped end. Other stamped ends vary between 8 and 9 cm in diameter. One broken cone was painted with a red wash.

4.2.3.2 Bricks bearing funerary cone stamps *Senneferi*

In addition to the cones themselves, five fragments of fired bricks stamped with the DM 93 stamp were found (99.95.0471, 99.96.0373, 99.97.0702a, 99.97.1525, 99.98.0231; see [Fig. 35](#) and [Fig. 36](#)). Only

99.95.0471 was found inside the tomb (in Shaft C), the remainder coming from the Courtyard. Such bricks may have been used to construct a cornice and torus moulding on the tomb Facade above the funerary cones.¹⁸ As all the TT99 examples are fragmentary, it is not easy to discern the shape, but the rounded edges visible on 99.98.0231 suggest that some at least might have been of the torus moulding type.¹⁹ Although the sample size is rather small, only the larger of the two Senneferi stamps appears to have been used on these bricks. At least two further such bricks are known from Davies and Macadam's unpublished records, one as coming from 'Mond's magazine' (probably TT96A, see [p. 91](#) below) and the other from the area of TT84.²⁰

Others

Two brick fragments bearing stamps from nearby tombs were also found: DM 390 Mery, TT95 (99.97.1326) and DM 34, Imanedjeh, TT84 (99.97.0138). In addition, there are two further fragments which join but which bear an illegible stamp (99.97.0702b and 99.97.0786).

Comments

The relative infrequency of such objects is worthy of further consideration. If the Kampp reconstruction is followed, then a considerable number would have been required, and yet these objects have not commonly been reported around the necropolis; Kampp notes only examples from TT71, TT72 and TT121,²¹ to which we can add examples from TT99, TT84 and TT95, as well as TT294 from earlier excavations.²² The five stamped fragments from TT99 would not have gone very far towards decorating the Facade, and although there were a number of fired brick fragments found which could have belonged to the tomb, it must be left open as to whether we subscribe fully to this theory.²³

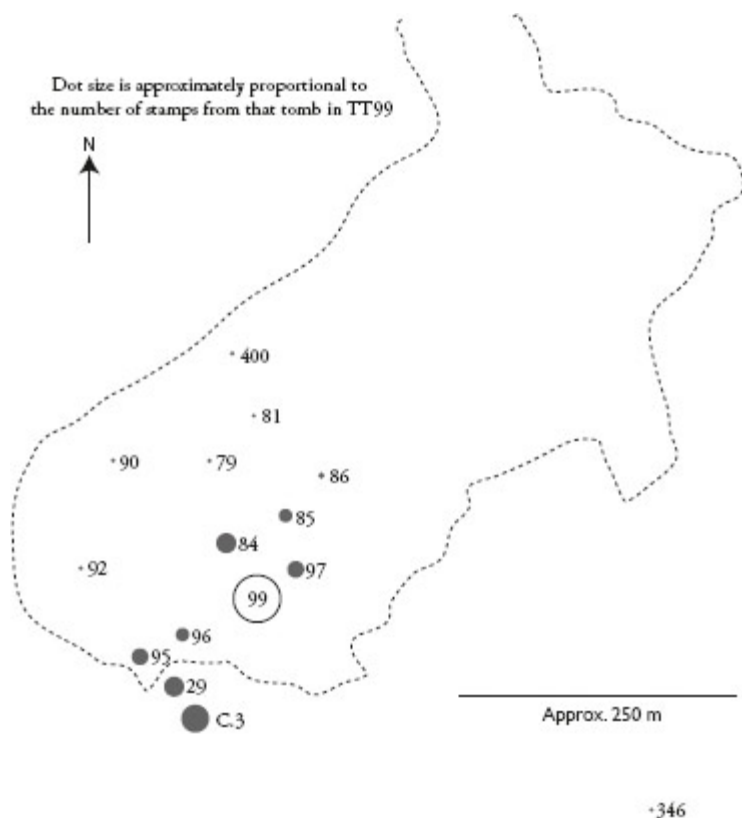


Fig. 37: Sketch map of the main area of Sheikh Abdel Qurna showing the tombs in which funerary cones discovered in TT99 may have originated

4.2.3.3 TT99 cones from other locations

Examples of Senneferi cone DM 154 have been found elsewhere.²⁴ The most local examples are from TT87 and TT29,²⁵ but an example has also been identified among a considerable number of cones in the temple of Medinet Habu.²⁶ One would expect to find TT99 cones in the area of the tomb itself, but it is unlikely that any conclusion should be drawn from the Medinet Habu example, which we suspect to have been a random collection of material hidden there for later sale into the antiquities trade.

Table 4: Summary of find spots of TT99 cones

	<i>DM</i>	<i>DM</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Total</i>
	<i>154</i>	<i>93</i>	<i>Court</i>	<i>Chapel</i>
Cone stamps in Courtyard	66	35		
Cone stamps in Courtyard shafts	13	5		
Brick stamps in Courtyard		3		
Brick stamps in Courtyard shafts		1		
<i>Sub-totals</i>	<i>79</i>	<i>44</i>	<i>123</i>	
Cone stamps in Chapel				
Cone stamps in Chapel shafts	51	12		
Brick stamps in Chapel				
Brick stamps in Chapel shafts		1		
<i>Sub-totals</i>	<i>51</i>	<i>13</i>		<i>64</i>
<i>Totals</i>	<i>130</i>	<i>57</i>		<i>187</i>

Table 5: Cones from known tombs found at TT99

<i>DM</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Tomb</i>	<i>Attribution^a</i>	<i>Loc.^b</i>	<i>Count</i>
34	Imanedjeh	TT84	Kampp	UE	6
42	Amenemhat	TT97	Manniche	UE	2
43	Amenemhat	TT97	Manniche	UE	3
100	Menkheperresoneb	TT86	Manniche	UE	2
163	Suemniut	TT92	Kampp	UE	1
223	Sennefer	TT96	Manniche	UE	3
224	Sennefer	TT96	Manniche	UE	1
265	Amenemopet	TT29	Manniche	UE	6
270	Amenemheb	TT85	Manniche	UE	4
281	Imanedjeh	TT84	Manniche	UE	1
283	Imanedjeh	TT84	Manniche	UE	3
341	Paenamun	TT400	Kampp	UE	1
374	Amenhotep	C3	Bavay	UE	8
390	Mery	TT95	Manniche	UE	5
398	Nebamun	TT90	Kampp	UE	1
400	Mery	TT95	Manniche	UE	2
480	Ineni	TT81	Manniche	UE	1
493	Menkheperresoneb	TT79	Kampp	UE	1
524	Paenre	TT346	Manniche	LE	1

^a. For all except 374, the sources for the attributions will be found in n. 10 on p. 49 above. For cone 374 see Bavay and Laboury, in *Ceci n'est pas une pyramide...*, 70.

^b. UE: Sheikh Abdel Qurna, Upper Enclosure; LE: Sheikh Abdel Qurna, Lower Enclosure

Table 6: Cones from unknown tombs found at TT99

<i>DM</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Count</i>	<i>DM</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Count</i>
55	Merremetjef	1	259	Kaiemre	1
57	Ter	1	302	Neferhotep	6
83	Imamun	3	393	Heqanefer	1
98	Heqaneheh	1	541	Sebry	1
114	Nebmose	2	560	...-nefer	1
206	Menkheper	1			

Table 7: Summary of all cones found at TT99 by type and place in the tomb where they were found

<i>DM</i>	<i>Tomb owner</i>	<i>TT</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>TT59 tomb area</i>	<i>Count</i>
34	Imanedjeh	84	6	Courtyard only	4
				Shafts in Courtyard	1
				Shafts in tomb	1
42	Amenemhat	97	2	Shafts in tomb	2
43	Amenemhat	97	3	Courtyard only	3
55	Merremetjef		1	Courtyard only	1
57	Tir		1	Shafts in tomb	1
83	Imamun		3	Shafts in tomb	3
93	Senneferi	99	57	See Table 4	
98	Heqaneheb		1	Courtyard only	1
100	Menkheperresoneb	86	2	Shafts in tomb	2
114	Nebiose		2	Shafts in tomb	2
154	Senneferi	99	130	See Table 4	
163	Suemniur	92	1	Courtyard only	1
206	Menkheper		1	Shafts in Courtyard	1
223	Sennefer	96	3	Courtyard only	2
				Shafts in tomb	1
224	Sennefer	96	1	Courtyard only	1
259	Kaierare		1	Courtyard only	1
265	Amenemopet	29	6	Courtyard only	2
				Shafts in tomb	4
270	Amenemheb	85	4	Courtyard only	1
				Shafts in Courtyard	2
				Shafts in tomb	1
281	Imanedjeh	84	1	Courtyard only	1
283	Imanedjeh	84	3	Courtyard only	2
	Imanedjeh	84		Shafts in Courtyard	1
302	Nefertitop		6	Courtyard only	6
341	Pesamun	400	1	Shafts in Courtyard	1
374	Amenhotep	C3	8	Courtyard only	4
	Amenhotep			Shafts in tomb	4
390	Mery	95	3	Courtyard only	1
	Mery	95		Shafts in Courtyard	1
	Mery	95		Shafts in tomb	3
393	Heqanefer		1	Shafts in Courtyard	1
398	Nebamun	90	1	Shafts in Courtyard	1
400	Mery	95	2	Shafts in Courtyard	1
	Mery	95		Shafts in tomb	1
480	Ineni	81	1	Shafts in tomb	1
493	Menkheperresoneb	79	1	Shafts in tomb	1
524	Paenne	346	1	Courtyard only	1
541	Sehry		1	Courtyard only	1
560	Sennefer		1	Shafts in Courtyard	1

4.2.3.4 The distribution of TT99 cones and bricks

Adding cones and bricks together gives a total of 187 discrete Senneferi stamped examples, 123 from the Courtyard and 64 from

inside the Chapel.²⁷ These are summarised in **Table 4 on p. 53**. At least ten examples are known from other locations (above).

A comparison with TT87 is instructive, where Guksch noted that there were sufficient cones for there to have been two rows of them in the facade.²⁸ The facade of TT87 measured 14.8 m, while that of TT99 is 11.5 m. Modifying her figure of 7 cm for one cone to 8 cm to suit the material better, this would suggest 143 cones per row, and thus, allowing for loss, the existence of a double row of cones is at least possible.²⁹

There is no consistent concentration of the cones as excavated in an area immediately below the Facade, and their excavated location probably owes more to the various disturbances in the tomb complex than to any pattern surviving from collapses of the Facade. As an example, using the grid imposed on the Courtyard for the purposes of excavation (**Fig. 54 on p. 65**), most squares contained no more than two or three Senneferi cone fragments, except for Squares 14 (3 m from Facade, eleven examples), 15 (5 m from Facade, fifteen examples) and 35 (also 5 m, eighteen examples). These concentrations of cones probably relate more to disturbance following demolition of a structure in this area than anything else.³⁰

4.2.3.5 Cones from other tombs in the necropolis

Strictly speaking, as these objects have no connection with TT99, they should be considered elsewhere in this publication, but there is a compelling logic for all cones to be considered in the same section of this report.

71 cones were retrieved that were recognised from the Davies–Macadam corpus; the bricks DM 390 of Mery (TT95) and DM 34 of Imanedjeh (TT84) noted above are included in these totals. These cones fall into two groups, those with tombs to which they can be assigned and those without.³¹

Tombs with known numbers

The majority fall into this category, and it is notable that of all these tombs, only one is not in the southern part of the upper enclosure of Sheikh Abdel Qurna (TT346). See **Fig. 37** and **Table 5 on p. 53**.

It is hardly surprising that the distribution indicates the nearer the tomb is to TT99, the more cones from it were found. In fact, only three nearby tombs with known cones do not feature here (TT87, TT93, TT94). The distribution of ‘foreign’ cones found at the nearby tombs TT87, TT79 and TT29 is not dissimilar;³² a similar overall localisation of cones has been noted in el-Khokha,³³ in the Assasif,³⁴ and in Dra Abul Naga.³⁵

Tombs without TT numbers

See [Table 6 on p. 53](#). From the previous section, it is likely that the most frequent cone in this category (Neferhotep) comes from a tomb relatively close to TT99, probably within 100 m. Kampp's map of the necropolis shows that there are several tombs in her new numbering series in that area;³⁶ tombs -89- and -91- must be particular possibilities.

4.2.4 Courtyard

The Courtyard is an irregularly shaped rectangle, which after excavation measures approximately 11.30 m at the west, 14.25 m at the south, 15.14 m at the north and 12.22 m at the east; the full extent of the Courtyard to the east has been impossible to determine due to the slope down to TT100.

Kampp has sketched and discussed the courtyard and Facade of TT99.³⁷ She describes the Facade as having the two small extending side walls, common in the early to middle 18th dynasty.³⁸

As most of the contents of the Courtyard proper belonged to much later in the tomb's history, a fuller account of this area will be found in Part II of this publication. Details of the excavations will only be noted here where they are relevant to the New Kingdom.

4.2.4.1 Walls and side profile

Pl. 6B, Pl. 6C

Below the northern and southern Facade extensions (above § 4.2.2), the walls of the Courtyard are cut so that they slope down from just below these extensions to near the east end of the Courtyard. Where the rock ends it would appear that these walls were extended in stone and mud brick. The extension of the north wall (at the north-east corner of the court) consists of unmortared stones on top of several layers of mud brick, 4.03 m in length. The irregular unmortared nature of the stones might not to be ancient, but the regularity of the brick suggests that this element might be. The bricks measure 27.5 long × 13.5 wide × 9.5 cm high; they are arranged in four or five alternating layers of headers and stretchers. The south wall (at the south-east corner of the court) seems to have been extended by a mortared stone wall (about 2.53 long) with a possible plaster overlay which appears to be ancient.

4.2.4.2 A possible brick structure?

Kampp places the tomb in a group with an open courtyard.³⁹ However, in 1997 an isolated mass of irregular mud brick (the bricks measure 28.5 cm long × 13 cm wide × 10 cm high) was discovered 0.78 m to the north of the stonework in the south-east corner of the court, on top of the layer of lime chippings in the southern half of the

court. The angle of the bricks and their general disarray suggests that this is part of a structure which collapsed into the Courtyard. If ancient, it could be part of a front enclosing wall,⁴⁰ or if modern possibly a structure built in the Courtyard by the modern inhabitants of the tomb. The only other feature of note is a distinctive 'window' cut into the southern side wall of the courtyard (marked 'B' on [Pl. 6B](#)). This is caused by a rectangular pit of uncertain function, which has been cut through here at an unknown date but later than the original construction of TT99.

4.2.4.3 Floor

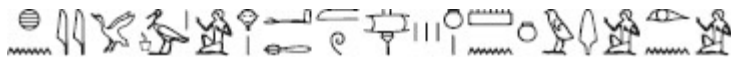
The Courtyard seems only to have been roughly levelled in the 18th dynasty, as the bedrock on the southern side of the Courtyard is 30–50 cm lower than that around Shaft I in the northern part. In the centre of the court there appears to be a layer of densely packed limestone chips, which continues southward from the bedrock level around Shaft I. It is possible that this layer extended south to level the Courtyard, and that this was removed by earlier excavations, but it may also have been irregular, as witnessed by the location of the plant emplacements (below). The present level of this floor slopes up slightly from the front of the tomb to the centre of the court, and then begins to slope away to the east. In the area of the sections of mud brick still surviving at the east end of the court, it would appear that the rock level starts to slope steeply away to the east. The existence of this slope, together with the existence of the mud brick (described above), caused us to cease excavation at this point, otherwise work might have continued down into the tomb of Rekhmire.

4.2.4.4 Plant emplacements

Two depressions containing earth and plant roots were located approximately 2 m from the tomb doorway, a little to the left. They measure 50 cm in diameter, and were placed 30 cm apart. The existence of such emplacements indicates that trees or other green plants were planted in front of the tomb entrance, probably in the 18th dynasty (as they are cut in the bedrock). Such emplacements are known from the New Kingdom, although they are not common and appear more frequently in the 19th than the 18th dynasty; because of the material they contained, Senneferi's are perhaps the earliest certain examples.⁴¹ Their function is perhaps most clearly evident from the great tombs in the Assasif of the 25th and 26th dynasties, where they often appear to have been two in number, and stress the nature of the open courts in those tombs as tombs of Osiris.⁴²

A further possibility is that they could have been placed there as a resting place for the deceased's *ba*. Several large tomb stelae from the

New Kingdom bear the phrase



May my *ba* alight on the branches of the trees that I planted (lit. made) myself.’⁴³

Ceiling text 9 on p. 158 also says in reference to Senneferi’s *ba* ‘then he shall alight on his trees’. A tomb, tree and the deceased with his *ba* are actually shown in the Book of the Dead of Nakht in the vignette accompanying Spell 91,⁴⁴ and such scenes are shown on 21st dynasty coffins.⁴⁵ In certain tombs, particularly of the Ramesside period, small figures of *bas* are found in close proximity to scenes of the deceased receiving life-giving water from the tree-goddess.⁴⁶

4.2.4.5 Excavation of the Courtyard

The contents of the Courtyard will be examined in the context of the later material to be considered in Part II.

4.3 Chapel

4.3.1 General characterisation of the Chapel

The Chapel of TT99 is an example of the inverted T-shaped form common in the 18th dynasty, with a broad front room, and a longish corridor or passage leading to a rear room or shrine with pillars; its Kampp designation is type VIa, a type which peaked in popularity in the early to middle 18th dynasty.⁴⁷ The principal variation in chapels of this group is the number of pillars in the rear room.

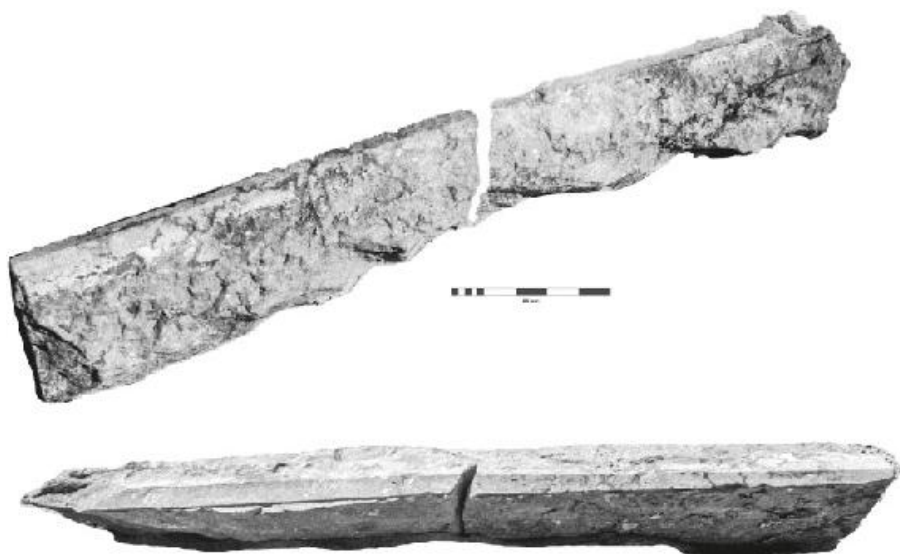


Fig. 38: Two joining fragments of sandstone which may belong to the original entrance jambs of TT99 (object 99.97.1562a)

Each significant element of the Chapel will be described in turn beginning from the outside. A full plan of the chapel will be found on [Pl. 1](#), with detailed wall plans on [Pl. 7](#) to [Pl. 23](#); a schematic diagram showing the wall numbers is [Fig. 78 on p. 85](#).

4.3.2 Entrance doorway

When the tomb doorway is viewed from the Courtyard, even allowing for the insertion of the modern entrance, it is evident that the areas to the right and left of the modern door are recessed into the rock; it is not obvious that there is anything similar above the door. The area to the right (north) of the door is 0.6 m wide, and is recessed into the main face of the tomb to a depth varying from 0.42 m at the middle of the door to approximately 0.2 m at the top. The average width of the left (southern) recess is 0.5 m, but at the very bottom it does extend out 0.7 m. The average depth is 0.41 m.

An iron door was added when the tomb was purchased from its inhabitants in 1907 ([p. 2](#)). Unfortunately, it was installed at a time when the Courtyard was still roughly 1 m deep in debris, and thus, after the Courtyard was cleared, it was decided not to risk damage to the rock by removing the old well-established door, and instead brickwork was added to support the door frame, and a set of three steps was constructed on the Courtyard side. It is estimated that the original opening for the doorway measured approximately 1.1 m wide by 2.98 m high.

The material found under the modern door belonged to the recent use of the tomb and thus will be found principally in Part II of this publication.

Possible doorjambs

These slight recesses at the entrance are doubtless for the addition of a separate set of external jambs of sandstone or limestone. No certain traces of the stonework forming these additional elements have been identified, but many unattributable fragments of sandstone, some with isolated hieroglyphs, were found in the course of excavation of the Courtyard.⁴⁸

In particular, attention is drawn to two larger fragments of sandstone discovered in the Courtyard in 1997–1998 which clearly join together (object 99.97.1562a, [Fig. 38](#)). The resultant piece of stone is approximately 1.38 m in length, and has part of a finished surface on one side with the remains of what seems to be a column divider filled with yellow paint running most of its length. The

opposite side is completely unfinished and roughly hewn, but some of the shaped areas bear traces of plaster or similar, presumably from the mortar with which it was fixed in place.⁴⁹



Fig. 39: Front room, north side

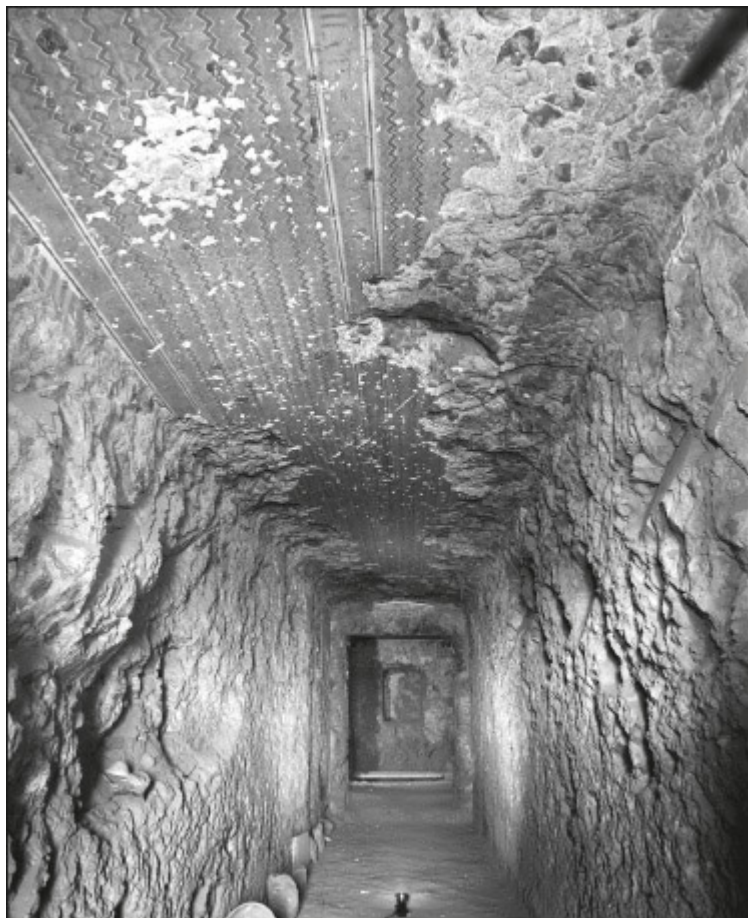


Fig. 40: The Passage, looking from the doorway from the Front room



Fig. 41: The Passage, looking towards the entrance doorway of the tomb. Wall 9 occupies most of the image, Wall 8 is the area around the doorway



Fig. 42: The Shrine from the west end of the Passage

External doorjambs seem to have been a standard feature of many Theban tombs.⁵⁰ TT99 is only one of many chapels in the necropolis which bear indications of the original existence of such additional features.⁵¹ Presumably in the case of TT99, these jambs were, like the false door and stela described below [p. 76](#), removed and broken up for reuse in the Courtyard, explaining why so many possible fragments have been found which belong to them.

4.3.3 Front room

The Front room measures 14.6 m by 2.5 m, with a maximum height of 3.1 m. It is composed of two rectangular wings separated by the entrance and the doorway into the Passage, with flat ceilings (the north wing is shown in [Fig. 39](#)). At either end of the room are

emplacements cut into the walls for stelae and false doors. Much of the original plaster decoration of the room has been lost, and the most thoroughly covered area remains the ceiling. What plaster survives is mostly at the top 1 m of each wall. The walls are heavily smoked, presumably from a fire (see discussion under Wall 3 below, [p. 100](#)).

Where the top coat of plaster has been lost, it is sometimes possible to see the preparatory stages of work on the walls. In some areas it was possible to finish the walls quite smoothly, such as on Wall 3 just south of the entrance to the Passage, and a small area on Wall 6. Many areas were not well cut, perhaps due to the rock quality. There are, for example, a number of areas of loose stones set in plaster, to aid the building up of what must in some places have been rather imperfectly cut walls. Where the ceiling decoration has been lost at the very north end of the tomb, a large area of a hand-smoothed base of coarser plaster has survived. On Wall 6 there is an odd circular area of plaster at the north end, which may not be ancient. More detail on technique will be found in Part II.

The entrance doorway and that into the Passage are in a rough condition in places. We suspect this has much to do with later reuse of the tomb, combined with the variable quality of the rock. Several later modifications were made to this room, including a loculus at the bottom of Wall 4, probably in ancient times, and some more modern loom pits in the floor. It is very probable that a large vertical loom was constructed around the entrance to the Passage, and this contributed to damage done to the decoration on Walls, 3, 7 and 4. Traces of recent structures were also identified in this room. These will all be further described in Part II of this publication.

4.3.4 Passage

Fig. 40, Fig. 41

The Passage is a long rectangular room (or corridor) with a vaulted roof: length 9.7 m, width 2.1 m, height 3.1 m. It was cut in a completely rectangular shape, and the ceiling was given a curved or vaulted effect by building up with plaster and stones, still visible in some places, particularly in some of the damaged areas where the kheker frieze would have been. This room has suffered most of all from loss of decoration; the limited amount that survives, all on Wall 9 with the exception of a few fragments of kheker frieze on Wall 11, are located mostly within 1 m of the top of the wall.

A large rock fault runs through the western end of the Passage, and is very evident in the two main walls, which seem to show signs of repair work to cover the fault. To the west of the fault, the walls are smoother than to the east. In general, the initial cutting of the rock of

the walls of this room seem to have been the most successful in producing a smooth flat surface within the monument.



Fig. 43: Pillar A, north and west sides



Fig. 44: Pillar A, north and east sides



Fig. 45: Pillar A, south and east sides



Fig. 46: Pillar A, south and west sides

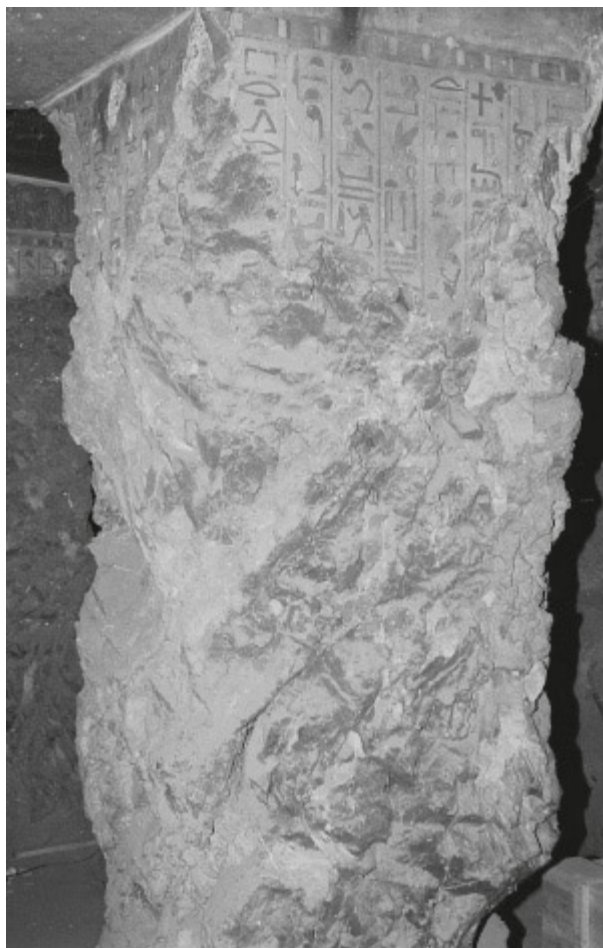


Fig. 47: Pillar B, north and east sides



Fig. 48: Pillar B, north and west sides



Fig. 49: Pillar B, south and east sides

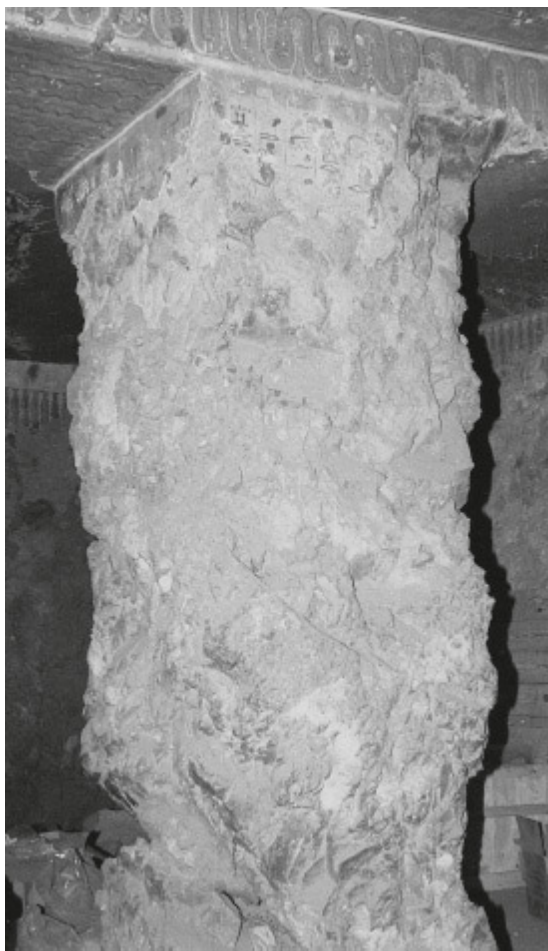


Fig. 50: Pillar B, south and west sides

The doorway into the Shrine is quite well cut; there are two steps up into Shrine, best preserved at the right; the first is 19 cm high, the second 8 cm.

4.3.5 Rear room

Colour pl. 6A–Colour pl. 9A

The Rear room or Shrine is a rectangular chamber with two pillars. It is almost regular in shape, with a maximum length of 12.82 m and width of 4.6 m. In the centre of the rear wall, at a height of 1.05 m, is an offering or statue niche. The east–west abaci of the pillars divide the room into three areas, each with a differently profiled ceiling. The ceiling profile of the central and northern areas is shaped like that of the roof of the shrine depicted in the hieroglyph  (*qr*), found in a small number of New Kingdom tombs.⁵² The southern wing's ceiling is vaulted in the north–south direction (maximum height approximately

3.02 m).

More decoration has survived in this room than elsewhere in the tomb, although the major areas of painted plaster are still within 1.5 m of the ceilings. The damaged areas reveal the use of stones and plaster to build up the underlying irregular rock, and there is another clear area of hand-smoothed plaster undercoat on Wall 13 ([Fig. 51](#)).⁵³ A very large fault meanders through both halves of the room in a south-west to north-east direction; the route of the fault may be observed by examination of the wall and ceiling plans. A considerable amount of repair and building-up was required to enable the affected areas to receive the original decoration. The most severe damage is at the join of Walls 17 and 18 and to a lesser extent at the join of Walls 13 and 14 ([Colour pl. 9B](#) and [Colour pl. 9C](#)); it seems unlikely that the fault was exacerbated by the excavation of the later shaft and chamber adjacent to the later fault, and is more likely that the presence of the fault might have suggested easier excavation of the shaft below.

Although decorative traces remain at the top of each face of the pillars, the poor quality of the original rock meant that considerable corrective work was needed before the decoration could be applied. [Fig. 43](#) to [Fig. 50](#) illustrate the condition of the pillars, and also the damage caused to the walls from the fault. The walls in this room were less well cut than the rest of the tomb, most probably indicating that the rock here was particularly friable. See further the contribution above by Trevor Emmett in § 3.2.

It is noticeable that the kheker friezes of Walls 16 and 17 in the northern part do not run parallel to the floor or ceiling; that of Wall 17 is perhaps angled in an apparent attempt to align it with the shrine roof.

The floor is quite irregular, but it has been made worse by the later shafts (A–F) which were inserted into it; these and the small chamber in the north-east corner will be considered in Part II.

4.3.6 Preparation of the wall surfaces

Three principal forms of preparation of the walls were employed, and are marked on the wall plans in [Pl. 7](#) to [Pl. 23](#).⁵⁴ Limited comments on individual features of the surfaces, insofar as they affect the decoration, will be found in [Chapter 5](#); more technical comments will be included in Part II of this publication.

Plaster. Two basic types of plaster were used. The final painted surface was applied to a top coat of **fine white plaster**, which was rarely more than a centimetre thick. This fine plaster was applied over a coat of **rough coarse plaster**, which could vary dramatically in

thickness according to the needs of the individual wall. In some places this fine plaster coat has been lost and it is possible to see how the rough plaster was smoothed; sometimes there are traces of fingers where the effect was achieved by hand ([Fig. 51](#)). It has not been possible to perform an analysis of the plasters, but research in other tombs has suggested it is usually calcium sulphate (gypsum) based.⁵⁵

Plaster and stones. Plaster alone was not substantial enough to build up very uneven areas, holes and cracks left by the initial cutting of the walls. For these, the coarser plaster just noted was mixed with fragments of limestone, no doubt from the cutting of the tomb. There are many traces of this in TT99 (for example, on Wall 3 ([Fig. 52](#)) or at the top left of Wall 17, see [Fig. 53](#)).

Mud. There are limited traces of Nile (silt) mud on the walls. The infrequency of this suggests that it might have come from use of the tomb in post-pharaonic times (see Part II), rather than from the time of Senneferi. However it cannot be excluded that mud was also used in an attempt to attach stones into holes in the wall to provide a basis for the heavier coarse plaster.



Fig. 51: Wall 13 left, hand-smoothed plaster

References to specific details of wall preparation will be made in each of the following sub-sections. A simple summary is that the quality of the mother rock was rather better in the Front room and in the Passage than in the Rear room, to judge from the remaining uncovered surfaces in all areas. Much of the damage to the paintings

appears to have been caused by failure of the more excessive filling-out of holes in the cut surfaces as described above, often (but not always) in areas where there were rock faults. See Emmett (§ 3.2) for more information on the geology of the area.

4.3.7 Damage to the wall paintings

The majority of the wall paintings are lost, with two walls (Wall 11 and Wall 18) effectively bereft of their original decoration. The limited areas that survive are overwhelmingly at the top of the walls, with just a few isolated patches more than 1 m below the friezes. As there are no obvious areas of deliberate cutting out (see further below for the exception of Amarna erasures), unintentional human activity may be the cause. Lisa Shekede, who worked on the paintings in TT99 in 1997–1998 suggests the following broad explanation:

I recall that there was no evidence of salts activity, and the location of TT99 probably precludes ground water or flooding as contributory factors, and so the most likely main cause is physical damage during reuse over a protracted period. Plaster layers damaged at a height consistent with normal human activities can become further destabilised where these did not initially bond strongly with the support, or where the support itself is unstable, such as over rock faults [see further [p. 40](#)]. Delaminating plaster would be easily lost during physical contact, and could also cause formerly stable areas to become delaminated, leading in turn to progressive plaster loss until only those areas outside the zone of casual human damage are left. Aspects of reuse or reconfiguring of the spaces could also have caused damage. This kind of progressive loss is quite commonly observed.⁵⁶

There are a number of strange effects on the paint surfaces which make them now appear as if they have been ‘washed’, smeared or smudged slightly.⁵⁷ This effect can be noticed in the following scenes:

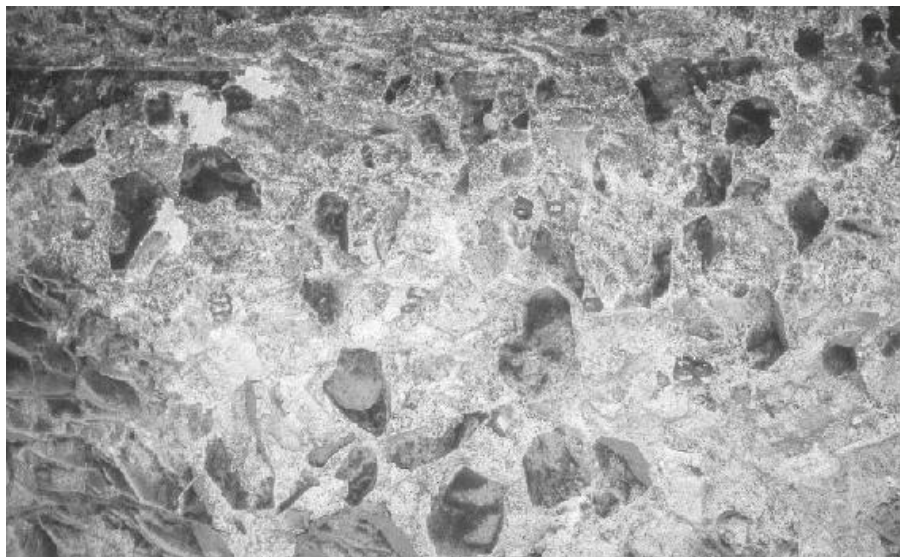


Fig. 52: Wall 3 right, stones inserted into plaster



Fig. 53: Join of Walls 16 and 17, showing use of stones in plaster for building up the wall surface

Table 8: Erasures in TT99

Text	Observations
Text 1.1 on p. 87	Possible collateral damage from a likely erasure of the name of Amun to the left, restored (Colour pl. 12A)
Text 1.2 on p. 88	Name of Amun in a title erased and restored
Text 10.1 on p. 122	Name of Amun[-Re] erased and restored
Ceiling text 3 on p. 153	Name of Amun-Re erased and not restored
Ceiling text 4 on p. 153	Possible  in the word <i>b3</i> erased in confusion that it wrote the name of Amun
Ceiling text 5 on p. 153	Name of Amun erased twice in titles and restored;  erased twice, once in the title <i>sm hb n [ntrw] nbw</i> and one as the determinative to <i>psdt</i> (one restored); likely damage to both examples of the name of Thoth in the names of Senneferi's parents
Ceiling text 6 on p. 156	First example of name of

Ceiling text 7 on p. 156

Amun certainly erased and not restored, but it is unclear whether damage to the second example is deliberate. Possibly 𓂏𓂏𓂏 erased and repaired; name of Amun erased and repaired.

Bringing wood from the Lebanon (Sc. 4.1, [p. 102](#))

On the column dividers and *wst* and *yt* groups at the top of the columns in Sc. 9.1 in the Passage ([p. 120](#))

On the scene over the niche (Sc. 15.1, [p. 136](#))

Pillar B, west face ([p. 148](#))

The ceiling on the abacus of the Shrine, area A2 ([p. 152](#))

This subject will be further addressed in Part II.

In addition, our conservators noted an area on the ceiling to the north of Pillar B in the Shrine which is clearly lighter than the remainder of the ceiling. No attribution of this damage can be made. Comments on damage done during the habitation of the tomb will be mentioned in individual scenes and further considered in Part II.

There are areas of deliberate damage, but they are quite localised and do not have the classic appearance of the ancient *damnatio memoriae* damage to a figure,⁵⁸ or to modern cutting out for sale on the antiquities market.⁵⁹ However, very common in Theban tombs is the ancient cutting out of names of gods, associated with the Amarna Period.⁶⁰ TT99 has its share of this. The name of Amun was excised in several places, and has sometimes been restored with a very rough plaster. Likewise the signs 𓂏𓂏, either in the plural *ntrw* or as determinative to *psdt*, are sometimes also cut out and not always restored. Reasonably certain examples are given in [Table 8](#).

However, as usual in tombs damaged by Amarna erasures, there are several examples of the same groups that have not been damaged. [Ceiling text 6](#) on [p. 156](#) has an intact *ntrw nbw* and seemingly an *imy-r ḥswt nbt nt imn* which although damaged, does not seem to have been deliberately excised. [Ceiling text 8](#) on [p. 156](#) has an intact name of Amun-Re in the formula, while [Ceiling text 9](#) on [p. 158](#) has an intact *ntrw nbw* and also the unerased name of Amun in two titles. Lastly, [Ceiling text 10](#) on [p. 158](#) has the undisturbed name of Amun in the formula and an intact *ntrw*.

In [Text 1.2](#) on [p. 88](#), while the name of Amun is erased, *ntrw nbw* is intact. In [Text 2.1](#) on [p. 90](#), *ntrw*, although damaged now, was probably untouched, as it was in [Text 3.1](#) on [p. 99](#) and [Text 6.1](#) on [p.](#)

114. In Senneferi's biography (Text 12.2 on p. 126), both the name of Amun and *ntrw nbw* are intact. In Text 15.2 on p. 136, *ntrw* is untouched in an epithet of Anubis, as it is on its own in Text BW.2 on p. 147. Lastly in the mention of five deities on Text 17.1 on p. 142 and Ceiling text 2 on p. 152, *ntrw* is also intact.

Clearly the names of Amun and the plural $\overline{\text{nn}}$ were the principal subjects of the Amarna attack, as elsewhere.⁶¹ Instructions for the latter erasure were evidently not to touch individual $\overline{\text{n}}$ signs, or those with plural strokes, as in the various *hmnw-ntrw* priesthoods. More unusually, the $\overline{\text{r}}$ ram in the writing of *b3* was erased, presumably either as a precaution to ensure that potential Amun references were removed,⁶² or because the workmen could not tell that it was not referring to that god.⁶³ Lastly, there are two possible examples of erasure of the *dhwtj* (Thoth) element in personal names; this would appear to be rather unusual, and the names of no deities beyond Amun(-Re) in TT99 seem to have suffered (nor have the two images of Anubis).⁶⁴ The relatively haphazard nature of this campaign of erasure is as evident here as elsewhere.

The surviving examples are overwhelmingly in the ceiling texts, but this may be coincidence, as their preservation is generally better than the walls; there may have been more examples originally but which are no longer visible after the widespread plaster disappearance (for example, Text BN.1 on p. 147).

4.4 Burial Shafts A-F inside the Chapel

All the evidence indicates that these shafts were cut in the Third Intermediate Period and will therefore be considered in Part II of this publication.

4.5 The Courtyard burial shafts

In January 1996, archaeological investigation of the Courtyard began with a preliminary investigation of the top layers of two squares north of the doorway of the Chapel. Further work in the Courtyard was carried out in subsequent seasons and revealed the presence of three burial shafts, identified as Shafts G, H and I. The grid imposed on the Courtyard (see p. 5) with shaft locations is shown in Fig. 54. The earliest authorised excavation in the tomb complex was carried out by Robert Mond, who published sketch plans of two shafts;⁶⁵ the smaller Shaft is our Shaft H. His sketch correctly shows Shaft I in the northern half of the Courtyard (Fig. 55). Although there is clear evidence that Shaft G was explored at the period when Mond was excavating in this area,⁶⁶ that shaft does not appear on his plan.

Baraize's plan of this area of the necropolis indicates the presence of one shaft in the northern part of the Courtyard.⁶⁷ He was evidently referring to Mond's larger shaft, and simply misplaced it slightly; it is obviously our Shaft I.

4.5.1 Shaft G

Plan [Pl. 1](#), Section [Pl. 4C](#)

Shaft G is a vertical shaft located in the south-western corner of the Courtyard. It is not mentioned in Mond's excavation report or shown on his sketch plan, and it does not appear in Baraize's plan. It was excavated from 5 to 8 December 1998.

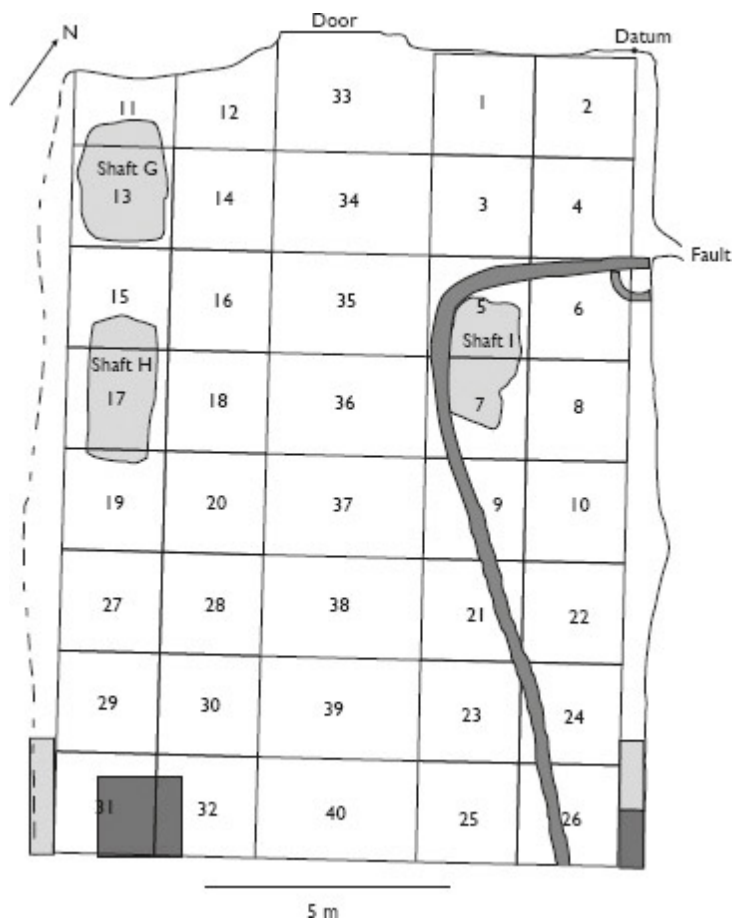


Fig. 54: Final grid used in Courtyard 1996–1997

4.5.1.1 Architectural features

The mouth of the shaft measures 2.2×1.4 m, and it has a depth of 3 m, at which point it stops rather abruptly. The floor of the shaft is fairly level and squared off, measuring approximately 1.3×1 m, with

a small step of about 20 cm along the western side of the shaft. Near the bottom a small recess was cut into the east side of the shaft wall. A doorway in the northern shaft wall, measuring about 95×75 cm and about 20 cm above the shaft floor, gives access to a small, unfinished room. It is possible that the shaft was originally cut down to the level of the doorway into this room and that the shaft floor was subsequent lowered a further 20 cm with the intention of adding another room to the east, but this was never completed and is only manifested in the form of the shallow recess in that area. The fault, which runs across the Courtyard (noted above), passes through Shaft G and it may be that the rooms off the shaft were not completed for this reason.

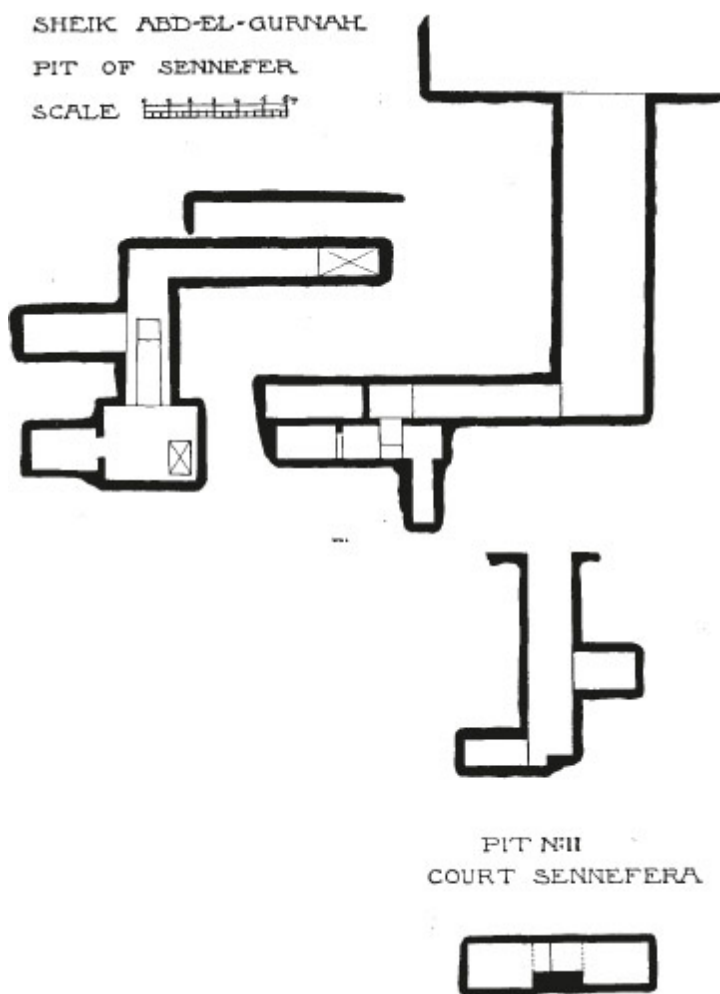


Fig. 55: Robert Mond's published sketch plans of the shafts cleared in the courtyard of TT99. Above, Shaft I; right, Shaft H (ASAE 6 (1905), 87, fig. 21, 22)

4.5.1.2 Contents

Pottery found in this shaft was a similar mixture to that filling the rest of the Courtyard and other vertical shafts, consisting of a mixture of material from the New Kingdom to modern times. This will be considered further in Part II. Items that can be certainly identified as dating to the New Kingdom consist of fragments of funerary cones, including two from TT99 and one belonging to Amenemheb (TT85: DM 270). In addition, a small piece of what was probably the stela inside the tomb ([p. 107](#)) was found at a depth of approximately 2 m in the shaft. More than 25 fragments from funerary garlands of uncertain date were also recovered in the lower levels of the shaft. Later material includes parts of Third Intermediate Period burials, notably some elements of a Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure and one broken example of a type of shabti only attested in this shaft, some Coptic ostraka, and modern material, all of which will be considered in the greater context of the Courtyard in Part II.

4.5.1.3 Likely history

Small shafts near the facades of Theban tombs have been noted in, for example, TT81, TT79 and tomb Kampp -61-.⁶⁸ There appear to be two options for the intended use of this shaft: a planned shaft of the post-Senneferi period, as will be argued for Shaft H below, or one started in a later period, perhaps the Third Intermediate. Those in TT81 and TT79 may be 18th dynasty, while that in -61- appears to be Saite.

Whatever its origin, Shaft G was not completed for unclear reasons. The balance of probability might favour its being a New Kingdom shaft, as all 18th dynasty funerary activity is concentrated in the Courtyard, and the later use of TT99 seems to have been inside the tomb chapel.

4.5.2 Shaft H

Plan [Pl. 1](#), Section [Pl. 4B](#)

This locus was evidently the second shaft in the tomb complex excavated by Mond, and it is sketched in his report, reproduced here as part of [Fig. 55](#). Re-excavation of this area was carried out from 8 to 26 December 1998.

4.5.2.1 Architectural features

Shaft H consists of a vertical shaft with two rooms. The mouth of the shaft measures approximately 2×1.2 m, with a maximum depth of 8 m; it is quite regularly cut for the first 5.5 m, after which the shape is much more uneven. At the bottom, the floor is clearly unfinished (see Section Ä-Ö, [Pl. 4B](#)). At a depth of approximately 5.5 m a doorway, approximately 1.1 m high, opens to the east into a room that is almost

curved, yet with a finished look (Room 1). Perhaps the unusual shape was dictated by the quality of the very brown-coloured limestone into which it is cut. It is a maximum of 2 m wide, and roughly 3 m in length.

At the bottom of the shaft, on the western side, is the entrance to another chamber, designated Room 2; the doorway measures approximately 1.2×0.7 m. Just inside, is what looks like a small niche, 0.8×0.8 m with a maximum depth of 0.5 m, cut into the northern wall (Fig. 57). The shape of Room 2 is irregular, and the floor is extremely uneven and clearly unfinished (see Fig. 56 and Section Ä–Ö, Pl. 4B). Its length is approximately 3.1 m and the width 2.3 m. Parallels to the design and location of this shaft are not easy to find due to lack of comparable published examples, but there may be a similar, shaft with only one chamber, in the courtyard of the nearby TT79.⁶⁹ The basic form of this shaft has much in common with the recently excavated shaft of Amenhotep in el-Khokha (Kampp -64-).⁷⁰

4.5.2.2 Contents

The contents of the vertical shaft had clearly been much disturbed; fragments of matchboxes, smoking pipes, glass bracelets and Coptic ostraka, as well as funerary cones, shabtis, coffin fragments, etc., were found throughout its fill, with fewer examples of late Roman and modern material below the level of Room 1. These will be considered in more detail in Part II, in the discussion of finds from the Courtyard and other shafts. The ceramics from the upper levels of the vertical shaft included many of late Roman, as well as pharaonic, date, the latter principally dating to the 18th dynasty. Some modern ceramics were also found at these levels.

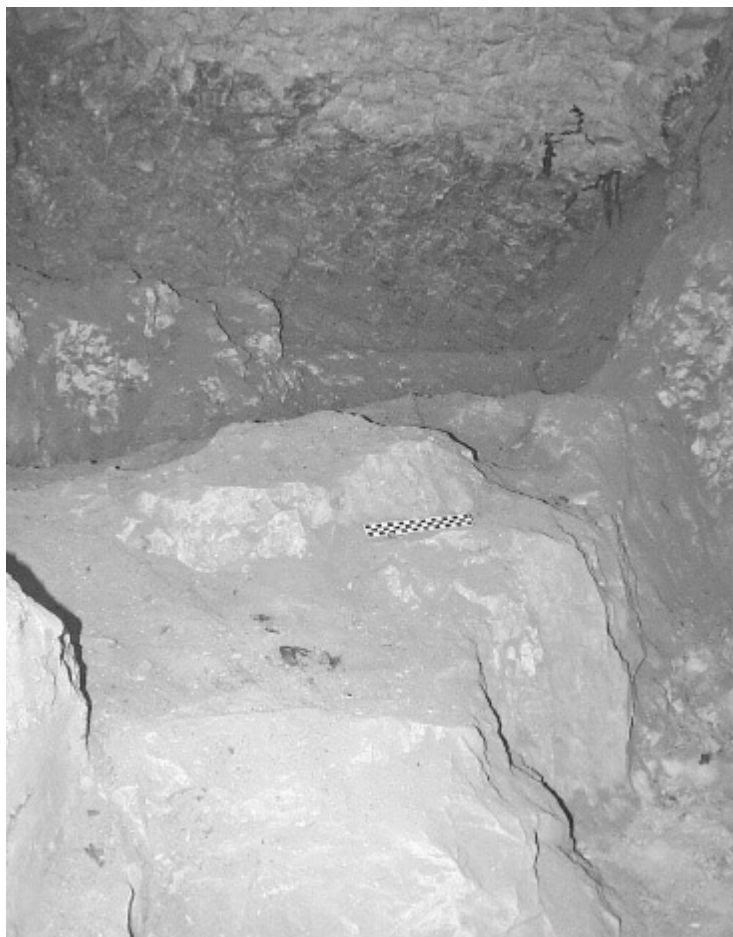


Fig. 56: Shaft H, Room 2, showing uneven floor level



Fig. 57: Shaft H, Room 2, niche in north wall

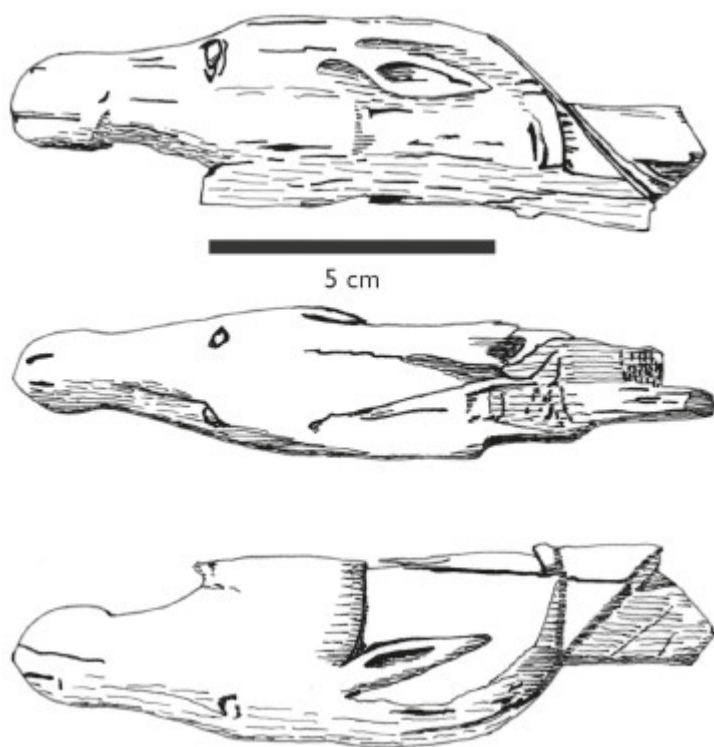


Fig. 58: Furniture fragment?, object 99.98.0336

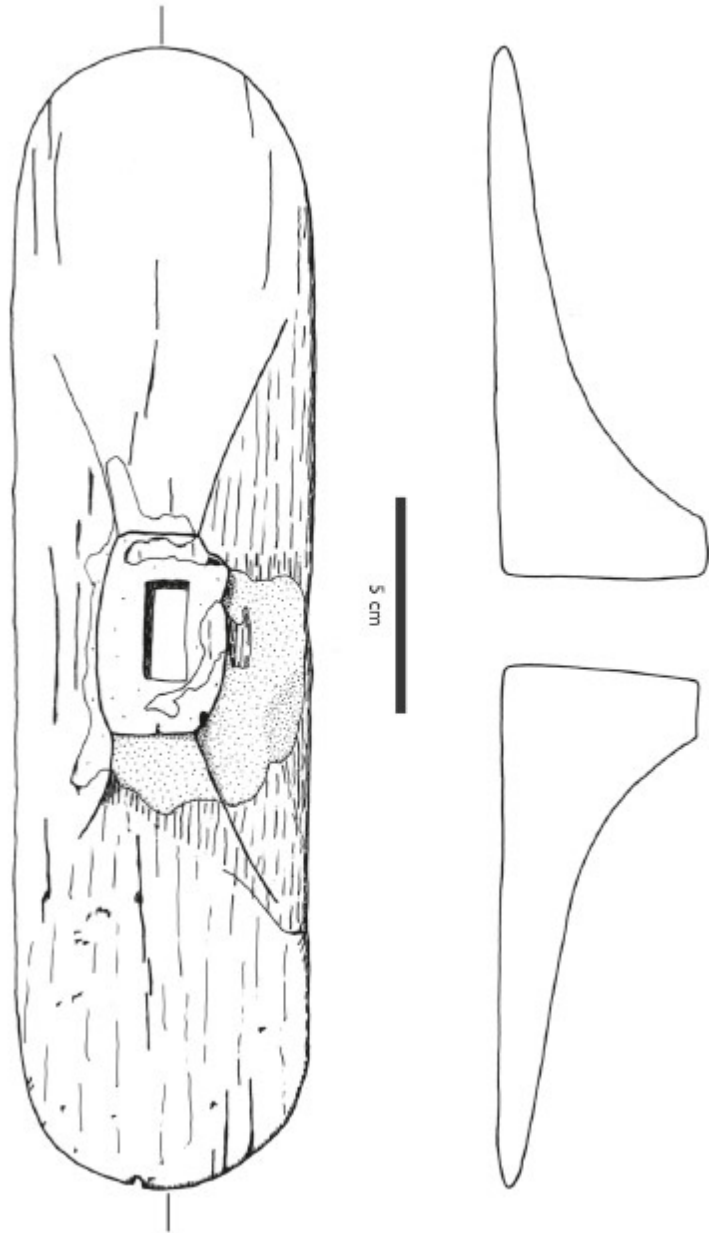


Fig. 59: Headrest, object 99.98.0585



Fig. 60: Coffin fragments 99.98.0549 (left), eye socket 99.98.0445 (centre), hand 99.98.0460 (right)

The contents of Room 1 consisted, in the main, of spill from the vertical shaft. Beyond this, the remaining small amount of debris could have been the remains of the original fill of the entrance to the room, mixed with some of the disturbed contents. The dating of the ceramics from here was consistent with those from the upper levels of the vertical shaft. Other finds from Room 1 included clay fragments from coffins, several decorated in yellow on a black background and so are probably early New Kingdom.⁷¹

A wooden fragment, possibly from a piece of furniture, may also be of 18th dynasty date: it has the head of an animal carved on it, probably an ibex ([Fig. 58](#)). The wood has been painted black, and the neck of the animal is carved so that it can be attached to something, perhaps as a decorative element on a piece of furniture.⁷²

A number of large blocks were found in the shaft at the level of the doorway of Room 1. Just below this, a distinct layer of bone and poor quality linen filled the shaft. From this point onwards, the ceramics found in this locus were almost exclusively 18th dynasty in date, with fewer than 10% of the ceramics of late Roman date and no 'modern' ceramics at all (see Rose, [p. 293](#)). From the same point onwards, coffin fragments became much more numerous and included many with yellow decoration on a black background in the lower levels of the shaft. Approximately 1 m above the bottom, at the level of the top

layers of debris in Room 2, lay a dense blanket-like area of linen and bone.

Room 2 was half filled with debris, sloping back from the doorway. The contents were much disturbed but without any contamination from post-pharaonic material. Two objects are of particular interest: one fragment was identified as coming from a blue faience bracelet of a type well-known in the 18th dynasty.⁷³ Termed Bracelet C,⁷⁴ it is not dissimilar to Bracelet B from Shaft I, discussed in more detail below (p. 273). It appears to have an unevenly fired core, and it cannot be joined with the fragments from Shaft I. It is too small to estimate the diameter of the original. Another object almost certainly of 18th dynasty date is the base of a wooden headrest, probably originally painted black (Fig. 59). There is a slot through the middle for attachment of the upper part.⁷⁵ The long base of the headrest is of a type normally employed in the 18th dynasty.⁷⁶

Other finds from Room 2 include the lower part of a relatively large faience shabti, two small pieces of cartonnage, a hand from a coffin and fragments from the decorated outer layers of coffins (possibly not of New Kingdom date), as well as the stamped end of a funerary cone (DM 34). Also of note are three vessels that may be of late New Kingdom date (see Rose below p. 296), which come from Room 2 and the bottom-most layers of the vertical shaft.

Three objects from the bottom of Shaft H and from both rooms indicate the presence of coffins there (Fig. 60). They are only tentatively included here as, while they could be of 18th dynasty date, they could equally date to the Third Intermediate Period.⁷⁷ Object 99.98.0460 is a wooden (left) hand, with a layer of gesso and traces of reddish brown paint on it. ⁷⁸ 99.98.0549⁷⁹ is part of a right hand, consisting principally of the thumb. Traces of gesso are present and it is quite similar to 99.98.0460. Lastly, 99.98.0445⁸⁰ is a socket for an inlaid eye. Some traces of adhesive which would have held the inlay are possibly identifiable.

The human remains from Shaft H (see Waldron below, § 13.2) indicate a minimum number of individuals of 21, but these cannot be closely dated and may reflect some part of the original burials, as well as any later use and also intrusive material. It seems most unlikely that this number of bodies could have originally been buried in such a relatively restricted location, although the burials of Neferkhuit⁸¹ and Ramose and Hatnefer⁸² show how many people from the same family could be interred in the same relatively small space.

4.5.2.3 Likely history

The regular shape of the first 5.5 m of the vertical shaft, taken

together with the apparently finished nature of Room 1 at this depth, indicates that these were the original parts of Shaft H.⁸³ Below this level, the vertical shaft is much more uneven and Room 2 and the floor of the vertical shaft are all clearly unfinished (Fig. 56), suggesting that these portions of the locus were added as a second phase of use. Analysis of the ceramics (see Rose § 12.2) also suggests that there were two phases of burials during the 18th dynasty, first in the period from the reigns of Thutmose II to Thutmose IV, the bulk of it conforming to Aston's New Kingdom Pottery Phase 2B,⁸⁴ and again at some period from the reigns of Amenhotep III to Horemheb. It seems logical to conclude that Room 1 was used for the earlier interments, with the shaft being extended and reused towards the end of the 18th dynasty.⁸⁵

The only other significant New Kingdom find from the complex, slightly later in date than Senneferi himself, is the statue of his son-in-law Amenhotep (above, § 2.2.5.1). However, the use of Shaft H cannot be associated with this Amenhotep as the existence of his tomb has long been known, the lost tomb C.3, rediscovered in 2009 only some 60 m from TT99 (see above § 2.2.5). However, we know so little about the burial of family members in the New Kingdom beyond those of the named tomb-owners themselves that it seems more than possible that a tomb complex could have been used for the interments of a considerable number of other contemporary and later relatives.⁸⁶ With such prime burial sites accessible to a family it would seem logical that they be taken advantage of as long as they were allowed to, and thus the famous Theban tombs may have been the resting places of far more individuals than is generally suspected.

The evidence of the contents of the vertical shaft, with almost no post-pharaonic material below the level of Room 1, suggests also that there was a clear distinction in the pattern of clearance of this locus. At the lowest levels, there is evidence of ransacking of bodies, suggesting that at some time in the past, robbers removed the fill of the vertical shaft down to about 1 m above the bottom of the shaft, removed any items of value from Room 2 and pulled the coffins out into the shaft, before breaking them up and stripping the mummies there. The presence of late New Kingdom pottery might suggest that this robbery dated to that period. It is likely that the shaft was refilled at that time.

Present knowledge of patterns of tomb robbery suggests that this area was robbed again at least once more prior to Mond's investigations. However, the homogeneity of the contents of the shaft below Room 1 makes it highly likely that the lower levels of the shaft

were never fully cleared but, instead, moved aside in order to access Room 2. This seems also to have been the case when Mond excavated, since there would have been an admixture of later material from the Courtyard if the lower levels had been completely cleared and refilled subsequently. We speculate, therefore, that Mond's workmen cleared the shaft down to the level of Room 1, which they looked into and decided did not contain anything of much note. They then investigated the lower levels of the shaft and Room 2 without fully clearing them. The presence of a layer of linen and bone at the level of the doorway into Room 1 suggests that they then returned to investigate Room 1 again, perhaps pulling finds and human remains out into the shaft for inspection before the shaft was refilled.

4.5.3 Shaft I

Plan [Pl. 1](#) and [Fig. 61](#); sections [Pl. 2](#), [Pl. 4A](#), [Pl. 4D](#)

The locus identified as Shaft I comprises a deep vertical shaft, which gives access to an L-shaped Corridor leading to a single room (Room 1) and a second, short vertical shaft at the bottom of which were two further rooms. Shaft I appears in Mond's sketch and was thus cleared to a large extent by his workers.⁸⁷ However, inconsistencies between his plan and the actual layout reveal that it was probably only the first vertical shaft was completely cleared. For example, Mond's sketch plan includes an additional shaft within Room 2, where there is in fact a depression in the floor running across the whole width of the room.

Shaft I was re-excavated from 18 December 1997 to 8 January 1998 and from 1 to 29 December 1998. A schematic 3D model has been created of the shaft, and the shaft and associated nomenclature is shown in [Fig. 62](#).

4.5.3.1 Architecture

The mouth of the principal shaft measures approximately 2.5×1.3 m. It is roughly-cut and about 14.25 m in depth, and rather irregular for the upper 2 m. At its bottom, the shaft measures about $2.8 \text{ m} \times 1.4 \text{ m}$. The floor slopes from east to west, and at the west side is a doorway measuring about $1.8 \times 1.35 \text{ m}$. A step down leads to an almost straight and level corridor (Corridor 1). A red mark in the centre of the ceiling, at approximately 2.9 m from the doorway, may be a mason's mark. While well made, the Corridor is roughly finished overall, and still covered with a multitude of chisel marks ([Fig. 63](#)). After a distance of 7.75 m from the doorway there is a sharp turn to the left into Corridor 2; at this turn the height of the Corridor is about 1.6 m, and the width close to 2 m.

Corridor 2 appears originally to have had a slightly rising floor level and the ceiling level is approximately 2 m in height, suggesting that

this space was originally a room extending to the right (Room 1, [Fig. 75](#), [Fig. 64](#)). The latter room has a relatively level floor and measures approximately 4×2 m, with a maximum ceiling height of 1.85 m. There is a distinct change in floor level at about 1.5 m from the doorway, and at this point the shape of the room changes from being roughly rectangular to more irregular, both features being suggestive of a modification ([Fig. 76](#)). In Corridor 2 itself, the original floor was cut through to form a series of large and rough steps leading to a short vertical shaft, designated for that reason the 'Staircase' Shaft, approximately 2 m deep, about 1 m wide and 1.9 m long ([Fig. 65](#); profile is in Section W–X, [Pl. 4A](#)).

At the bottom of this shaft there are two further steps before a chamber opens out (Room 2, [Fig. 77](#), [Fig. 66](#)), which is roughly rectangular and approximately $4 \text{ m} \times 3.5 \text{ m}$. This has a sloping floor for the first 1.5 m before there is a well-cut depression (not cleared by Mond), like a large trough in the floor, which runs the whole width of the room and is about 0.7 m deep, with a level bottom (Section A"–B", [Pl. 2](#), [Fig. 67](#)). The long sides of this depression seem to have been coated with a plaster, after which a resin-like substance has been poured or brushed on. Some areas of plaster and resin remain in situ ([Fig. 66](#)), while 176 other fragments, some still attached to fragments of limestone, were recovered almost all from Room 2 (18) and Room 3 (158) during excavation. At this point Room 2 is approximately 2.7 m high. The walls of the room are fairly regular but unsmoothed; a number of long salt crystals, growing on the surface, indicate the presence of moisture in the rocks in this area ([Fig. 68](#)).

The purpose of the aforementioned depression or trough is unclear.⁸⁸ The presence of the black resin might suggest an Osirian connection, and be reminiscent of the resin on coffins, food containers and some boxes (see [Chapter 8](#) and [Chapter 11](#)).⁸⁹ The trough might have been intended to give more vertical room to coffins that stood in this place, or just to make access easier to the smaller Room 3. Alternatively, it may have been planned to level the floor completely, but the death of the intended occupants may have caused a change in plans.

To the right, and at the same level as the floor of the depression, is a doorway, about 1.1 m wide, leading into a further chamber (Room 3, [Fig. 69](#)). This room is less wellshaped than Room 2, and equally unsmoothed, and has a much lower ceiling, with a maximum height of about 1.85 m. The room itself is about 3 m long, and 2.5 m wide ([Fig. 70](#)). The walls are heavily coated with effloresced salts, perhaps reflecting relative proximity to the water table (the floor is

approximately 19 m below the level of the Chapel above).

No clear traces have been noted anywhere on the walls of a formal sealing of the entrance or indeed any of the subsequent chambers. However, 21 largish fragments of a grey to yellow gritty silt were found in Rooms 2 (4) and 3 (17); these are not jar or box sealings and could thus belong to the sealing-up of the burial complex.⁹⁰ Their presence in the lowest level of the complex precludes their being part of any sealing at the bottom of the main shaft, and so it seems likely they were part of the closure of the doorway of Room 2, Room 3 or both.⁹¹

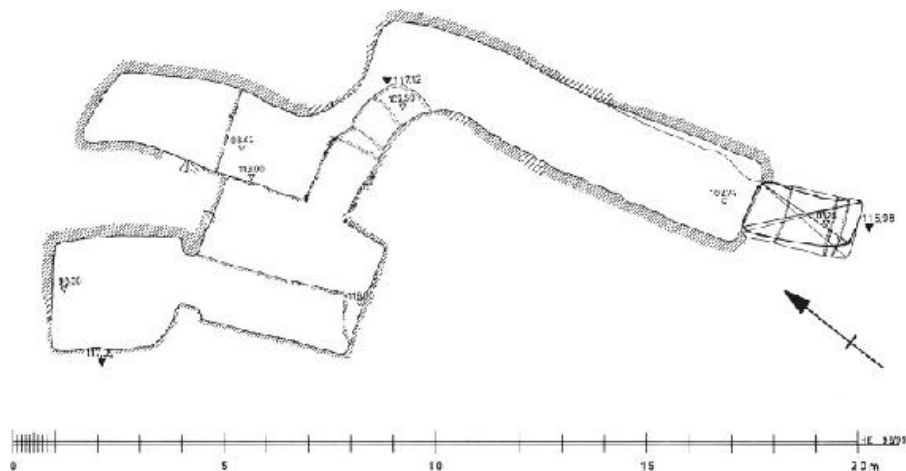


Fig. 61: The underground chambers of Shaft I, from the larger plan of the complex (Pl. 1)

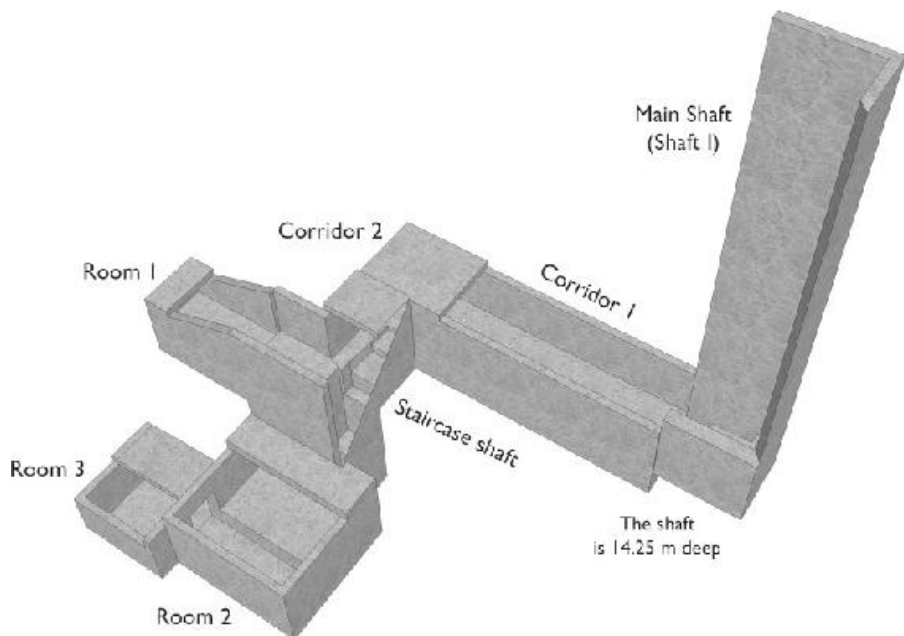


Fig. 62: 3D schematic reconstruction of Shaft I with the individual elements labelled. Model by Helen Strudwick



Fig. 63: Shaft I, Corridor 1 viewed from the bottom of Shaft I. The boulders on the left were found in the central area of Corridor 1



Fig. 64: Shaft I, Corridor 2 showing the entrance to Room 1 and the opening of the Staircase shaft below



Fig. 65: Shaft I, the Staircase shaft and the entrance to Room 2

Three examples appear to bear some sort of impression, none very clear. 99.98.0440a possibly bears the hieroglyphs  (somewhat elongated) forming the name of Senneferi, perhaps with a column divider ([Fig. 71](#)). 99.98.0497 ([Fig. 72](#)) seems to have impressions on two sides, and may have come from a corner; these stamps are almost invisible in the photo, but the right-hand side may again give the name of Senneferi, while on the left traces suggest to us  and  or , elements of Senneferi's principal title. Similar traces seem to exist on

99.98.0500a ([Fig. 73](#)). It thus appears that the means used to close the chambers after burial was stamped with the name and probably the title of the owner.

When the excavation of Shaft I was completed in December 1998, a brick plinth, with a locked iron grille, was built around the shaft opening for safety.



Fig. 66: Shaft I, Room 2.

In the foreground is the depression in the floor, with remains of plaster covered with resin visible at right



Fig. 67: The depression in Shaft I, Room 2, leading into Room 3



Fig. 68: Salt crystals on the walls of Shaft I, Room 2 in 1998

4.5.3.2 Excavation

The mouth of the principal vertical shaft in the Courtyard was completely concealed below a mud floor within a structure in the Courtyard, which appeared to have been used as an animal shelter. The fill matrix of this shaft consisted of powdered limestone dust and fine sand, with an admixture of large and small stones, areas of animal

dung and chaff and mud bricks. The stones tended to be at the western side of the shaft, from about 4.2 m in depth down to 8.5 m, with significant voids, while on the eastern sides there were large areas of clean dust, which could have been the result of sieving or else indicate that the shaft was only partially filled for a significant period of time.

A number of very large boulders were found from approximately 9 m to 11 m in depth within the principal shaft; these were too large to remove without mechanical assistance and, in fact, the majority had to be broken up in order to be removed. It is unlikely that they had ever been taken out of the shaft after they were originally placed inside it; they may therefore have been part of the original blocking of the entrance to Corridor 1 from the vertical shaft and it is likely that access to the Corridor, by robbers or previous excavators, had been gained simply by shifting these boulders to one side, to the extent that this was possible within such a confined space. A possible, but less likely alternative is that they were deposited in the shaft after a period of robbery at an unknown period in the past.

The lowest levels of fill in the shaft were very different in nature, consisting of clean powdered limestone, with increasing quantities of limestone fragments close to bedrock.

Beyond the doorway of the shaft, a mound of debris occupied the first 2.5 m along the Corridor, representing spill from the vertical shaft over an underlying matrix of fine dust, which contained small amounts of broken up limestone, fragments of pottery and wood. Beyond this a further larger mound of debris extended from c. 4.75 m from the doorway to the junction of Corridor 1 and Corridor 2. From its shape and location, this mound seemed likely to be spoil from clearing access to the 'Staircase' Shaft and Room 1; it was notable for containing many stones, including a substantial number of large, carefully shaped blocks of limestone, possibly from a blockage of some kind ([Fig. 63](#)).

Corridor 2 and Room 1 were both relatively clear of debris; this may have been partly done by Mond's workmen, to gain easier access to the rooms below. The 'Staircase' Shaft was only partially full, with a very stony rubble fill that had spilled into Room 2 beyond. Within Room 2 there was relatively little rubble, other than a surface layer probably fallen from the ceiling which overlaid a matrix consisting principally of fine dust. In Room 3, the fill matrix was similar but, in all except the lowest layer, mixed with brown dust, some of which was damp and which probably originated from decaying mummy bandage ([Fig. 74](#)). The mass of linen at one side of the chamber in [Fig.](#)

74 had obviously been thrown there during one of the robberies (see further below), and the debris on top can only have fallen from the ceiling.



Fig. 69: The entrance into shaft I, Room 3 from the depression in Room 2



Fig. 70: The interior of Shaft I, Room 3

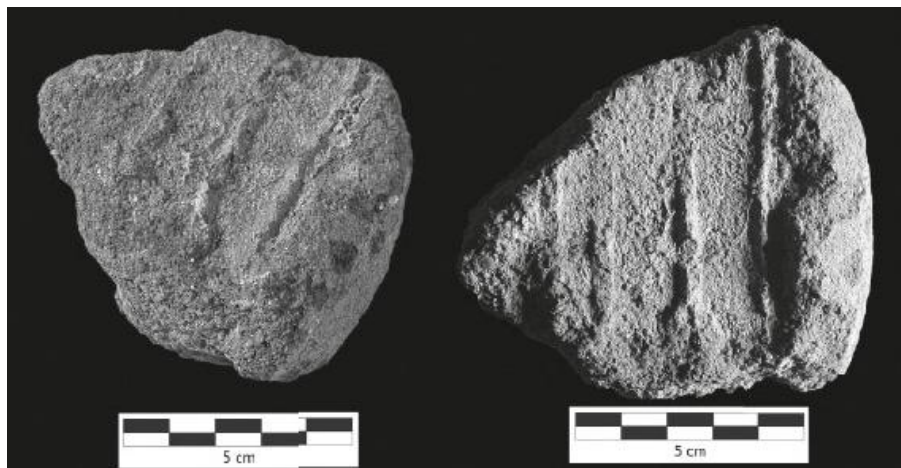


Fig. 71: Possible tomb sealing, 99.98.0440a



Fig. 72: Possible tomb sealing, 99.98.0497

Fig. 73: Possible tomb sealing, 99.98.0500a

4.5.3.3 Contents

Finds from the principal shaft were dominated by ceramics, with approximately 540 kg being recovered, equating to approximately 38 kg per metre of depth. The pottery was similar in character to ceramics from the Courtyard, including significant quantities of Late Roman and some more modern ceramics. Otherwise, finds from the shaft consisted of a mixture of material from the area of the tomb as a whole, ranging from finds of 18th dynasty date through to modern material probably originating from the period when the tomb chapel

and Courtyard were inhabited and prior the eviction of its occupants in 1907. Since the majority of the finds are post-New Kingdom they will be dealt with in Part II of this publication. Of note, however, are the over 100 fragments of granite which clearly originate from an 18th dynasty false door, all in the lower levels of the principal shaft except three fragments found in Corridor 1. The false door of Senneferi is dealt with fully in [Chapter 5, p. 90](#); one of the fragments bearing his name was found near the bottom of Shaft I (99.98.0003). About 1,500 further fragments of undecorated granite were recovered from this shaft.

73 fragments of limestone were also recovered, probably from an 18th dynasty stela, almost certainly from TT99. This stela is considered in detail in [Chapter 5, p. 107](#). One of the more significant fragments of the lunette composition was found near the bottom of Shaft I (99.98.0001), while a further eleven were found in Corridor 1, one in the ‘Staircase’ Shaft and one in the top layer of Room 2. The close proximity of stela and false door fragments very much suggest that they were broken up together (see further [p. 97](#)).



Fig. 74: Room 3 as found, with limestone debris partially covering a ransacked bundle of mummy linen

In contrast to the deep main shaft, finds from the remainder of the Shaft I locus were almost exclusively objects of 18th dynasty date, including many that can be securely identified as coming from Senneferi's burial as well as the burials of other members of his

family. The large range of types of find requires a number of separate reports to deal with each type. Thus the papyri are considered in [Chapter 7](#), coffins in [Chapter 8](#), ceramics in [Chapter 9](#), jar labels from the ceramics in [Chapter 10](#), small finds in [Chapter 11](#), and human and animal remains in [Chapter 13](#). In addition to these, a number of sandstone fragments, some with inscribed surfaces, were found in these areas; the two corridors yielded over 50 kg of sandstone, while the ‘Staircase’ Shaft yielded approximately 6 kg. Over 12 kg of sandstone fragments were found in Room 2, and a further 5 kg came from Room 3. It is not clear what kind of object(s) these may have come from since they are mostly unrecognisable. A small number have some traces of yellow paint and five appear to be from the rim of an unidentified object; four of the latter have black paint on them. It is tempting to associate this with the black coating of the trough in the floor of Room 2 and to suggest that some kind of large sandstone container was used to hold the resin-like substance with which it was painted. Other fragments, however, have a flat surface and some of the inscribed hieroglyphs are large, suggesting that they come from at least one other substantial object made of sandstone, which cannot at present be identified. No parallels for an object of this kind can be found in any of the substantially intact burials currently known.

4.5.4 Construction sequence and history of Shaft I

Much of this section is well-informed speculation, based on the notes of the 1998 excavations just described and the wider study of TT99.⁹² It is also based on comparison with studies of intact tombs of the New Kingdom, and also insights from Nigel Strudwick’s recent studies of the history and mechanisms of robbery from ancient to modern times.⁹³

The reader is reminded that the large vertical shaft contained a mixture of all sorts of material from the tomb area, ranging in date from the 18th dynasty to the Late Roman/ Coptic period and from modern occupation prior to 1907. In contrast, finds from Corridor 1 and beyond were almost wholly of 18th dynasty date.

Phase 1: The original form of the context, subsequent expansion and burials

Development of the context and identity of occupants

On [p. 70](#) it was proposed that the original plan was for one burial area at the end of Corridor 2 ([Fig. 75](#)). At some point the latter room was enlarged to become a larger burial room ([Fig. 76](#)), and then the floor of the remainder of the original burial chamber was cut through to create a descent to a set of lower rooms (Rooms 2 and 3, [Fig. 77](#)).

No artefacts found in the burial areas of Shaft I were later in date than the 18th dynasty; the only name indicating ownership discovered among the finds was that of Senneferi. Thus Shaft I must be Senneferi's burial place. However, at least five adults were buried in this area, two male and three female. The body of one of the females had been covered in a plaster-like substance in places, making it very distinctive. (below, Waldron, § 13.1.8)

One of the adult males must be Senneferi himself and we suggest that one of the females is his wife, Taiamu, perhaps the elaborately mummified example. Nigel Strudwick argued in a 2009 article that the other male and one of the other adult females were Senneferi's parents, Haydjehuty and Satdjehuty.⁹⁴ They certainly appeared in the decoration of the tomb chapel (at least Walls 7 and 14), are named in the burial chamber on his shroud and funerary papyrus, and are also mentioned on his statue in the British Museum (EA 48, § 2.3.1). However, no objects recognisably theirs were found in the tomb.⁹⁵

Without any concrete evidence of the sequence of death of these individuals, it is proposed that Senneferi's parents predeceased him.⁹⁶ In the absence of any other finds with their names, they may have been buried in undecorated wooden boxes, like the anonymous persons interred in the tomb of Ramose and Hatnefer or that of Neferkhuit.⁹⁷ Their bodies could have been brought from some other location to be buried in this shaft once it had been completed, presumably before Senneferi himself died. Room 1 being the first burial place cut is likely to have held their bodies. In order to effect the burial, Corridors 1 and 2 must have been relatively clear, if not completely so.

The fifth female adult, tentatively identified as an unmarried daughter who predeceased Senneferi, may also have been placed in Room 1. Room 1 is likely to have been blocked off to protect it during work on creating the lower suite of rooms. A number of fairly regular blocks found relatively close to the junction between Corridor 1 and Corridor 2 might have served that purpose (**Fig. 63**). However, there is no evidence on the walls in this area of any plaster sealing of the doorway.

Senneferi's burial was undoubtedly the principal one within this context and the lower suite of Rooms 2 and 3 was likely to have held his (and Taiamu's) burial. We suggest below (**p. 291**) that the coffin of Senneferi was placed in Room 3, together with much of his funerary equipment, while Room 2 was the location of Taiamu's burial (**p. 292**). On this basis, it is most likely that Senneferi was buried first.⁹⁸

The interior appearance of the tomb after the burials

On the basis of the very limited number of undisturbed burials of the 18th dynasty known, it appears that, when burials were completed, the chambers and access corridors were left in a relatively neat and tidy state, without excess unwanted stone chippings and other material from the construction phase present.⁹⁹ The best evidence in support of this is the tomb of Kha (TT8), with its neat and tidy floors and chambers,¹⁰⁰ suggesting the practice of cleaning akin to that of the ritual of *init rd*, known from the Old Kingdom.¹⁰¹ This is confirmed by the undisturbed chamber of Ramose and Hatnefer, in front of TT71¹⁰² and two further small chambers found by the MMA expedition in the same excavation season.¹⁰³ The generally clean state of the partially robbed burial of Iru from the 25th dynasty in the Assasif suggests that the above scenario is likely to hold for all periods of Egyptian history.¹⁰⁴

So what happened in Shaft I? During the enlargement of the underground rooms, the principal shaft would have had to remain clear to give access to the workforce involved. A substantial quantity of the rubble created in this process may have been kept underground in order to fill the new 'staircase' shaft after the interments there had taken place. Once that work had been carried out, would it have been decided to fill up the principal shaft while awaiting the decease of the intended occupants? It is not possible to be certain, as we know little about how shafts were protected during construction and after, other than filling with debris.¹⁰⁵ A small well leading to the burial chamber in TT82 seems to have been covered at some time with sandstone slabs.¹⁰⁶

Certainly, a shaft of the dimensions of Shaft I left open would present quite a hazard in that area of the necropolis. It may have been temporarily covered with wood or stone, for the sake of safety, if for no other reason. Or it may have been refilled. If so, some very large, but irregular boulders found at the bottom of the shaft were probably used to secure the entrance to Corridor 1, after which rubble and debris was tipped down the shaft. Some of this must have spilled into Corridor 1, there being no evidence of any form of sealing at the beginning of the Corridor area.

Theft from burials during Phase 1?

At the time of interment, it is hard to envisage the elite burial party descending a 14.25 m shaft to witness what happened in the cramped conditions of the underground chambers. Scenes of burial, including the Opening of the Mouth from papyri (such as the famous scene of Hunefer¹⁰⁷) and the 'Rites before the Tomb' in the private tombs (for example TT181¹⁰⁸) suggest that the main rites were performed outside

the tomb. We assume that the actual interment was effected by a separate group of workmen, and any unscrupulous individuals thus involved were presented with the opportunity to carry out opportunistic thefts, taking small, portable objects that could be concealed on their persons, or those which might be volatile or perishable.¹⁰⁹ Clearly this is only really provable for tombs found in far better condition than that of Senneferi, such as some in the Valley of the Kings and a number of 21st dynasty burials.¹¹⁰

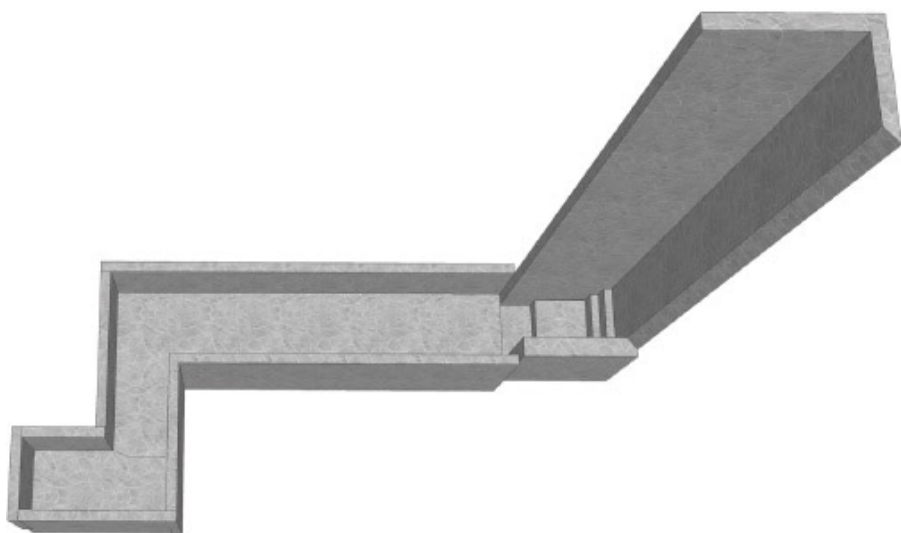


Fig. 75: The original form of the Shaft I complex

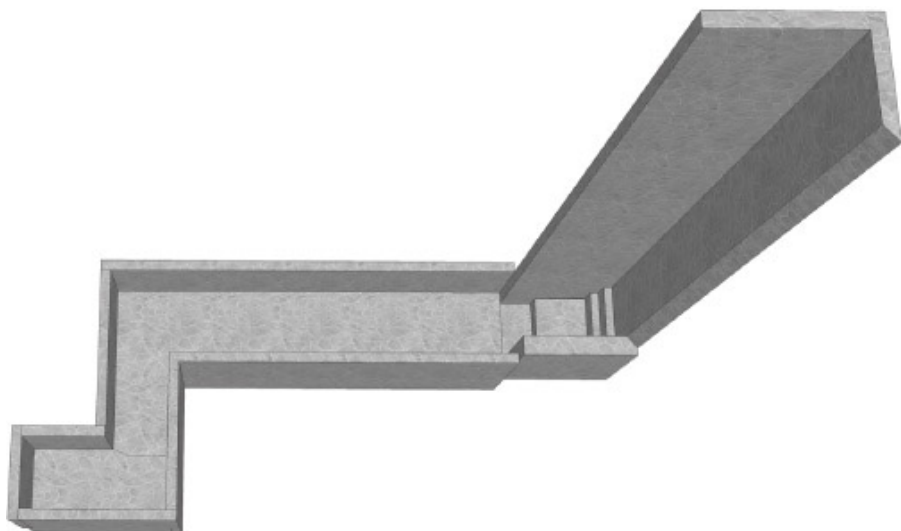


Fig. 76: The Shaft I complex with Room 1 extended

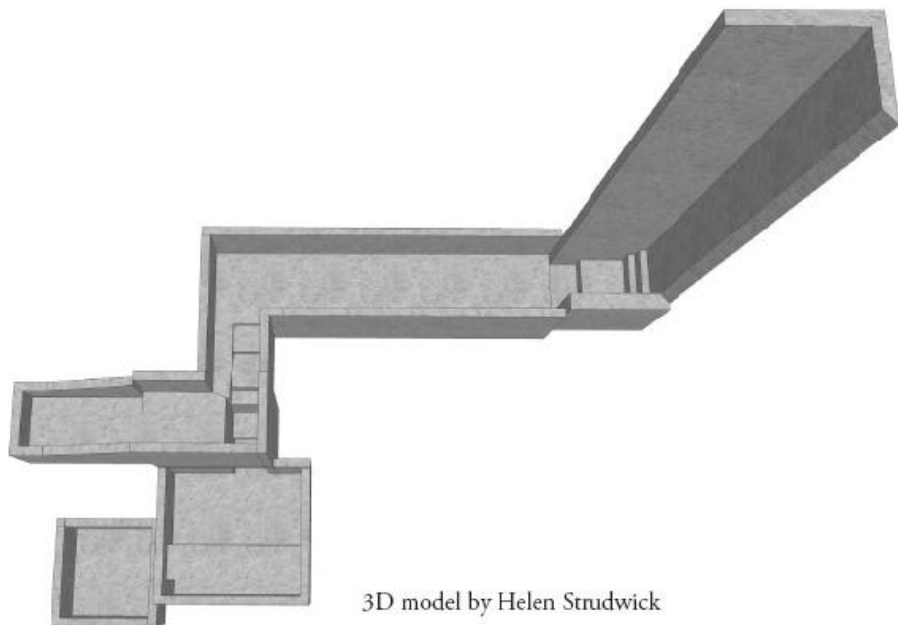


Fig. 77: The Shaft I complex with the addition of the Staircase shaft and Rooms 2 and 3

The shaft at the end of Phase 1 ([Colour pl. 10A](#))

Thus at the end of Phase 1, we suggest that the Shaft I complex was left in a relatively tidy state, with Senneferi's parents and (probably) daughter buried in Room 1, Senneferi interred in Room 3, and his wife in Room 2. The burials within Room 1 are likely to have remained undisturbed if that chamber was, as we suspect, blocked off with a stone wall. Within Rooms 2 and 3, the burials may have been lightly rifled. The staircase shaft between the two levels of the tomb would have been filled with rubble as part of the closure of those burials. Within Corridor 1, there was some spillage from the refilling of the principal shaft, which may have been cleared aside to give access for the later burials. The fill material of the principal shaft would have consisted of dust, chippings and larger stones, presumably debris from tomb building, with little or no contamination of other material.

Phase 2: Interval in activity during the mid- to later New Kingdom; rock falls

Any subsequent 18th dynasty burials would have been made in other locations, principally Shaft H in the southern part of the Courtyard. We cannot, of course, rule out robbery prior to the later New Kingdom thefts (Phase 3 below); possible evidence for this takes the form of an alabaster vessel, the contents of which had not fully solidified before the vessel was broken (Alabaster vessel A, [p. 260](#)). However, one does wonder how easy it would have been to rob a 14.25 m deep shaft like that of Senneferi? Vertical shafts seem to be concentrated in tombs of the reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, and there are actually fewer of them than often thought, even in this part of Sheikh Abdel Qurna,¹¹¹ surely making them a less attractive target than other burial shafts, assuming that the robbers were aware of their depth. Other examples are those of TT87 (12.15 m), TT61 (about 10 m), and TT97 (at least 13.3 m),¹¹² actually making that of TT99 one of the deepest currently known.

Rock falls in tombs

Within the burial chambers of Shaft I, especially Rooms 2 and 3, it is surely likely that a number of rock-falls would have occurred in the interval between Phase 1 and Phase 3 (about 300 years). The salt efflorescence on the walls has been mentioned above [p. 70](#). This phenomenon would be sufficient to cause rock to fall from the ceiling from time to time, damaging the burials and adding to the rubble. Hayes noted something similar in the admittedly more damaged tomb of Neferkhuit.¹¹³

The danger of rock falls is ever present in the Theban necropolis, exacerbated by the variable geology and by the ever present threat of water incursion and even of earthquakes (§ 3.2). As an example, there have been numerous rock falls in TT320, the Deir el-Bahari cache, both ancient and modern;¹¹⁴ Nigel Strudwick noticed a further fall therein on a visit to the cache in 2010. Few studies have been published on the geology of the Theban area, and these have tended to concentrate on the Valley of the Kings following the various conservation projects there.¹¹⁵

Although we have to be cautious about applying conclusions from elsewhere to the rock of TT99, the fact that there are several tombs in the Valley of the Kings which remained sealed either from the 18th dynasty or from the end of the New Kingdom to modern times mean that the natural action of rock fall or collapse can be observed better there than in the private tombs. The following observations are based

on superficial examination of images of tombs taken shortly after discovery where it seems reasonable to assume that they lay undisturbed by man for some three millennia.¹¹⁶

The variable history and documentation of the tombs in the Valley of the Kings means that the best images for our purposes come from the Amarna Cache (KV55) and the tomb of Horemheb (KV57). These tombs had varying amounts of rock visible on their floors when first entered at the beginning of the 20th century AD. It is very evident that some rock had already fallen on the floor of KV55 when the complex series of burials and reburials was made, and then further falls can be seen on top of the contents.¹¹⁷ Bell observes that some of the material evident in photographs comes from where the fill of the entrance Corridor spread into the tomb, but some of that further in the tomb must have come from rock falls in the relatively restricted period during which it was used.¹¹⁸ The rock falls are much clearer throughout KV57, a much longer tomb, and are in fact very extensive, evidently including the collapsing of columns;¹¹⁹ this tomb appears to have been last entered around the beginning of the 21st dynasty.¹²⁰ We are of course working on the assumption that the main elements of a royal tomb of this time were planned to exist for eternity, free of artificially-introduced debris, as was the tomb of Tutankhamun. More limited amounts of debris can be seen in excavation photographs of the tombs of Thutmose IV (KV43)¹²¹ and the anonymous KV42.¹²² That the rock is capable of collapse without human interference should be remembered whenever reference is made to rock falls in the following pages.

Phase 3: Ancient Robbery

The late New Kingdom

The Tomb Robbery Papyri provide evidence of wide-scale robbery at the end of the 20th dynasty, at least in the reigns of Ramesses IX and XI. There may be more truth than usually acknowledged in the statement in the Abbott Papyrus that all the private tombs had been robbed.

The tombs and chambers in which rest the blessed ones of old, male and female citizens, on the West of Thebes. It was found that the thieves had violated them all, dragging their owners from their inner coffins and their outer coffins so that they were left on the desert, and stealing their funerary outfit which had been given them together with the gold and the silver and the fittings which were in their inner coffins.¹²³

The identity of the actual robbed tombs of private persons is not specified; in fact, few such tombs are actually named in the other

papyri. The only one which can be certainly identified is TT158, the tomb of Tjanefer, dating to the 20th dynasty.¹²⁴

Did these unspecified tombs date to all periods? Or did the robbers of the reign of Ramesses IX concentrate on the more easily accessible tombs with sloping passages of the later 18th to 20th dynasties, the entrances to which were usually inside the chapels?¹²⁵ Were the early 18th tombs with their deeper but more visible vertical shafts immune? If so, more early 18th dynasty funeral equipment should have survived to be robbed in the modern era (Phase 4 below) than actually has come down to us; there are no obvious major 18th dynasty finds made during the 19th century AD that are immediately assignable to these very deep shafts.

We shall thus work on the assumption that Shaft I of TT99 was targeted during the late Ramesside robberies; this would have involved removal of the bulk of the fill of that shaft to permit robbers to enter and re-emerge with larger items of funerary equipment. In addition, the 'staircase' shaft would have been cleared, presumably with the rubble dumped in Corridor 1.

Once inside the burial rooms, on the basis of evidence from the depositions of the robbers recorded in the Tomb Robbery Papyri,¹²⁶ burials may well have been smashed up or burnt to remove items. It is likely that at this time Senneferi's body was removed from his coffin(s), together with his shroud, and rifled to remove the amulets (for further discussion of this, see below, [p. 292](#)). Some of the rock that had fallen from the ceiling would have been moved around in order to access items underneath. Limitations of space within these rooms would also certainly have led to burial equipment being overturned and trampled. Containers may have been moved into the Corridor for examination. Other items would have been taken up to the Courtyard above, or even further afield,¹²⁷ and examined or broken up there. There are no traces of burning in the burial of Senneferi.¹²⁸

This would appear to be the last phase of activity in Shaft I during Pharaonic times. There is no evidence that it was used in the Third Intermediate Period; burials of that period were made inside the chapel of TT99 and will be considered in Part II of this publication.

So, at the end of Phase 3, assuming late New Kingdom robbery, the Shaft I complex would have looked quite disturbed ([Colour pl. 10B](#)). The blockage into Room 1 would have been removed, and in all the burial chambers any coffins would have been opened or removed for re-use, containers opened/overturned and valuable contents taken, and burial contents trampled. Bodies are likely to have been pulled

apart in the search for valuables. In Corridor 1, in addition to the fill from the Staircase shaft, there would have been an accumulation of spilled debris from the principal shaft, with a possible overlay from the examination of containers. In Rooms 2 and 3, there would also have been some debris from rock-falls overlying the disturbed contents of the rooms.

Phase 4: the First Millennium BC down to the end of the 18th century AD

A period of inactivity

Nigel Strudwick has argued that while robbery existed in this period, it seems to have been largely aimed at recent burials.¹²⁹ The older tombs seem largely to have been forgotten as a source of wealth; rather, among other advantages, they held a sort of sanctity which contributed to their being used as places for contemporary burials.¹³⁰

The First Millennium AD is one of the most obscure periods in Thebes as far as history of the more ancient monuments goes, although there is no reason to believe that any significant activity took place in deep shafts of the 18th dynasty. Beginning somewhere about the 12th century AD, a new trade grew up in Thebes to supply the burgeoning European desire for *mumiya*, but this again seems not to have affected the deeper tombs, but only those which had been used for mass burials and which could be quickly and profitably ransacked for human remains.¹³¹ For these reasons, we have concluded that the Shaft I complex looked much the same in AD 1750 as it did in about 1050 BC.

Rock falls in Phase 4

During the above phase, it is very likely that a considerable number of rock-falls would have occurred in Rooms 2 and 3, causing more damage to objects from the burials and further adding to the quantities of rock there.

Phase 5: Modern Robbery

Pre- and post-Napoleonic large-scale activity

Foreign travellers had been coming to Egypt through the Renaissance, although few dared to travel south of Cairo.¹³² More began to head to Thebes in the age of the Enlightenment, and particularly in the later part of the 18th century AD.¹³³ We may date the beginning of the antiquities trade to that time, but real Egyptomania took off in earnest after the Napoleonic Expedition of 1798, particularly with the publication of the *Description de l’Egypte* from 1809. This was the time at which the great European collections were formed via the activities

of Drovetti, Salt, Belzoni, Anastasi, d'Athanasia and others,¹³⁴ and the Qurnawi rapidly abandoned local villages to move into the tombs.¹³⁵ Tombs like TT99 would have been of interest to robbers looking for artefacts and the principal shaft of the tomb would once again have been cleared out and refilled. The rubble tipped into the principal shaft would, for the first time, have become contaminated with the material, mostly Roman and Coptic, which had built up in the Courtyard over the two previous millennia and more, as well as habitation debris from nearby occupation areas.

During this phase, it is to be assumed that robbers were interested in anything saleable, with a preference for relatively complete objects, and thus any remaining more substantial portions of Senneferi's coffins and funerary equipment are likely to have disappeared during this phase.¹³⁶ However, depending on the condition of the tomb after its long and complex history, the robbers may also have taken one relatively rapid look at what confronted them and left, perhaps picking up a fragment or two.

Sporadic casual robbery

Although it seems that the main systematic ransacking of the tombs at Thebes was in the first half of the 19th century ad, there can be no doubt that the Qurnawi were still searching out sources of income in the second half (e.g. the Deir el-Bahari cache, first found around 1870). We thus cannot rule out the possibility of further incursions into Shaft I during this period, especially since the tomb chapel provided housing for a family.

At the end of Phase 5, the Shaft I complex would have looked even more disturbed than at the end of Phase 4 ([Colour pl. 10C](#)). Any remaining coffins would have been stolen, bodies broken up or ransacked, any saleable items removed, containers broken up (possibly within the Corridor areas), and many items, including pottery, simply smashed and trampled underfoot. On top, and to a lesser extent below, would have been rubble and debris from further rock falls, causing further damage. The entrance to Corridor 1 would have had several layers of debris from back-filling of the principal shaft. The principal shaft itself would have been re-filled with the material removed from it during opening up, mixed with other debris in the Courtyards, some of which consisted of remains of the stela and false door from inside the TT99 chapel.

Phase 6: Excavation

1903: Mond

As noted in [Chapter 1](#), Shaft I was first excavated in 1903 by Robert

Mond, who records:

I opened up and examined the large pit of the tomb of Sen-nefera, and in it I found fragments of papyrus, the rifled mummy, a sandstone face of a statue, the wooden face of a sarcophagus, and fragments of a limestone stela bearing his name and titles.¹³⁷

The rather generalised and imprecise nature of Mond's sketch plans and cross-sections ([Fig. 55](#)) strongly suggest that the excavation was not very thorough.¹³⁸ No specific notes of Mond's (published or unpublished) relating to this excavation survive. We suggest that he emptied the principal shaft at least to a sufficient depth to allow access to the Corridor, and then a workman or two was sent down to explore what lay beyond the bottom of the shaft; perhaps Mond went down too. Lack of contamination of the debris in Corridor 1 indicates the contents were examined *in situ* and not taken up to the Courtyard.¹³⁹ The likely consensus was that the shaft had been heavily robbed. They then examined, without excavating, the burial chambers, removing any significant finds, and leaving behind a small number of fragments from matchboxes (these can be roughly dated by the Swedish spellings).¹⁴⁰ They then made a roughly-measured sketch plan and returned to the surface, before continuing with work elsewhere in the area.

Once Mond had completed his activities there, it is clear that the principal shaft was refilled, presumably for the safety of the people now living inside the tomb chapel and their livestock. A roughly constructed stone wall, part of a roofed animal enclosure, was built around (or extended to include) the entrance to Shaft I and a thick mud floor was allowed to form over it. The latter will be further considered in Part II of this publication; its location is indicated in [Fig. 54](#).

1907: Purchase of TT99 and removal of structures

In 1907, the inhabitants of the tomb chapel were removed and any structures in the Courtyard were levelled or covered with debris. The roof of the enclosure around the top of Shaft I was removed and the walled area filled with miscellaneous debris from the Courtyard area. From this date until 1997, the Shaft remained sealed.

1992: Cambridge Theban Tomb project

There is no record of any excavation activity in TT99 from Mond's clearance until our work in the tomb began in 1992. Thus it is all but certain that the condition in which Shaft I and its chambers were found in 1997–1998 was much as when Mond last saw it.

- 1 Kampp, *Thebanische Nekropole*, 95–109.
- 2 Dziobek, *MDAIK* 45 (1989), 109–132; Dziobek, *Gräber des Vezirs User-Amun*, 59–60. See also Kampp, *Thebanische Nekropole*, 105–106.
- 3 Kampp, *Thebanische Nekropole*, 109 (2).
- 4 *ibid.*, 64–70. Her sketch of TT99 is on p. 368, Fig. 248.
- 5 The lower edge of the Facade was reinforced with modern plaster in the 1993–1994 season by the SCA.
- 6 cf. Kampp, *Thebanische Nekropole*, 368–370, fig. 249.
- 7 Similar objects, some perhaps of Middle Kingdom date, have been reported in Armant, Rizeqat, Abydos and Naqada (Daressy, *ASAE* 26 (1926), 18–19 and Arnold, *MDAIK* 23 (1968), 35 n. 2).
- 8 Steindorff found cones of Aanu at Aniba (*Aniba* II, 61, Taf. 35.1), and Smith those of Siamun and Weren at Tombos (*Wretched Kush*, 140–143, fig. 6.6).
- 9 Three examples have been observed to our knowledge: uninscribed cones of the 11th dynasty were discovered by the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Winlock, *BMAA* 23 (1928), Part II, 6–7, fig. 4–5), and further examples are recorded in the 19th century AD, at TT47 (Rhind, *Thebes*, 136–8) and probably lost tomb A.9 (Reeves and Ryan, *VA* 3 (1987), 47–49).
- 10 The most recent are Kampp, *Thebanische Nekropole*, 66–68 and Kruck, *Dra' Abu el-Naga* I, 19–34. These tomb attributions build on work by Manniche (*Lost Tombs*, 3–12) and Kondo (*Orient* 28 (1992), 119–21). Up-to-date information on all aspects of cones will be found at <http://www.funerycones.com/> (accessed 27 February 2016).
- 11 Note the important comment on the need for context in Seyfried, *Amonmose*, 16 n. 54.
- 12 DM refers in the following to Davies and Macadam, *A Corpus of Inscribed Egyptian Funerary Cones*.
- 13 Further information, including that from unpublished notebooks of Davies and Macadam, see <https://sites.google.com/site/dataonfunerarycones/general-catalogue/davies-macadam-141-160#154> (accessed 28 February 2016).
- 14 I do not recall seeing any traces of white on the stamps which might be like that attributed in TT87 to rainwater washing limestone from the covering of the facade onto the cones (Guksch, *Nacht-Min*, 25).
- 15 Further information, including that from unpublished notebooks of Davies and Macadam, see <https://sites.google.com/site/dataonfunerarycones/general-catalogue/davies-macadam-81-100#93> (accessed 28 February 2016).
- 16 <https://sites.google.com/site/dataonfunerarycones/general-catalogue/davies-macadam-81-100#93> (accessed 28 February 2016).
- 17 This is restricted only to high ranking officials (Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft*, 103); see also p. 14.
- 18 Kampp, *Thebanische Nekropole*, 68–69, particularly fig. 64. This type of fired brick is to be distinguished from the unfired type, often with a different shape stamp, used more for regular construction purposes (compare Eigner, *Grabbauten*, 75–78).
- 19 Compare an example from TT71: Kampp, *Thebanische Nekropole*, 69, fig. 63.
- 20 <https://sites.google.com/site/dataonfunerarycones/general-catalogue/davies-macadam-81-100#93> (accessed 28 February 2016).
- 21 *Thebanische Nekropole*, 68.
- 22 Strudwick, *Amenhotep*, 107 (294.002). See also Hari, *BSFE* 8 (1983), 51–57, and <http://www.funerycones.com/Bricks/Bricks.html> (accessed 28 February 2016).
- 23 Further discussion of corner and other bricks in Kruck, *Dra' Abu el-Naga* I, 29–33.
- 24 I have not made any exhaustive enquiries about examples of this cone in museum

collections; however, the examples in Davies' personal collection of cones were donated with the rest of the collection to the British Museum in 1930. The example therein of DM 154 is numbered EA 62873, while DM 93 is EA 62849. The Egyptian Museum Cairo also has an example as JE 56168. See also <https://sites.google.com/site/dataonfunerarycones/general-catalogue/davies-macadam-81-100#93> and <https://sites.google.com/site/dataonfunerarycones/general-catalogue/davies-macadam-141-160#154> (accessed 28 February 2016).

²⁵ Guksch, *Nacht-Min*, 120; Tefnin, *ASAE* 82 (2008), 368.

²⁶ Teeter, *Scarabs, Scaraboids, Seals, and Seal Impressions from Medinet Habu*, 175 (282).

²⁷ The Chapel fragments were divided between the shafts with a preponderance in Shafts B, C and F.

²⁸ Guksch, *Nacht-Min*, 24–6.

²⁹ The ratios of surviving cones to facade length is not dissimilar for both tombs. For TT87 a facade of 14.8 m to 233 cones gives a ratio of 15.75:1 and for TT99 11.5 m to 185 gives 16.08:1.

³⁰ Helen Strudwick, in Jiménez-Serrano and von Pilgrim (eds), *From the Delta to the Cataract*, 266.

³¹ For further information on all the non-TT99 cones given below, see <http://www.funerarycones.com/> (accessed 27 August 2012).

³² Guksch, *Nacht-Min*, 120 and 178; Tefnin and Bavay, *ASAE* 82 (2008), 346, 368.

³³ Strudwick, *Amenhotep*, 154–5.

³⁴ Strudwick, *The tomb of Amenemopet*, 22–3.

³⁵ Galán and Borrego, *Memnonia* 17 (2006), 195–208; Kruck, *Dra' Abu el-Naga* I, especially the tombs discussed on pp 41–65.

³⁶ *Thebanische Nekropole*, Plan III.

³⁷ Kampp, *Thebanische Nekropole*, 368–370.

³⁸ *ibid.*, 65–66.

³⁹ *Thebanische Nekropole*, 59, Tab. 41; this courtyard type is illustrated in her fig. 67 on p. 78.

⁴⁰ Perhaps like Kampp, *Thebanische Nekropole*, 78, fig. 68.

⁴¹ From an examination of the examples quoted in Kampp, *Thebanische Nekropole*, 77, Tab. 57; cf. Seyfried, in Assmann et al., *Problems and Priorities*, 249 n. 95. Smaller depressions most likely had other purposes, such as foundation deposits or stands for jars.

⁴² Eigner, *Grabbauten*, 169–174, Abb. 133–134.

⁴³ This example is taken from TT88; Urk. IV, 1526 (11). Another example near to TT99 is in TT87 (damaged: Guksch, *Nacht-Min*, 49 (Z.15)). See also Urk. IV, 1526.12–15. We thank John H. Taylor for putting us on the track of this text. Compare Žabkar, *A study of the ba concept*, 138, or indeed the discussion of the forms of the *ba* returning to earth in Padgham, *A new interpretation of the cone on the head*, 69–70.

⁴⁴ BM EA 10471/7: Faulkner and Andrews, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead*, 89.

⁴⁵ Such as that of Nespawershefy, Fitzwilliam Museum E.1.1822 (Strudwick and Dawson, *Death on the Nile*, 184, Cat. 26.3).

⁴⁶ Such as in TT51: Davies, *Two Rameside Tombs*, pl. IX.

⁴⁷ Kampp, *Thebanische Nekropole*, 28.

⁴⁸ These are over fifty in number, found in all parts of the Courtyard and also in Shafts I and H. They include fragments inscribed with *ḥt nbt* (99.97.1417), the word *ḏt* (99.97.0712), and also the partial phrase *n k3 n* (99.97.0258), as well as with

many individual signs.

⁴⁹ These fragments were found reused in a cooking emplacement, excavated when the area immediately in front of the iron entrance was cleared. They measure $69 \times 29 \times 9.5$ cm and $69 \times 30 \times 11$ cm.

⁵⁰ A good example of such jambs *in situ* is in TT56 (Beinlich-Seeber and Shedid, *Userhat*, 38–40, Taf 35); examples from TT74 are now in the Museo Egizio di Torino (Brack and Brack, *Tjanuni*, 54–56, Taf. 44, 45). Examples contemporary to TT99 include TT82 (Davies and Gardiner, *Amenemhêt*, 10) and TT87 (Guksch, *Nacht-Min*, 39–40).

⁵¹ Kampp, *Thebanische Nekropole*, 72–74, Tab. 53.

⁵² Maximum heights approximately 2.94 m and 2.9 m respectively. See examples in Strudwick, *Amenhotep*, 26 and Kampp, *Thebanische Nekropole*, 47 (§ II.3.3, Tab. 26). This group comprises TT71, TT39, TT42, TT30, TT253, TT41, TT51, TT106, TT303, and perhaps TT82 and TT104. Also noted (personal inspection) is the area in front of the long passage in TT29, but this shrine shape faces into the tomb; a comparable arrangement is seen in the Ramesside tomb TT41 (Assmann, *Amenemope*, Taf. 2).

⁵³ There is something not dissimilar in TT63: Dziobek and Abdel Raziq, *Sobekhotep*, Taf. 30c.

⁵⁴ See p. 4 for the method of wall plans used to document the structure of the decorated walls. With some variation, this is basically similar to that in TT63 (Dziobek and Abdel Raziq, *Sobekhotep*, 24–29).

⁵⁵ We are grateful to Julie Dawson for the following observations and references. The analysis of tomb plaster by Lucas (*Ancient Egyptian materials and industries*, 76–79) is still broadly accurate; to it should be added the more recent studies noted by Lee and Quirke, in Nicholson and Shaw (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, 117–118, the most helpful of which is a group of comments on the plaster of TT81 by Dziobek (*Ineni*, 23–23). Unpublished studies by the Getty Conservation Institute in the Valley of the Queens are revealing the complexity of ancient Egyptian wall plasters.

⁵⁶ I thank Lisa Shekede for providing these important insights in a personal communication in May 2016.

⁵⁷ cf. Brack and Brack, *Haremheb*, 16–17, where the washing away of texts is suggested to be due to the desire to remove valuable pigments, an explanation we do not find convincing. No other examples were noted in the literature by the Bracks.

⁵⁸ Very common in Theban tombs; for example, the figure of the priest in TT82 (Davies and Gardiner, *Amenemhêt*, pl. XVIII). This in itself may however be another manifestation of the programme of Amarna erasures (ibid., 21).

⁵⁹ This takes many forms; one example in TT254 (Strudwick, *Amenhotep*, pl. XXXV).

⁶⁰ Discussions of this very relevant issue to private tombs include Manuelian, in Teeter and Larson (eds), *Gold of Praise*, 285–298, and Eaton-Krauss, in Hawass and Brock (eds), *Egyptology at the dawn of the twenty-first century II*, 198–199. TT147 is a recently studied tomb that shows a series of excisions of hieroglyphs not unlike TT99 (Ockinga, *BACE* 15 (2004) 121–129). We are very grateful for discussion of this subject with Alice McClymont, who is presently finishing a thesis on this topic in Macquarie University; see McClymont, in Priglinger and Kahlbacher (eds), *Tradition and Transformation in Ancient Egypt*, forthcoming.

⁶¹ Manuelian, in Teeter and Larson (eds), *Gold of Praise*, 286–291.

⁶² The sign  has also been erased in TT11 and TT84 (respectively Urk. IV, 426.8 and 951.9), and such erasures are also known at Karnak (Urk. IV, 183.10). Compare also the excision of certain objects in TT147 (Ockinga, *BACE* 15 (2004) 126), the

erasure of the goose under the owner's chair in TT55 (Davies, *Ramose*, pl. XVI) or the removal of the geese on the front of the papyrus boats in the marsh scene in TT52 (Davies, *Nakht*, pl. XXIV). We thank Alice McClymont for the references to Urk. IV and TT52.

⁶³ Compare the damage to the  hieroglyph which was not restricted just to examples where the goddess Mut was being invoked (Manuelian, in Teeter and Larson (eds), *Gold of Praise*, 291–294). No damage appears to have been inflicted to this sign in TT99, nor are there any obvious examples of erasures to words written similarly to the name of Amun (Davies and Gardiner, *Amenemhêt*, 53 n.1, 101 n. 6).

⁶⁴ Alice McClymont (personal communication) indicates that damage to deities other than Amun and Mut is very rare. We are grateful to her for this information.

⁶⁵ ASAE 6 (1905), 87, fig. 21, 22.

⁶⁶ Strudwick, H., in Jiménez-Serrano and von Pilgrim (eds), *From the Delta to the Cataract*, 268–269 and illustration 21.4.

⁶⁷ *Plan des nécropoles thébaines*, feuille 32 (at height of 117.872 m).

⁶⁸ Respectively Dziobek, *Ineni*, 20, Taf. 47; Guksch, *Nacht-Min*, 124, 126, Plan 1–2; Schreiber, *The Tomb of Amenhotep*, 64, pl. XCI.

⁶⁹ Guksch, *Nacht-Min*, 124–125, Plan 1–2.

⁷⁰ Schreiber, in Bechtold et al. (eds), *From Illahun to Djeme*, Fig. 6.

⁷¹ These objects were very fragmentary in nature and were not further studied. See Taylor in this volume for more information on black coffins (Chapter 8).

⁷² Object 99.98.0336. Room 1, layer 1. Wood, paint. L 12.0, W 3.0, Th 2.5.

⁷³ See for example, Lilyquist, *The tomb of three foreign wives of Tuthmosis III*, 138–139, 202, fig. 121, with further parallels.

⁷⁴ Object 99.98.0551. Room 2, layer 1. Faience. L 0.6, W 1.3, Th 1.0.

⁷⁵ Object 99.98.0585. Room 2, layer 2. Wood and plaster. L 26.0, W 6.7, Th 3.7.

⁷⁶ cf. Fischer, *LÄ III*, 689–690.

⁷⁷ The presence of an intrusive funerary cone from TT84 (99.98.0548) in Room 2, layer 1 indicates that there is certainly later contamination, although this may have entered the context after Mond's examination.

⁷⁸ From Shaft H, layer 11.

⁷⁹ Found in Room 2, layer 1.

⁸⁰ Room 1, layer 2.

⁸¹ Hayes believed at least eleven persons were buried in the tomb complex in the space of about 60 years (Hayes, *BMMA* 30 (1935), part 2, 17, 18).

⁸² A total of eight persons (Lansing and Hayes, *BMMA* 32 (1937), Part 2, 31, fig. 26, 27).

⁸³ A similar situation may apply at TT79 where a number of later 18th dynasty finds were also identified in a small shaft noted earlier in the courtyard of TT79, and it is possible that this too saw use in the New Kingdom subsequent to the burial of the owners of the painted chapels (Guksch, *Nacht-Min*, 126–131).

⁸⁴ Aston, in Bietak (ed.), *Synchronisation II*, 146–147.

⁸⁵ Compare the proposed sequence of family burials in tomb Kampp -64- (Schreiber, in Bechtold et al. (eds), *From Illahun to Djeme*, 256–257).

⁸⁶ Strudwick, *CRIPEL* 28 (2009–2010), 244–251.

⁸⁷ ASAE 6 (1905), 87 (fig. 22), reproduced here as Fig. 55.

⁸⁸ It is not yet known as a regular feature of Theban tombs. There may have been something similar in the tomb of Yuia and Tjuiu, although this could also have been the initial cutting for a shaft that was never continued (cf. Reeves, *Valley of the Kings*, 148 with n. 107 on p. 161 and Fig. 57 on p. 150).

⁸⁹ See Serpico and White, in Nicholson and Shaw (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Materials*

and Technology, 430–474, and in Davies (ed.), *Colour and Painting*, 33–42 for further information about resins. Margaret Serpico (personal communication May 2016) has not seen such an application of these materials before; we thank her for discussing this with us.

⁹⁰ Room 2: 99.98.0440abc, 99.98.0500a. Room 3: 99.98.0497, 99.98.0513, 99.98.0529, 99.98.0534, 99.98.0674, 99.98.0683.

⁹¹ General notes on tomb sealing, Kampp, *Thebanische Nekropole*, 89–90; comments on necropolis sealing from our work in TT253, Strudwick, *Amenhotep*, 117.

⁹² An early version of this section was presented at the American Research Center in Egypt's annual meeting in Houston in April 2015; it was further presented at the VIIth European Conference of Egyptologists 'Egypt 2015: Perspectives of research' in Zagreb in June 2015 (Strudwick, forthcoming). The present version has several important improvements from our recent research.

⁹³ Strudwick, *Etudes et Travaux* 26 (2013), 637–651, and in Creasman (ed.), *Archaeological Research in the Valley of the Kings*, 333–352.

⁹⁴ *CRIPEL* 28 (2009–2010), 241–242.

⁹⁵ Any reference to parents is incomplete without comparison to the tomb of Ramose and Hatnefer, Senenmut's parents. Ramose's burial was very poor, albeit in a coffin, while Hatnefer's was opulent, suggesting that they died at different times, the former when Senenmut was not in any significant position, and the latter when he was (Lansing and Hayes, *BMMA* 32 (1937), part 2, 17–18). With none of these persons do we know whether they had been buried elsewhere before reaching their final resting place.

⁹⁶ A range of dates is found on inscribed vessels in the tomb, but it has to be said that such dates relate only in general terms to the tomb (below, Böhleke, p. 249). Dates were found of years 25, 28 and 38, which can really only relate to the reign of Thutmose III. They may suggest burials ten years apart (Senneferi's father and Senneferi are the obvious candidates), although we would be happier if there were other evidence of burial goods of anyone other than Senneferi.

⁹⁷ Respectively six persons in addition to Senenmut's parents (Lansing and Hayes, *BMMA* 32 (1937), Part 2, 31, fig. 26, 27) and five persons other than the five more elaborate burials of known members of the tomb-owner's family (Hayes, *BMMA* 30 (1935), part 2, 18).

⁹⁸ The best contemporary example is the group of multiple burials in the tomb of Neferkhuit, in which Hayes believed at least eleven persons were buried in the space of about 60 years (*ibid.*, 17, 18).

⁹⁹ This is discussed in general terms in Strudwick, *Etudes et Travaux* 26 (2013), 638–640.

¹⁰⁰ Donadoni Roveri, in Moiso (ed.), *Ernesto Schiaparelli e la tomba di Kha*, in particular the photographs on pp 130, 131, 133 and 140.

¹⁰¹ Davies and Gardiner, *Amenemhêt* 93–94, pl. XVIII; Altenmüller, *JEA* 57 (1971), 146–153.

¹⁰² There is a very limited amount of debris visible in the photos in Lansing and Hayes, *BMMA* 32 (1937), Part 2, 23, 25, fig. 26, 28, 29.

¹⁰³ The first is a very small chamber of a nameless woman, near the tomb of Senenmut, which was found with a clean floor (Lansing and Hayes, *BMMA* 32 (1937), Part 2, 13, fig. 13). The second is the small chamber of Amenhotep, which appears to have been found with some debris at the front, which is likely to have fallen in during the process of clearance (*ibid.*, 37, fig. 48). More complex is the family tomb of Neferkhuit; although this tomb was basically undisturbed by robbers, parts of it had collapsed in the Ptolemaic period, while other areas had suffered

from natural depredations, and so it is not easy to tell whether it was originally left in a clear state (Hayes, *BMMA* 30 (1935), Part 2, particularly 35–36 with fig. 2, 5, 21).

¹⁰⁴ Bietak, *Theben-West (Luqsor)*, Taf. XXIII; cf. Budka, *Bestattungsbrauch und Friedhofsstruktur im Asasif*, Abb. 32–34.

¹⁰⁵ Kampp, *Thebanische Nekropole*, 87 with n. 382.

¹⁰⁶ Davies and Gardiner, *Amenemhēt* 11; they are not marked on pl. XXXIV.

¹⁰⁷ Taylor (ed.), *Journey through the afterlife*, 94–95.

¹⁰⁸ Davies, *Two Sculptors*, pl. XXI.

¹⁰⁹ Compare the comments of van Dijk on wine, or the lack thereof, in the tomb of Maya (van Dijk, *GM* 127 (1992), 27–28). The presence of numerous wine jar labels in TT99 (Chapter 10), however, contrasts strongly with the lack of them in the tomb of Maya.

¹¹⁰ See Strudwick, in Creasman (ed.), *Archaeological Research in the Valley of the Kings*, 340.

¹¹¹ cf. Kampp, *Thebanische Nekropole*, 82–83; many of the other vertical shafts are much smaller and are anyway a part of the concept of ‘Doppelbestattung’ (Kampp, *Thebanische Nekropole*, 90–91, and Kampp, in Assmann et al. (eds), *Thebanische Beamtennekropolen*, 205–218).

¹¹² Respectively Guksch, *Nacht-Min*, 72–73, Dziobek, *Gräber des Vezirs User-Amun*, 17 and Mond and Emery, *LAAA* 16 (1929), 50. In the latter case, as the discovery of a coffin is mentioned at 13.3 m, the shaft itself may be a little deeper.

¹¹³ Hayes, *BMMA* 30 (1935), Part II, 35–36, fig. 21. Obviously the location of the tomb in Assasif means that the geology is likely to be somewhat different.

¹¹⁴ Numerous references in Graefe and Belova (eds), *The Royal Cache*, 37–60.

¹¹⁵ We thank Michael Jones for drawing our attention to his report on work in the tomb of Sety I: Jones, in Hawass (ed.), *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century* I, 252–261. He further informed us (personal communication) that most of the detail of the ARCE work resides in unpublished reports in Cairo.

¹¹⁶ We exclude tombs, such as that of Ramesses II (KV7), where considerable incursions of flood debris have caused damage of a quite different type, as described in detail by Guillaume, Emery-Barbier and Cerveille-Zonca, *Memnonia* 6 (1995), 147–173. Much less detailed is, for example, the description of packed sediment in KV20 (Thutmose I/Hatshepsut: Davis, *The tomb of Hâtshopsîtû*, 77–80).

¹¹⁷ Davis, *The Tomb of Queen Tȝi*, pl. XXIV–XXVII, XXIX–XXX; Pinch-Brock, *GM* 175 (2000), pl. I.

¹¹⁸ It was perhaps last entered in the reign of Ramesses IX (Bell, *JARCE* 27 (1990), 136–137). The extent of the possible spill of the corridor fill is sketched in Bell’s fig. 5.

¹¹⁹ Davis, *The Tombs of Harmhabi and Touatânkhamanou*, pl. XXIII–LXXIII (most plates).

¹²⁰ It may have been the site of a third royal cache (Reeves and Wilkinson, *The Complete Valley of the Kings*, 204).

¹²¹ Davis, *The Tomb of Thoutmôsis IV*, figs 2–4.

¹²² Some water may have actually entered this tomb at some point, although the amount of material in the photograph in Carter, *ASAE* 2 (1901), 196–200, pl. I is commensurate with a moderate element of rock fall.

¹²³ Papyrus BM EA 10221, 4, 1–4: Peet, *Great Tomb-Robberies*, 39.

¹²⁴ Papyrus BM EA 10054, recto 1, 3–4: Peet, *Great Tomb-Robberies*, 60–61.

¹²⁵ Sloping shafts within tombs seem to appear in the later years of the reign of Thutmose III, and then gradually develop into the twisting and turning shaft types

typical from the later reign of Amenhotep III and the Ramesside period. See survey in Kampp, *Thebanische Nekropole*, 85–86; see also Assmann, *MDAIK* 40 (1984), 277–290.

¹²⁶ The most detailed account is the robbery of the tomb of king Sebekemzaf, described in the Leopold-Amherst Papyrus (Capart, Gardiner and van de Walle, *JEA* 22 (1936), 169–193); papyrus BM EA 10054 includes more generalised descriptions of a number of robberies of private tombs (Peet, *Great Tomb-Robberies*, 60–63).

¹²⁷ Such as the removal of a coffin for later examination in papyrus BM EA 10054, Recto I, 3–10 (Peet, *Great Tomb-Robberies*, 60–62).

¹²⁸ As done to the burial of Sebekemzaf and some of the private tombs in note 34 above. Archaeological evidence of actual burning has been uncovered in TT233 (Ockinga, in Dorman and Bryan (eds), *Sacred space and sacred function in ancient Thebes*, 146–147); Mond and Emery may also have found something similar in TT97 (Mond and Emery, *LAAA* 16 (1929), 50).

¹²⁹ In Creasman (ed.), *Archaeological Research in the Valley of the Kings*, 341–342.

¹³⁰ Strudwick, *CRIPEL* 28 (2009–2010), 254–260.

¹³¹ A summary of recent research on this topic will be found in Strudwick, *Etudes et Travaux* 26 (2013), 647–648.

¹³² See summary in Thompson, *Wonderful Things*, 57–74.

¹³³ Such as Sicard, Norden, Pococke and Bruce; see Thompson, *Wonderful Things*, 75–95 and van der Spek, *The modern neighbors of Tutankhamun*, 79–133.

¹³⁴ Thompson, *Wonderful Things*, 129–148.

¹³⁵ Simpson, in Strudwick and Taylor (eds), *The Theban Necropolis*, 244–249.

¹³⁶ Even if some of the more fragmentary items were used for firewood (overview, Strudwick, *Etudes et Travaux* 26 (2013), 646)!

¹³⁷ Mond, *ASAE* 5 (1904), 101–102. None of these objects have yet been located, although see comments on p. 91 above.

¹³⁸ Mond, *ASAE* 6 (1905), 87

¹³⁹ The single item that could be described as being modern coming from this area was a piece of rusty iron, found in the first layer of the Corridor, which probably spilled into the Corridor during re-filling.

¹⁴⁰ See comments on matchboxes from Shaft H in Strudwick, *Etudes et Travaux* 26 (2013), 644–645.

The decoration of the Chapel

Nigel Strudwick

5.1 Scene structure

The major problem in publishing the decoration of the tomb of Senneferi is the extent of the damage to all the walls of the tomb. Not one wall preserves a complete sequence of decoration from frieze to dado; while friezes are still visible on most walls, the coloured bands of the dado are only visible on Walls 13 and 16 (clearer on the former). From those, it is estimated that the bottom of the decorated area of the wall, including the dado, was at a height of about 50 cm above floor height, although the location of the base line of the bottom register is nowhere clear.

Attempts have been made to provide schematic layouts of suggested reconstructions of most of the main walls. Similar diagrams are also provided for those walls which are not susceptible to any formal reconstruction in order to clarify scene and text locations. The full wall plans in [Pl. 7](#) to [Pl. 23](#) should be consulted for more complete information and precise locations of each scene.

It is thus rarely possible to determine the relative size and composition of the main registers on each wall. To my knowledge, no studies exist for relative register heights for Theban tombs, although there is useful matter in discussions of composition and layout.¹ At issue in TT99 is whether the major figures in each scene were standing or seated immediately above the dado, or whether there was a narrower register below.² We should not look for typical patterns, as there is a great deal of flexibility in the decorative programme overall. The Front room of the tomb seems to favour a single large register, whereas in the Rear room, the proportions of the major figures on Walls 12 and 16 make the presence of the smaller register below the main one probable.

5.2 Decorative programme, colours and techniques

The decorative programme and colours are considered in Chapter 6. For practical reasons, a fuller study of the techniques and conservation notes on the walls will appear in Part II of this work. However, many smaller pertinent comments on the decorative technique made by our conservators have been incorporated into the text of this chapter.³

The Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* references to all scenes they list are given as PM plus scene number in the headers for each area of decoration.⁴

5.3 Other fragments of decoration

A total of 1578 fragments of plaster, mostly painted, were recovered from the TT99 complex.

Courtyard, including shafts G-I	465
Hall of tomb, including Shaft F	120
Shrine of tomb, including shafts	843
A-E	
Superstructure	150

The 150 found in the superstructure (p. 45) almost certainly do not belong with the tomb and will be treated in Part II. The three remaining groupings have increasing levels of probability of originating in TT99. Material from the Courtyard could have found its way out of the tomb chapel over the years, but, as it is apparent that the area was used as a general dumping ground at some point, other origins are perhaps possible. This will be further elaborated in Part II. The material from the Chapel is in all likelihood from TT99, as few finds from nearby tombs seems to have found their way into that area; the only possible exceptions would be if painted fragments were collected in the tomb, either as a cache for later sale, or, as will be argued in Part II for the other stone fragments, for safe keeping, and these would surely be larger and more comprehensible and marketable. No such grouping was found other than in the superstructure.

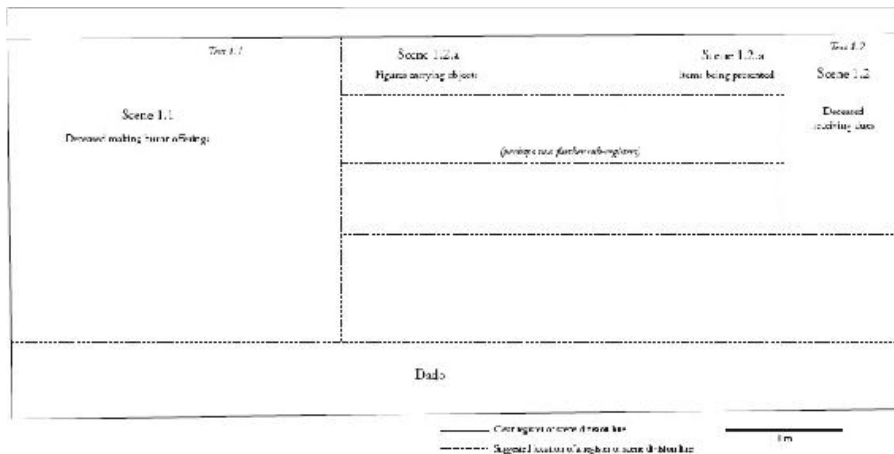


Fig. 79: Wall 1, schematic diagram

The non-superstructure material consists of fragments ranging from less than 1 cm long to about 11 cm, with the majority less than 5 cm. The amount of information which can be gleaned from such fragments is virtually meaningless. Two fragments found in Shaft I may show the legs of a human or an animal (99.97.1209, 99.97.1216); one fragment shows a lozenge-type border (99.97.1250) in black and white, such as found throughout the tomb (best on Walls 9 right and 16 right); but most fragments are either of white plaster or bear unidentifiable areas of all the main colours of the Egyptian palette of the 18th dynasty. The highly fragmentary state of this material suggests that the source of the fragments is more likely from decay and disintegration of the tomb paintings than as a result of deliberate removal. See further § 4.3.7 above.

5.4 Entrance

No traces have been found of any decoration on the outside of the tomb. See above for indications of possible external jambs (p. 56).

5.4.1 Entrance reveals

There are traces of plaster on the rock on both the north and south sides of the doorway, but there are no remains of any decoration.

5.5 Front room

5.5.1 Wall 1: east wall, south of entrance

Wall plan: [Pl. 7](#); schematic [Fig. 79](#)

A detailed reconstruction of this wall is difficult due to the extent of the damage. A figure of the deceased standing making the burnt

offerings shown in [Scene 1.1](#). is probable at the left end, and a standing one at the right. Although the details of the intervening area are unclear (and the extent of [Scene 1.1](#) is a guess), it will be suggested below that it was formed of a series of sub-registers belonging with [Scene 1.2](#). On the basis of the limited reconstructions to be suggested below for Walls 4 and 6, it is likely that the major figure at the left end filled the complete height of the register between frieze and dado. The size of the figure at the right end ([Scene 1.2](#)) is governed by the width of eight columns of text; inserting a standing figure of the deceased (as will be proposed for Wall 6) would occupy slightly more than half of the height of the wall,⁵ and thus there may be space for a second figure of the deceased inspecting activities below;⁶ another possibility is that there was one longer sub-register extending to the left.

Scene 1.1: Deceased making a burnt offering PM (1)

Pl. 24, Colour pl. 11A, Colour pl. 12A

Tombs of the early to middle 18th dynasty tend to have, on one or both sides of the main entrance, a scene of the deceased standing and making offerings to unspecified deities, a basic element of the ‘Beautiful Festival of the Valley’.⁷ Only the southern scene of such a pair has certainly survived in TT99; see discussion of Wall 6 as to whether there would have been room for a balancing scene there ([p. 114](#)).⁸ All that remains of [Scene 1.1](#) is half a line of horizontal hieroglyphs above the surviving offerings, and then nine columns of hieroglyphs above the destroyed figure of the deceased. The separate fragment of the bottom of the last column appears to indicate the height of the whole text.

Text 1.1

¹ [wḏn ḥt nbt nfrt wʿbt snm] ḥwʿ m ntyw ² sntr [n tmn ///]^b

[Offering all perfect and pure things, supplying] the burners with myrrh and incense [for Amun...]

³ m t ḥnqt ///

consisting of bread and beer (?)

⁴ ḥry-tp nḥ wḏs snb nswt[-bity mn-ḥpr-r^c nḥ dḏ]^{d5} i[n iry p^t ḥsty-^c ///]^e

for the life, prosperity, health of the king of Upper [and Lower Egypt Menkheperre, may he live forever] by [the iry p^t ḥsty-^c ///]

⁶ ḥzy ///

favoured

⁷ imy-r sdswty ///

overseer of seal-bearers ///^f

overseer of...

⁹ ////g

[Uncertain, perhaps a festival?]

¹⁰ *psdnty* /// *trw*

New Year's festival /// seasons

a. The first surviving sign is a determinative for *ḥ*, 'brazier' (Wb. I, 223), based on the common hieroglyph . Schott (*Schöne Fest*, 99–101) collected a number of texts that might give an idea of what was originally here; I restore *snm* at the beginning of the line (for example, TT345 (LD III, 9d); TT39 (Davies, *Puyemré* II, pl. LIV) and TT45 (Davies, *Seven Private Tombs*, pl. II)). Less likely is *irt wdn stpw ḥr ḥw m ntyw sntr ḥt nbt nfrt wbt n imn-r nb nswt tawy m ḥrt-hrw r nb* from TT96A (Urk. IV, 1418).

b. Virtually all parallels follow the specification of myrrh and incense by the names of the deities. The first would doubtless have been Amun.

c. The surface of this area of plaster is very rough, and it is also painted with thick unsubtle strokes in comparison with the other hieroglyphs (see [Colour pl. 12A](#)). This evidence points to a repair; the extent of the area is marked in the drawing by a heavier than usual broken line. While it could result from the correction of an error, as the name of Amun may have been present in the previous column, there is also the possibility that some collateral damage may have been inflicted if that name was erased in the Amarna Period. The parallel texts just quoted also follow the names of the deities by the preposition *m* and the enumeration of some of the festivals, which may for some reason have also been damaged, and repaired.

d. For example, as in TT110 (Davies, in *Studies Griffith*, 284, pl. 43B) or TT112 (Davies, *Menkheperasonb*, pl. XXIII). Assuming the signs in column 10 mark the bottom of the text, the reconstructed hieroglyphs fit the space.

e. Presumably the titles of Senneferi began here, so *iry pft* and *ḥsty-r* should at least be assumed.

f. Clearly another column of titles followed Senneferi's principal title, which is somewhat unusual. Presuming that his name was here, the next note indicates that the text seems to continue.

g. There are the remains of the tail feathers of a bird at the bottom of this otherwise destroyed column, adjacent to  in the column to the right.  or  seem more likely than .

The surviving offerings appear below the horizontal line of text and to the left of the first column. At the bottom are green traces, presumably of one of the series of mats usually depicted in these scenes.⁹ At the right-hand end of this mat stood three large red jars with pointed sealings, around each of which is arranged a lily bud. To the left appears to be a green offering table (of copper?). On top of the table are, from the right, two large oval shaped loaves, white with red at top and bottom; partly overlapping the loaves is a red leg of meat; a red-brown oval shape is visible above the leg of meat; on top of the

meat is a white tray bearing brownish-yellow bread or cakes; the remains of a bunch of grapes is to the right of this tray. Visible above the two loaves is a bird, coloured green, red and white, and on top of that is the beginning of a bunch of leeks. Below the offering table, at the right, is the top of a basket of blue-black fruit and a green cucumber. The left side is largely damaged, but the head of an ox is visible, coloured white with blue green ears. It possibly rests on loaves of bread.

To the left of this table, presumably on the mat, are two white oval shaped loaves, and on top of the right-hand one is a red item, perhaps the stem of a lily. To the left of the loaves is a white round loaf with equally-spaced red finger marks on its circumference. On top of this loaf is a white tray containing brownish-yellow bread or cakes. To the left of the white round loaf is another oval shaped loaf, and on top of that is a yellow-brown basket with flecks of green. The rest is lost.

Only a few traces of green immediately below the scene just described indicate the original presence of another sub-register. At the right is the flower of a lily, while to the left of this at the top is a bunch of leeks.

Parallels to such scenes mostly suggest that the tomb-owner was not followed by several sub-registers, but that rather the scene was self-contained and the depiction of men a short distance to the right is actually a sub-scene of [Scene 1.2](#) at the right-hand end of the wall.¹⁰

Scene 1.2: Deceased receiving dues PM (2)

Pl. 25A, Colour pl. 11B

There are the remains of a scene in the upper right corner of the wall. At the top are eight columns of text. As will be seen in the notes, the length of the text columns seems to vary somewhat and the overall extent is thus uncertain. My feeling is that the main lines of text above the now missing figure of the deceased were actually quite short, and that the final line or lines were longer, running round that figure (as probably in [Scene 9.1](#)).

Text 1.2

Urk. IV, 536.11–537.1 (174 A)

¹ šzp š[yt m hḏ nwb^a] /// ² ʒt nbṯ^a špst ///³ hṛw nbw ///⁴ tmy-r hṣwt
nwb [tmn^c sn]-nfri ⁵ tmy-r ḥb whm tmy-r sḏswty sn-nfri ⁶ tmy-r ḥs m
ḥt nb(l) tmy-r sḏswty sn-nfri ⁷ ssm ḥb n tm tmy-r sḏswty sn-nfri ⁸ ḥsly-
tmy-r ḥmw-nṛw nṛw nbw ... [sn-nfri mṣṣ-hrw ?]

Receiving dues [being silver, gold] /// all noble precious stones, all equipment/
weapons, (by) the overseer of the gold lands of [Amun, Sen]neferi, the overseer
of horned and hooved cattle, the overseer of seal-bearers, Senneferi, the overseer

of thousands of all things, the overseer of seal-bearers, Senneferi, the one who follows the festival of Atum, the overseer of seal-bearers, Senneferi, *hnty-r*, the overseer of priests of all the gods ... [Senneferi, justified ?]

a. Following Sethe, Urk. IV, 536 (12).

b. For the marks adjacent to  and  see discussion below.

c. Here Sethe proposes *mn[w nb nfr]*; however the traces of the sign below the right side of  are of a white or cream-coloured hieroglyph, and  is usually red with blue/green pieces above (such as [Scene 10.1](#)).

d. Sethe reconstructs  here; his reconstructions would certainly make this (and the preceding columns) longer than those with the names and titles. However, it is evident that the final column was longer than those immediately before it and ended with Senneferi's name, a determinative and *msr-hrw*.

e. Traces of rough plaster over the erased name of Amun suggest that it was repaired but that the repair plaster later became detached.

Scene 1.2.a: Goods being received; procession of men bearing boxes

Pl. 25A , Pl. 25B, Colour pl. 11B

To the left of the text are the remains of the items being received by Senneferi. Visible are parts of two green mats with red bindings at the end. The upper of the two mats bears a large elongated basket, composed of a series of alternately coloured bands of black (mostly now lost) and white and red and white, representing the weave or decoration. Inside the basket are five white unrecognisable items, flat at one end, rounded at the other with a raised part at one end. To the left of the basket is a very small fragment from another basket of the same type, probably containing at least four bags of linen coloured, red, white, red, and [white]. There are bindings on the necks of the bags. The lower of the two mats bears a brownish basket with red lines indicating the weave with a decorated 'rim' shown in alternating black and red horizontal blocks of colour. The surviving part of this basket contains eight gold rings in two layers of four, but it was clearly larger.

In this area of the scene and in the adjacent text are a few marks that might be the remains of graffiti painted in dark red-brown, which look at first sight like plant stems with leaves, perhaps ivy? There is one adjacent to  in text column 2, three around  in column 3 and another above the top basket. There are also two small and isolated fragments of decoration from a lower register; their content is unclear.

The red-brown marks are clearly not contemporary with the original tomb decoration, but may belong to the first millennium ad.¹¹ They are possibly comparable to graffiti in a Coptic monastery near Esna.¹² The origin of such marks would appear to lie in *hederae*, marks shaped like ivy (*hedera*) leaves, which were originally used to indicate word-

spacing and punctuation in Latin texts from the first century ad on,¹³ and which continued in use in Western Christendom as both a punctuation mark and a printer's ornament.¹⁴

These marks are obviously not an attempt by persons unknown to punctuate the texts of Senneferi; however, it seems quite possible that they are an indication of the presence of Copts in the tomb in the period when this end of Sheikh Abdel Qurna supported a considerable monastic community.¹⁵ The colouration of the signs also invites comparison with the strange animals added later to TT56.¹⁶

A small area of mud plaster on this wall, not unlike the larger circular one on Wall 6, seems to bear a plaster finish, and possibly also some signs in red. These are not hieroglyphs and it is not clear whether they are Coptic characters.

Following a gap, the next decorated area of plaster to the left is approximately 70 cm long and extends to a depth of approximately 30 cm below the *khoker* frieze. It shows the remains of three male figures facing right. Only a small part of the figure of the left-hand man is preserved: his right arm is held across his chest, and his left hangs down before him, carrying something white. The second man wears a standard short white kilt with a black wig. He carries a large yellow-pink chest on his shoulders, with his left arm extended forward and his right arm supporting the back of the chest. Over his shoulder hangs some white material (cloth) flecked with red, visible in front of and behind him.¹⁷ The remains of the third man show that he held his right arm up in front of him, and that the left hung before him. No inscriptions appear to accompany this scene, but traces of a preliminary red line above suggest something may have been intended. The black of the wigs is particularly well-preserved in this scene. I propose that the height of these figures defined the extent of the sub-register, and that this scene probably consisted of three sub-registers of approximately equal height.

Scenes representing the deceased with gold-workers, treasure, and the like are not uncommon,¹⁸ but of these examples, only in the tomb of Menkheperresoneb (TT86) is the deceased said to be actually receiving (*šꜣꜣ*) the items, in that case the 'gold of Koptos';¹⁹ in the other cases, he is inspecting (*mꜣꜣ*). Presumably in TT99 there were several sub-registers of scenes, similar to TT86. Compare Wall 6 below.

Senneferi is apparently shown in this scene concerned with products controlled by the treasury, emphasised by the subset of titles that accompany the scene.

Wall 1: Friezes and borders

The *khoker* frieze of Wall 1 is composed of the normal splaytopped conventionally coloured *khoker*, preserved along the whole length of the wall with some areas of damage. The lines are rather dulled by the dirt and smoking suffered by the tomb, but it would appear that the *khoker* signs were mostly outlined in white (as with Walls 13 and 16). The block border beneath is mostly well-preserved where the plaster is intact, and coloured red, blue, yellow, green, red. The end of each block of colour is marked with a black band. The block border continues down at the end of the wall. The corner decoration at the right hand end of Wall 1 consists of a blue band about 3.5 cm thick.

5.5.2 Wall 2: south wall

Wall plan: [Pl. 8A](#); schematic [Fig. 80](#)

Wall 2 is very badly damaged, but it would appear to have consisted of a false door surrounded by scenes. In attempting to reconstruct the wall, it is assumed that the painted scene at the top extended across the whole of the wall; the baseline of this scene is probably to be sought just above the beginning of the text to be seen at the bottom right of the drawing, as this text obviously extended for a distance to the left towards the centre of the wall. The reconstruction of the false door below suggests that it would have fitted into the recess in the centre of Wall 2 and not reached the ground; perhaps its base aligned with the now lost dado at the bottom of the wall.^{[20](#)}

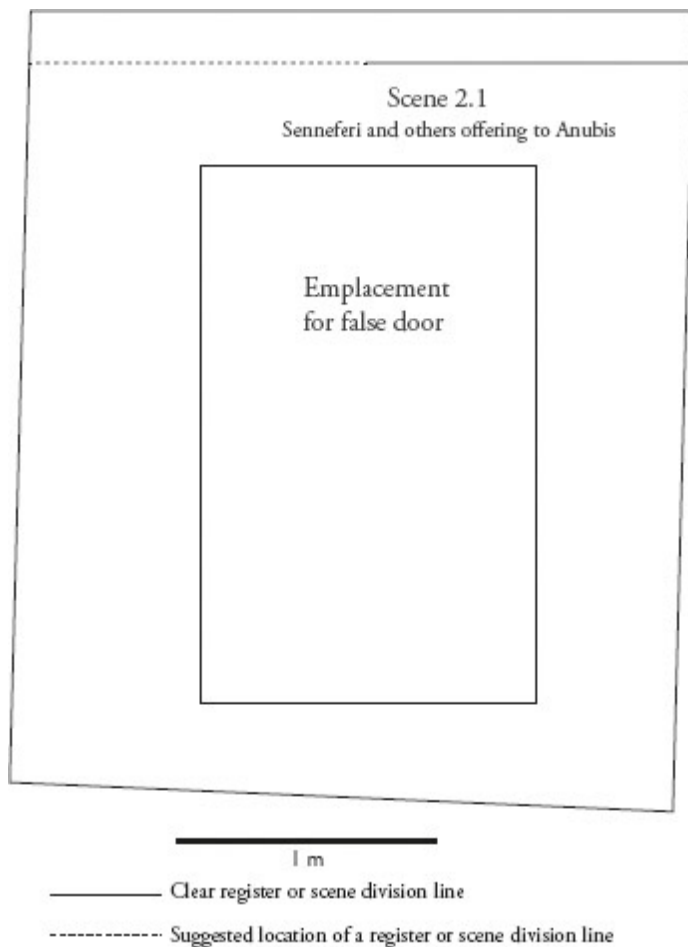


Fig. 80: Wall 2, schematic diagram

Scene 2.1: Senneferi and others offering to Anubis

Pl. 26B

There is some poorly preserved decoration surviving at the top of the wall immediately below the frieze, indicating the presence of a number of figures over the top of the false door to be considered below. A red line above separated them from a row of hieroglyphs; there were three texts, one running left and two right. The first visible element of decoration from the left is a green area above the probable middle of the door (perhaps $\smile$), just below this red line. From then on to the right are the remains of the upper parts of a series of figures spaced at approximately 20 cm intervals: the top of the first male head may perhaps be Senneferi's as the figure to which it belongs is taller than the others, and it also appears just below and to the right of his name written in hieroglyphs above. The top of this head almost

intersects with the section of red line above. There appears to be no text in the space immediately right of the head. Further to the right is the top of a sealed oil jar , and at the right end of the scene is the upper part of another male figure (a black wig and an eye are visible) carrying another oil jar. At the right-hand side there is a column of hieroglyphs running down the wall, probably ending at the baseline on which the figures stood.

The text above this scene is unclear and badly damaged.²¹

Text 2.1

Top, left →

/// [inpw] imy-wt nb qrrt^a nb ///

/// [Anubis] he who is in his wrappings, lord of Qereret, lord of ///

Top, centre ←

/// imy-r sḏswty sn-nfri mš'-ḥrw^b

/// the overseer of seal-bearers, Senneferi, true of voice

Top, right

The signs become increasingly unclear towards the right end of the wall. The first might read ^s[r]t ḥstt nt but I cannot offer an interpretation.

Right side

/// n iry p^t ḥsty-^c imy-r sḏswty /// ḥft ḥzwt ///

/// for the iry p^t ḥsty-^c, overseer of seal-bearers /// in accordance with the praises
[?in the sight of the king?] ///

Bottom

/// imy nṯrw ///

/// which is in the gods ///

a. Most frequently used as an epithet of Anubis (*LGG* III, 760); there is an example nearby in TT87 (Guksch, *Nacht-Min*, 55–56, Taf. 7). Qereret is probably a name for the necropolis of Deir Rifa near Assiut (*LÄ* I, 328, cf. *Wb.* V, 62.7)

b. mš'-ḥrw possible but uncertain.

This scene should be reconstructed as showing probably two mirrored offering scenes of Senneferi before Anubis, surely depicted as a recumbent jackal on a shrine, as on Wall 15 below; this is paralleled over painted false doors,²² although many false doors have no scene above them.²³

Below this, to the right of the emplacement, is part of another line of hieroglyphs, presumably relating to a figure standing to the right of the stela (not illustrated).

False door emplacement

In the centre of this wall is a recessed emplacement, measuring 1.73 m high by 1.15 m wide, with a depth varying between 0.3 and 0.4 m. A

stela or false door is the normal centrepiece of the decoration of the shorter walls in the front room of a tomb of this date, and the example here was evidently free-standing and fitted into this recess. There are traces of plaster at the back, which indicate the fixing for the false door or stela. There is a similar emplacement on the opposite wall (see p. 107). As the shape of this recess is rectangular, a false door is indeed the more probable. Hermann's survey of the layout of such objects in 18th dynasty chapels makes it most likely that the south wall contained a false door and the north a stela.²⁴ The remains of the scene over the door (deceased before Anubis, [Sc. 2.1](#) above) also support this interpretation, since this is more likely to appear over a false door.²⁵

The false door of Senneferi

[Fig. 81](#) to [Fig. 85](#), [Colour pl. 13A](#)

As just seen, there are no traces *in situ* of what was in the above emplacement. However, in the course of excavations in the courtyard of TT99, hundred of fragments of pink granite came to light. Most were small, many little more than splinters, and show how this type of stone can shatter completely. However, a small number of larger fragments bore hieroglyphs or other decoration; the identification of a torus roll on some of these indicated that it was mostly likely that the source was a false door, as just argued, probably set into Wall 2.

The information available on the door by the end of excavation work in 1998 was insufficient to permit reconstruction. However, at the beginning of our final study season in 2002, Dr Mohamed el-Biale, then Director of Luxor, informed us that recent inventory work in the chapel of Sennefer (TT96) had revealed a number of fragments of a granite false door which he thought belonged to TT99. I was permitted entry to this tomb to examine the fragments, and was able to move those which I felt belonged to Senneferi's false door into TT99, where they are now stored in Shaft F, Room 1. They have enabled the photographic reconstruction described below to proceed.²⁶ A further fragment of the torus has also been found in the excavation of the courtyard of TT29.²⁷

How did these fragments come to be in TT96? The rear rooms of the latter chapel seem to have been used as a storeroom for a great number of fragments of all types of materials found locally, and they later became a formal magazine when they were used to store a number of boxes from the tomb of Tutankhamun.²⁸ With the removal of the Tutankhamun material around in the 1990s, the SCA began to document the other contents. In the earlier days of Theban Egyptology it was commonplace for less interesting material excavated in an area

to be placed in a tomb, and Howard Carter began to use TT96 as a storeroom at the beginning of the 20th century ad. Mond was another of those to use it,²⁹ and thus the material recovered from TT99 almost certainly was placed therein. The (presently limited) evidence for this is that at least one coffin in his preliminary reports, found in TT89, was noted in TT96 in 1999.³⁰ TT96 must have contained much of the material from the Mond work; it has now been emptied of finds by the SCA and that material transferred to the main magazine.³¹

At least 191 fragments were identified from our excavations as coming from the false door, including 31 from TT96, which we can reasonably assume resulted from Mond's work in the TT99 courtyard. In addition, there were nearly 1600 miscellaneous fragments of pink granite. Of the actual false door fragments excavated, 24% came from the Courtyard, and 76% from the shafts in the Courtyard; none came from inside the tomb chapel. The position is similar for the miscellaneous granite fragments: 5% in the Courtyard, 95% from the Courtyard shafts (mostly Shaft I), and only one fragment in the Chapel. The excavated contexts of this material is considered on [p. 97](#).

While false doors are an integral part of a large number of Theban tombs of the 18th dynasty,³² free-standing examples are uncommon, and their appearance seems to be concentrated overwhelmingly in the tombs of high-ranking officials of the reigns of Hatshepsut to Amenhotep II, and almost all the surviving examples with provenances come from the hill of Sheikh Abdel Qurna.³³ There were also a small number of royal examples from this era.³⁴ Their infrequency is primarily due to the need for access to considerable resources for making such an item, but there may also have been many that have been destroyed or reused, as almost all the examples quoted here are no longer in their original position.³⁵ The comparanda are made of pink granite, with the exception of that of TT71, which is of quartzite and is also uniquely inscribed with Spell 148 from the Book of the Dead. The proportions of these doors vary quite widely.³⁶

Senneferi's false door as reconstructed here ([Fig. 83](#) to [Fig. 85](#)) was perhaps a maximum of 1.3 m in height plus cornice, perhaps a total of 1.6 m. The reconstructed width is perhaps 1.2 m, giving a height to width ratio of 1.33:1. Such an object would fit in the recess just described; it also means that the bottom of it would have been well above the floor, perhaps level with the dado, and there could have been a pedestal of sorts beneath it.³⁷ Object 99.98.0482 (from Shaft H, not photographed) has a flat ledge with the bottom of a torus moulding at the right, and a flat area to the right of that, and it is

likely that it formed the bottom right-hand corner of the door. The fragment measures 25 cm long, by 24 high and 23 deep.

The reconstructions of the texts in [Fig. 85](#) utilise the principal fragments of the door, identified by excavation number in [Fig. 84](#).³⁸ Three of these are illustrated in [Fig. 81](#) and [Fig. 82](#). In addition, there are many smaller pieces that cannot be placed and are thus not illustrated. These include parts of signs, unclear areas of sunk relief filled with green paint, and also torus and cornice fragments. Unless otherwise indicated in the following, the door is cut in sunk relief of no more than average quality. There appears to be some variation in the cutting of the hieroglyphs. The signs and the markings on the cornice and torus were filled with green paint; a good example is illustrated on [Colour pl. 13A](#).

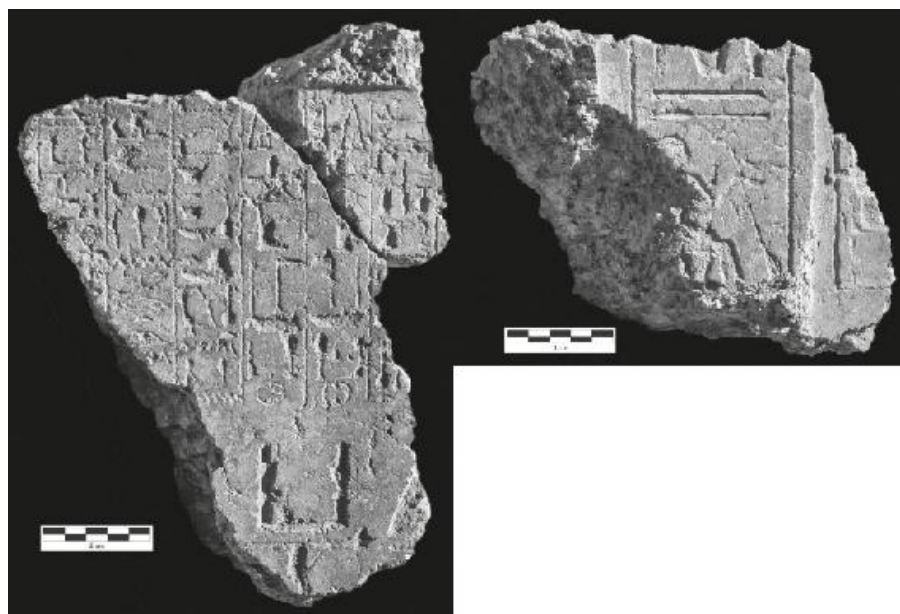


Fig. 81: False door panel fragments 99.02.0015 (smaller) and 99.02.0027 (larger), found stored in TT96A

Fig. 82: False door jamb fragment 99.02.0019, found stored in TT96A

The panel

Three fragments at least can be identified. Two fragments of text join, and on the right-hand edge of the resultant fragment is the folded right arm and left hand of a seated figure facing left. Another piece with the lap, legs and chair of a seated figure facing right, and the edge of the legs of a second figure, almost certainly joins below the text; it is thus (presumably) a depiction of a couple, and I place it to the left and below the text.³⁹ The hieroglyphs above indicate that

there were two facing *ḥtp di nswt* formulae, and thus there was at least one couple at the left and one figure at the right, all receiving offerings from the table in the centre of the texts, which bears a large *ka* sign in place of food offerings. A *ka* sign but with offerings on the right is found on the panel of the TT39 and TT61/131 false doors.

The texts indicate that Senneferi was one of the left-hand couple; I reconstruct one column as being sufficient to contain the name and title of the person with him (perhaps his wife?). Most representations are of just one couple, perhaps with someone offering to them (TT100, tomb C.3, plus other painted examples); TT71 is unusual in that Senenmut is shown seated between his parents. However, the latter does frequently commemorate his parents in TT71; as this is also true of TT99, I tentatively conclude that the persons at the right-hand side of the panel would be Haydjehuty and Satdjehuty, Senneferi's parents. Note that there are still traces of the red preliminary sketch on these fragments, particularly indicating the frame for the hieroglyphs above the right-hand *ḥtp di nswt* formula.

Lintel below the panel

On the left and right-hand sides of the architrave below are *wedjat* eyes, the left-hand one accompanied by . It seems reasonable to presume a *shen* ring in the centre. This composition usually occupies the same width as the panel depiction.

Jambs

From the number of fragments of *ḥtp di nswt* formulae, I suggest that the door had two lintel/jamb inscriptions above and beside the panel, facing each other and beginning in the centre with a formula, with the deities named in the horizontal lines, and the columns used for the wishes expressed for the deceased. The evidence suggests that all jambs ended with the title of *imy-r sḏswty*, the name of Senneferi, *mꜥ-hrw*, and small seated figures of the deceased.

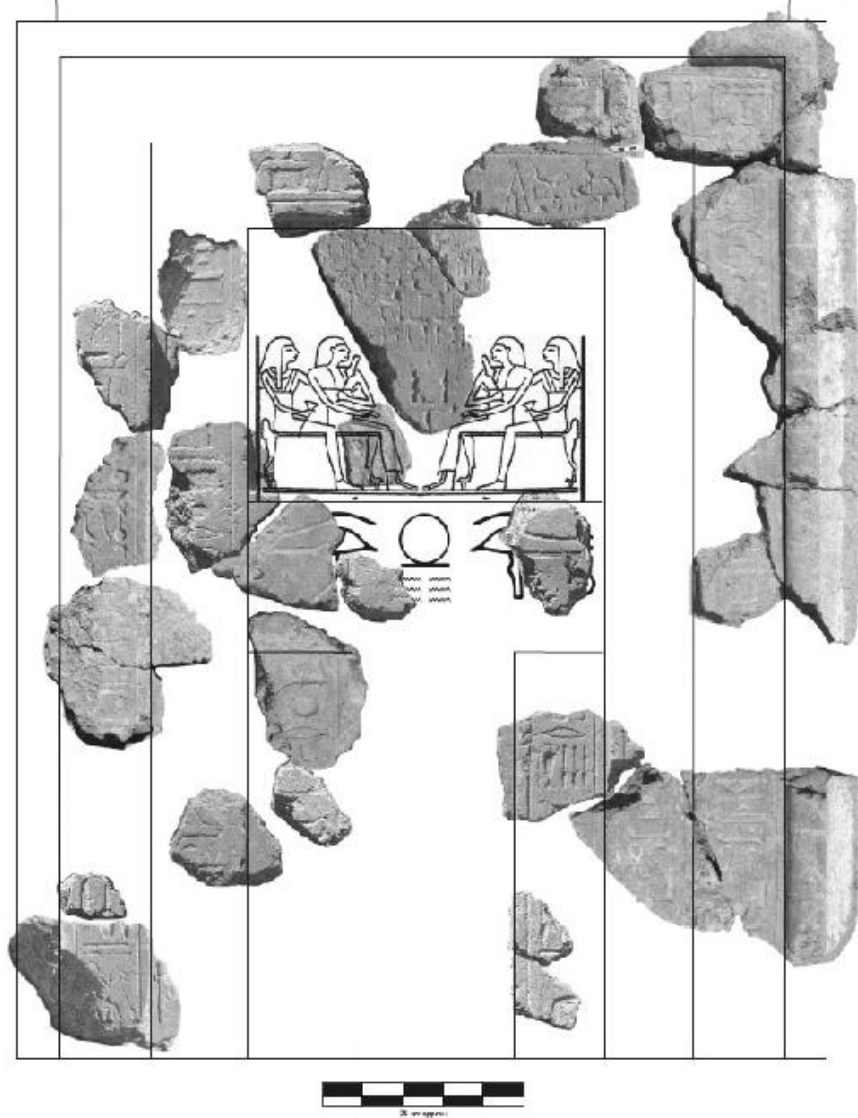


Fig. 83: Principal false door fragments of Senneferi superimposed on a likely outline reconstruction of the original

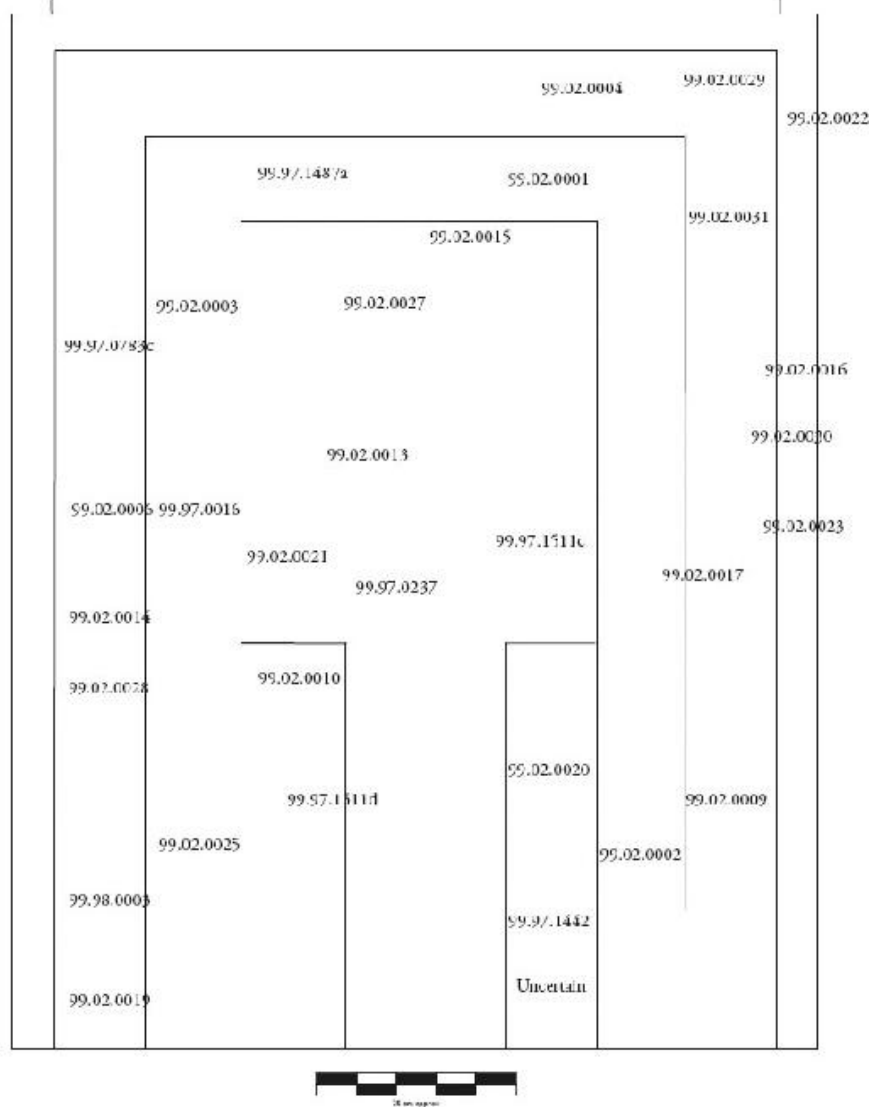


Fig. 84: Numbers of principal false door fragments of Senneferi in Fig. 83

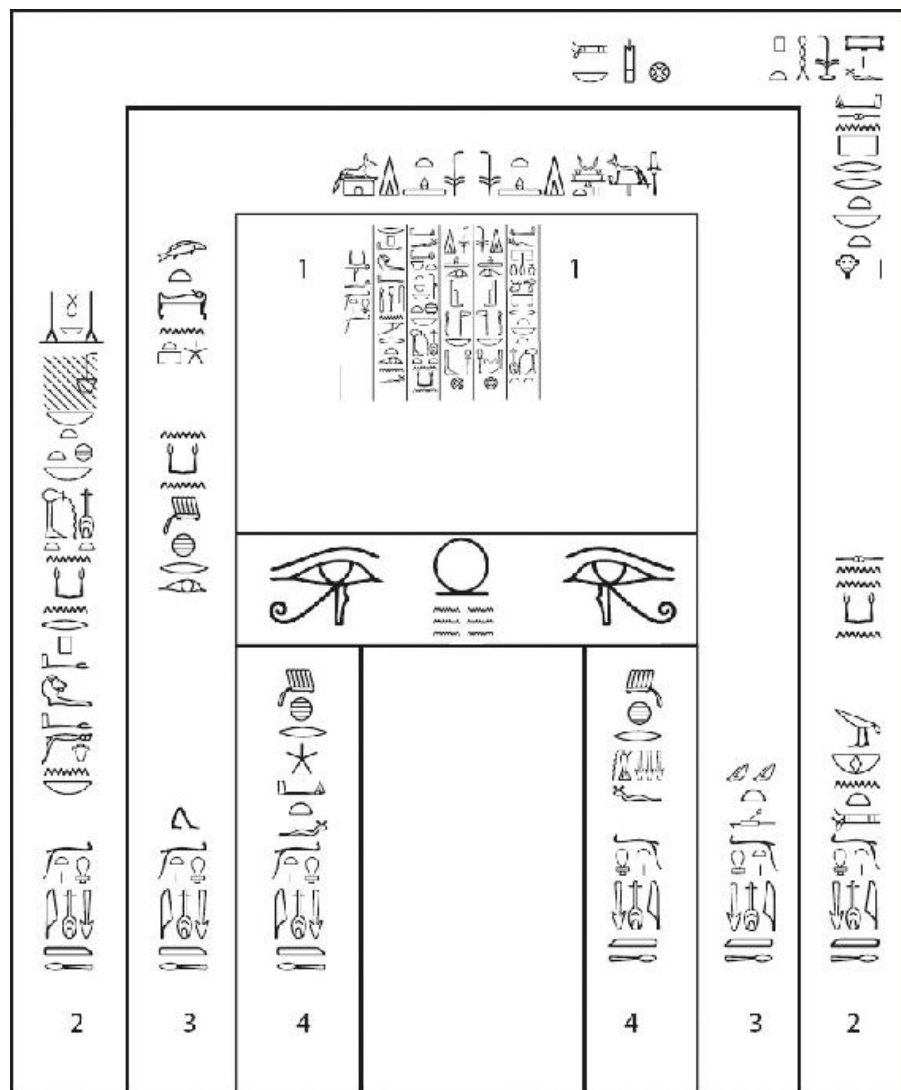


Fig. 85: Schematic reconstruction of the texts on the false door of Senneferi.
The hieroglyphs are not to scale, and the reconstructed areas are not specifically marked



Fig. 86: False door fragment 99.96.0456

The inner jambs, below the eyes, consisted of *imshw hr* phrases, to Duamutef and to Qebhsenuf, and ended with the title and name of Senneferi; these were, like the inner jambs of the door of tomb C.3, quite short. Approximately half the outer jamb is occupied by the end of the *di:f* part of the formula, and the other half by *n k3 n iry prt hsty-ε*, an epithet, and then the title and name. The middle jambs probably contained other phrases to accompany the formula, only one of which survives, followed by *n k3 n imshw hr* deities, an epithet or title (all lost) and then the title and name.

At this point I consider fragment 99.96.0456, the top left corner of the inscribed area of a false door (Fig. 86). This fragment was found in the Courtyard well before any of the other fragments; it is larger

than others subsequently found. As we have yet to locate any fragments that can be attributed to this area of the TT99 door, it is tempting to assign it here, but there are problems. While the quality of the carving of Senneferi's door is not of the best, the carving of 99.96.0456 appears less well-executed; the horizontal and vertical lines defining the text columns are not very clear; the height differences between each jamb are shallower. Perhaps most important of all is the manner in which the binding on the torus moulding is indicated is different: on the right hand side of the TT99 door, the horizontal and diagonal lines of this binding are single incised lines, filled with green paint. On 99.96.0456, the diagonals are composed of incised lines, but the horizontals are composed of 1 cm wide raised bands; this dramatic difference from the other fragments makes me reluctantly exclude it from the reconstructions.

A number of other fragments presently thought not to belong to the TT99 false door were also found in TT96, but their origin is uncertain. For example, one of those in the present reconstruction, that naming Atum (99.02.0004), may not belong in TT99.

List of fragments in reconstruction

99.97.0016; 99.97.0237; 99.97.0783c; 99.97.1442; 99.97.1487a; 99.97.1511c; 99.97.1511d; 99.98.0003; 99.02.0001 (Fig. 22.5A);⁴⁰ 99.02.0002 (Fig. 22.1); 99.02.0003 (Fig. 22.5D); 99.02.0004 (Fig. 22.5B); 99.02.0006; 99.02.0009 (Fig. 22.1); 99.02.0010 (Fig. 22.5G); 99.02.0013 (Fig. 22.4B); 99.02.0014; 99.02.0015 (Fig. 81);⁴¹ 99.02.0016; 99.02.0017; 99.02.0019 (Fig. 22.5C, also illustrated here in Fig. 82); 99.02.0020 (Fig. 22.5E); 99.02.0021 (Fig. 22.5G); 99.02.0022; 99.02.0023; 99.02.0025 (Fig. 22.5F); 99.02.0027 (Fig. 81);⁴² 99.02.0028; 99.02.0029; 99.02.0030; 99.02.0031; Uncertain.

Texts

Text 2.2. Panel

Left

hṭp di nswt wsir nṯr ʿ nb ʒb(dw)ʰ dif hṯqt rnpṯ nb(t) hṯ nb(t) nṯrt wʿbt
n kʒ n ʿry pʿt hṯy-ʿ smr ʿ n mrwt ʿrwf /// kʒf ʿmy-r ʒdwty ʿmy-r ///?
 [sn-nṯri mʰ-hrw]

An offering that the king gives and that Osiris gives, the great god, lord of Abydos, that he may give offerings of all fresh vegetables and all perfect and pure things to the *ka* of the *ʿry pʿt hṯy-ʿ*, companion great of what is loved, who has made (?) /// his *ka*, the overseer of seal-bearers [Senneferi, justified].

Right

hṭp di nswt wsir nṯr ʿ nb ʒbdw dif pʿt-hrw t hṯqt kw ʒpdw pʿ(r)t nb(t)ʷ] nṯrt wʿbt The rest is lost

An offering that the king gives and that Osiris gives, the great god, lord of

Abydos, that he may give invocation offerings of bread, beer, oxen and fowl, and all perfect and pure things that come forth ///

- Note the missing $\smile$ sign in the left-hand text. It suggests that the care expended was less than ideal.
- It is unclear whether there is space for a second $\ominus$ and $\triangle$ here.

Text 2.3. Outer jambs

Left

[*hṭp di nswt*]^a /// [*dif/di:sn*] /// *šs mnḥt nb snṛ?* /// *nbt ḥt nb(t) nfrt wḥt*
n k3 n iry pṛ ḥty-ṛ mh-ib n nb [twy^b] /// [imy-r sḏwty] sn-nfri mṛ-ḥrw

[An offering that the king gives] ... [that he/they give] ...all alabaster and clothing, incense ..., and all perfect and pure things for the *ka* of the the *iry pṛ ḥty-ṛ*, the trusted one of the lord [of the two lands], /// [the overseer of seal-bearers], Senneferi, justified.

Right

[*hṭp di nswt*] *tm nb hwnw* ///^c *ptḥ rsy inbf di:sn prrt nbt ḥr [wdḥw?]* ///
sn n k3 n [iry pṛ ḥty-ṛ sṣm] ḥb tm imy-r sḏwty sn-nfri mṛ-ḥrw

[An offering that the king gives] and that Atum gives, lord of Heliopolis ... and (to) Ptah south of his wall, that they may give everything which always comes forth on [the offering table?] ... their ... for the *ka* of [the *iry pṛ ḥty-ṛ*, the follower] of the festival of Atum, the overseer of seal-bearers, Senneferi, justified.

- The position of the two surviving beginnings of *hṭp di nswt* formulae are uncertain. It seems also possible that the fragment naming Anubis that I have tentatively placed in the middle jamb could also have originated here.
- A guess, as this epithet is not otherwise found on Senneferi's monuments.
- I have tentatively placed here the fragment naming Atum. The Wepwawet fragment might alternatively be placed here.

Text 2.4. Middle jambs

Left

hṭp di [nswt] inpw /// [*bs n pt*] *ḥst n dwst^a* /// *n k3 n imḥw ḥr [ws]ir* ///
imy-r sḏwty [sn-nfri mṛ-ḥrw]

An offering that the [king] gives (to) Anubis... [the *ba* to the heavens] and the corpse to the underworld ... for the *ka* of the *imakhu* in the sight of Osiris ... the overseer of seal-bearers, [Senneferi, justified].

Right

hṭp di [nswt] upwswt /// [*n k3 n imḥw ḥr*] /// [*sḏm*] *sḏmt wṛ imy-r*
sḏwty sn-nfri mṛ-ḥrw

An offering that the [king] gives (to) Wepwawet ... [for the *ka* of the *imakhu* in the sight of] ... [he who hears] what is heard in private, the overseer of seal-bearers, Senneferi, justified

- The location is uncertain. Reconstruction based on Barta, *Opferformel*, 99 (Bitte 137).

Text 2.5. Inner jambs

Left

imḥw ḥr dwṣ-mwtf imy-r [sdṣwty sn-nfri mṣ-ḥrw]

The *imakhu* in the sight of Duamutef, the overseer [of seal-bearers, Senneferi, justified]

Right

imḥw ḥr qbh-snwf imy-r sdṣwty sn-nfri mṣ-ḥrw

The *imakhu* in the sight of Qebehsenuef, the overseer [of seal-bearers], Senneferi, justified

There is at present no information available on the central area of the door, between the inner jambs.

Senneferi's false door shared some elements with each of the parallels noted (above [p. 91](#)). Its shape is most like those of Senenmut, Puyemre and Rekhmire, but its arrangement of texts is most like those of Rekhmire and Amenhotep.

History of damage to the false door

Both the false door just described and the stela to be considered below ([p. 107](#)) are free-standing items, and both were discovered in a variety of Courtyard locations, smashed to pieces. The excavated context of both objects was considered on [p. 76](#). It is presumed that both items were removed from the tomb with the intention of reuse, but it is more difficult to ascertain when and why this happened.

Of the hard stone false doors which parallel that of Senneferi, most were not found in their original locations.⁴³ Two doors seem to have been found in the tombs in which they were originally installed: it would seem that Lepsius actually discovered that of Senenmut still in place in TT71 in the 1840s,⁴⁴ while Davies indicates that Robert Hay noted the door of Rekhmire lying on the floor of TT100 in the 1820s.⁴⁵ This would seem to argue that these separate pieces of hard stone were prized candidates for reuse.

It would seem reasonable to presume that Senneferi's false door was removed reasonably intact from the Chapel, as that of Rekhmire was lying on the floor intact in TT100, while that of Useramun was found whole at Karnak, and that of Amenhotep was largely complete. The number of fragments found in the north-eastern quarter of the Courtyard perhaps suggests that door was subsequently smashed up outside, probably somewhere near Shaft I. Perhaps there was an accident or accidents and it was abandoned, later to be broken up.

Does the reuse of several false doors in Karnak in 30th dynasty and Roman structures⁴⁶ suggest that the reuse of material from the West Bank was a feature of the first millennium bc or a little later? It is always of course possible that what we are seeing in Karnak is not the

first reuse. Hard stones like granite were also employed as grindstones in all periods,⁴⁷ and it is not impossible that the Senneferi door was taken with that in mind. Obviously the softer stone of the limestone stela of TT99 (considered below, p. 107 ff, including a fragment found near TT29) is unlikely to have been reused where hard stone would be preferred, but it is surely possible that someone could have envisaged a new purpose for it.

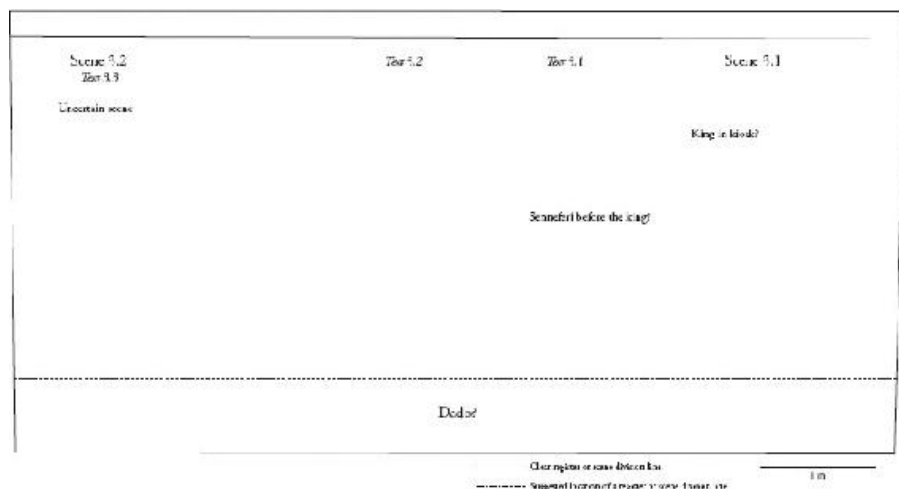


Fig. 87: Wall 3, schematic diagram

Wall 2: Friezes and borders

A *kheker* frieze extends the whole length of the top of the wall, but it is much more damaged than on Wall 1. The block border, coloured yellow-(green)-red-(green)-yellow, runs along the top of the wall; it seems to continue down the right-hand side just as red-green-red. The black bands of colour which would have once divided some of the blocks are now mostly lost. There is a green band in the corner like that on Wall 1, separated from the block border by what now seems like a white band but may actually have been in origin an example of a black and white lozenge pattern as elsewhere in the tomb.

5.5.3 Wall 3: west wall, south of entrance to Passage

Wall plan: Pl. 9; schematic Fig. 87

The surviving decoration on the wall consists of the remains of one long and one short text.

This text, together with its companion on Wall 4, has been the subject of more study than any other aspect of the tomb. They were first noticed by Sethe in his visit to the tomb in the course of collecting texts for the *Wörterbuch* and *Urkunden IV*, and he

subsequently published a study of it.⁴⁸ There have been several attempts at translation.⁴⁹ The most recent study of the text is that of Eichler, who had access to my copies in the mid 1990s, is based mostly on Sethe's text.⁵⁰

Sethe was of the opinion that this wall showed Thutmose III sending Senneferi on a mission to Lebanon to obtain wood, it being the precursor to the scene on Wall 4.⁵¹ Nothing is preserved at the right-hand end of this wall, but if Sethe's interpretation of the surviving text is correct, it seems very likely that part of this space would have been filled with a scene of the king in a kiosk not unlike that attested on Wall 4. In front of the king would have been a figure of Senneferi; see also the notes and outline reconstruction of Wall 4 below (p. 100). Canopy scenes of the king are most commonly on the west wall of the front room of Theban tombs as here, and double scenes are not uncommon.⁵²

Scene 3.1: Senneferi before the king? PM (3)

Pl. 27, Pl. 26A, Colour pl. 15A, Colour pl. 15B

The text of the king probably sending Senneferi to Lebanon is reached at approximately 3 m from the right-hand end of the wall. There is also another area of text adjacent to the corner with Wall 2.

The reader should note that reconstructions here in [] are Sethe's unless otherwise indicated.

Text 3.1

Speech of the king (retrograde).⁵³

x + 1	<i>i ///</i>	
x + 2	<i>ḥnty ...</i>	
x + 3	<i>ḥtyw ṣpsw {nw ṣ} ///</i>	noble terraces [of cedar] ... a
x + 4	<i>smnh ///</i>	making excellent ...
x + 5	<i>ī ...</i>	
x + 6	<i>r d[ṯ?]/d[d?] ///</i>	for ever / to say

a. See Sethe's comment, SPAW 1906, 358.

Text 3.2

Praise of the king by Senneferi:

¹ *wnin ///* [*sn-nfri wšbf ḥr ḥmf*]

... [Senneferi replied to his majesty]

² *ddini ʔa ///* *w ḥry-ḥbḥ ///* [*ʔ*]

I said ... the lector priest ...

³ *mnḥ tw r rdī tw ḥr srḥf^c ///*

made you excellent to place you on his throne ...

⁴ n ḥḥw n ḥḥw r ḥrrt rhyt^d ntrw ///

for millions of millions (of years) for the happiness of the rekhyt and the gods ...

⁵ ḥr st-ḥrk ḥtp-k iwt nt tm it[.k] /// [rḥnf tw m]^{e6} irw ẓt sḥw tw smn ///

under your charge, for you are happy with / you take^f the inheritance of Atum [your] father ... [for he knows that you are] one who does what is excellent, for one recognises you as an ? established [*perhaps 'on a throne?'*] ...

⁷ qd tẓwtf tẓw-k n ḥḥ ///

who builds his tẓwt. 8 Your breath of life ...

⁸ ḥft-ḥrk dwsn nfr-k^h ḥḥnⁱ ///

before you, for we adore your perfection, for we live ///

⁹ ḥryt-tp tp-k /// pw ? ḥ ///

the uraeus is upon you ... palace ...

¹⁰ /// nb/k ///

11-12 (missing)

13 (unclear signs) /// n irtyk /// k ///

... to? your eyes ...

¹⁴ nsk mḥt nt tury ṯḥ pw n psdt 9 r pw n t ?? mⁱ tẓ-¹⁵ mri twtf tp tẓ trnf tw /// [m mtt nt tẓf]

Your tongue is the balance of the two lands, it is the plumb-bob of the Nine Bows, he is the sun for the divine beings ? in Lower Egypt, his statue is on earth, he has made you ...[through the exactness of his heart]

(The rest is lost)

a. I believe there are traces of  here, and the blue-green colour visible below (with a red outline) could be the top of a seated male first person suffix.

b. Over the two clear signs are the traces of a muddy residue; conservator Lisa Shekede suggests that it may have come from a structure of bricks set against the wall at this point. See also n. i below. The upper sign is evidently  followed by ; the traces below are red and blue and suggest .

c. The upper part of  follows here.

d. Compare Urk. IV, 965.10 for this unusual writing of rhyt.

e. Following Sethe, Urk. IV, 533 (8).

f. Eichler, SAK 26 (1998), 219 n. 16 here suggests ḥtp in the meaning of 'to take one's place' (Wb. III, 191.2).

g. The sense of this word is unclear; cf. Wb. V, 399.11, where it is said to be something on which gods stand. A similarly written word, also in an unclear context, appears in the decree of Horemheb (Kruchten, *Le Décret d'Horemheb*, 88 (J)).

h.  for .

i. Traces of another mud brick. See n. c above.

j. The colour and traces do not seem to justify Sethe's , followed by Eichler, SAK 26 (1998), 219–220. Sethe presumed the word was tmw, 'mankind' (Wb. V, 305). The traces appear to show a basket with a handle, and below the owl is a horizontal blue sign, not unlike . One remotely possible word is a cognate of tkm (Wb. V, 333.8–9), meaning something like 'divine beings'; either explanation has problems.

The surviving part of the text consists mostly of a declamation of praise for the king by Senneferi. The second part of Eichler's article considers the context and type of the texts on Walls 3 and 4.⁵⁴ He suggests that the text should be considered a 'Königsnovelle', with its formal structure of praise of the king, which is clearly reflected in the text on Wall 3. There are examples of such texts in other Theban tombs, notably TT131.⁵⁵ The difference in TT99 is the addition of the episode of the Lebanon visit on Wall 4; for this, Eichler suggests a particular conceptual parallel with the Punt text of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari.⁵⁶ This combination of features seems particularly apposite, particular in view of the fact that Senneferi's text is not much later in date.

Scene 3.2: Uncertain scene

Pl. 25C

The following fragment of text is found at the left-hand end of the wall:

Text 3.3

The orientation of this text and the manner in which the leftmost column begins suggest that it was probably written in retrograde fashion, perhaps consisting of words spoken by a left-facing figure, now destroyed.

x+1	<i>wt/tw ///</i>	
x+2	<i>šb n ? ///</i>	excellence of ? ///
x+3	<i>drf n gm ? ///</i>	all (something?). Never was the like found ? ///
x+4	<i>tw[r] m šw[r]</i>	? image in the office [of] ///

The colour of these hieroglyphs is much more reddish than similar examples elsewhere in the tomb; the yellow of the ceiling bands in this part of the tomb has also turned to red. The black has disappeared, although this is not unusual,⁵⁷ but most of the blue/green has also gone. This change of ochre colours from yellow to red is only likely to occur when they are exposed to intense heat.⁵⁸ This might thus have happened as a result of a fire being set in the tomb. The Front room of the tomb has been severely smoked, but there is no other evidence for it having been worse at this end of the tomb than elsewhere.

The smoking of tombs is usually explained as a result of domestic fires and lighting from the period when the tomb was inhabited. Thus Belzoni, writing in the time when the tombs were inhabited, refers to the rear wall of a tomb being walled off and kept as an overnight

sheep pen, while the Front room was blackened from smoke ('The walls and roof are black as any chimney') and the plaster was decaying.⁵⁹

I confess to being uncomfortable with major cooking taking place in such an unventilated space, additionally because, as will be shown in Part II of this publication, a cooking emplacement was discovered in front of the Chapel, in front of the tomb entrance. As an alternative, and a possible explanation for such extremes of temperature, fires also seem to have been lighted in tombs to force out undesirables who were living there. The following example is from James Bruce's travels in 1768:

A number of robbers, who much resemble our gypsies, live in the holes of the mountains above Thebes. They are all out-laws, punished with death if elsewhere found. Osman Bey, an ancient governor of Girgé, unable to suffer any longer the disorders committed by these people, ordered a quantity of dried faggots to be brought together, and, with his solders, took possession of the face of the mountain, where the greatest number of these wretches were: He then ordered all their caves to be filled with this dry brushwood, to which he set fire, so that most of them were destroyed; but they have since recruited their numbers, without changing their manners.⁶⁰

The latter explanation for the heavily-smoked nature of the Front room of TT99 should be given serious consideration.⁶¹

Wall 3: Friezes and borders

The *khoker* frieze runs continuously from the left-hand end of the wall until about 3 m from the end, then there is a gap, and from then on it is fragmentary. It is the same as on Wall 1; the block border is also similar, red-green-yellow-green-red, with a coloured band in the corner likewise. The black bands at the ends of the coloured blocks in the border are well-preserved, as are the black horizontal lines above and below the green border to the pattern.

5.5.4 Wall 4: west wall, north of entrance to Passage

Wall plan: [Pl. 10](#); schematic [Fig. 88](#)

There are remains of scenes along the upper part of this wall, with the upper part of a large kiosk at the left, a text in the centre, and further fragmentary scenes to the right. Sethe considered this scene as the companion to the one he postulated for Wall 3, showing Senneferi returning from the Lebanon with wood, and presenting it to the king, assumed to be Thutmose III.

There is little information to help with the reconstruction. The royal kiosk, were more of it preserved, would help us a great deal, although kiosks vary widely in size.⁶² To create the approximate areas in the schematic in [Fig. 88](#), I superimposed over the wall plan of Wall 4 a

scene containing one of the narrower kiosks, that from TT73, which shows the tomb owner before [Hatshepsut];⁶³ assuming a 50 cm dado, adjusting the kiosk to an appropriate size to fit the space available and render the texts about the same size as those in TT99, it seems clear that the kiosk and the missing figure of Senneferi stood immediately on the dado. Such an arrangement would suggest that there was room for a total of four sub-registers, again like those of TT73.⁶⁴ It is perfectly possible that a smaller figure of Senneferi may have existed at the right also.⁶⁵

Scene 4.1: Senneferi before the king in a kiosk PM (5)

Pl. 28A, Pl. 29, Colour pl. 16A

The only remains of the royal scene are the very top of a frieze of cobras with sun discs on their heads (six visible) which surmounted the canopy under which the king was seated. The sun discs are coloured red and the tops of the heads of the cobras are blue with yellow below.⁶⁶ These traces have not been photographed or copied but they are in the area of plaster at the top left of the wall plan in [Pl. 10](#).

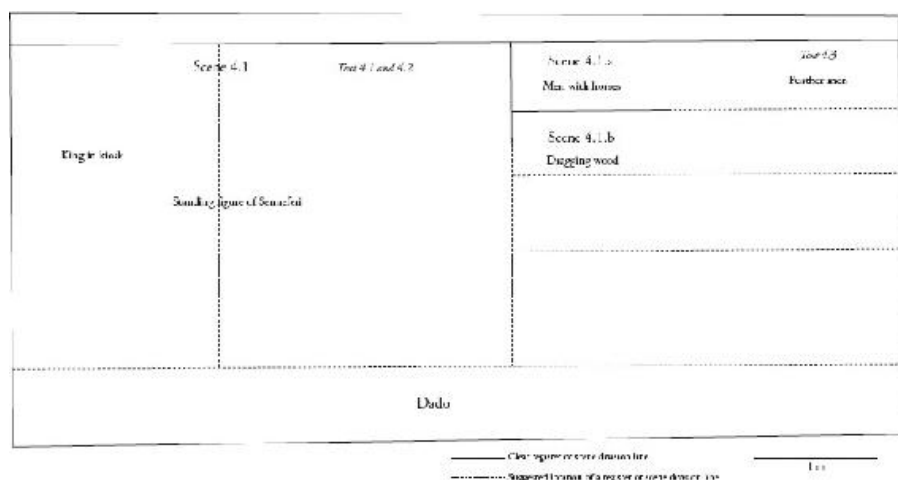


Fig. 88: Wall 4, schematic diagram

To the right of the remains of the shrine, a number of columns of text are found. The left-hand part of this text ([Text 4.1](#)), evidently written in retrograde fashion, is presumably part of the welcoming speech by the king on Senneferi's return, while the right-hand part ([Text 4.2](#)) describes Senneferi's experiences.

The unusual nature of this text was first recognised by Sethe. Due to its importance, [Fig. 89](#) and [Fig. 90](#) are included here to save constant cross-reference to [Pl. 28A](#) and [Pl. 29](#). I make extensive use of Sethe's

reconstructions (mostly as [] without comment) in the translation below. Some sections of the translation in [] are intended to give the likely sense of the text and do not reflect actual proposed hieroglyphs; these are indicated in italics. In the case of both texts, estimating how much physically is missing is not possible.

Text 4.1

King:⁶⁷

1	<i>sn[wt]</i> <i>m</i> ///	... flagpoles ^a ...
2	<i>ms sw</i> ///	... fashioned them ...
		[Amun?]
3	<i>m tpfpsdt</i> ///	at his head the
		ennead
4	<i>ms^cwsn mh</i> ///	... their offerings ...

a. Sethe, *SPAW* 1906, 362–363; Wb. IV, 152. This is the only hint in the text to the purpose for which the wood was obtained. Eichler comments (SAK 26 (1998), 221 n. 24) that only two ↓ are visible, but there does appear to be a trace of a third, and if there were only two signs, they would be arranged differently. Eichler further makes the intriguing observation that a pair of flagpoles is shown on one of Thutmose III's obelisks (cf. Urk. IV, 643 (E)).

Text 4.2

Senneferi:

¹ *ist in iry p^t [hsty] -^c sdwty bity [smr wty sn-nfri iw m htp] ///* [*sqdw-nf*
m wsd-wr] ² a [*shnf ts*] ///

The *iry p^t [hsty] -^c*, [seal-bearer] of the *bity*, [sole companion, Senneferi has come back successfully] ... [having sailed on the *wsd-wr*], [and come to land] ...

3-4 (missing)

⁵ *//// [hpr]*^b

/// [it happened]

⁶ *m bw [h]ri^c h^d d [hr ms^c] ///* [*iw*]

in the place where I was and [my expedition] was happy^e ...

⁷ *i smkwi h[r] /// i^f dw^g p[n] ///*

I entered /// this mountain...

⁸ *hry-tp snit^h iwⁱ qkwⁱ r hnt(y-s)ⁱ ///* [*rdini*] ⁹ *ms ns wdn m h^hw m ht*
hry-tp [nh wds snb hmk] /// ¹⁰ *mm kpny dt st n nbsⁱ n st-[ib]s rdi[m]* ///

¹¹ *m stpw iry inni n mh 60m sw[sn] ///*

above the clouds. ^k I entered the forest [*The goddess appeared to me*] ¹ /// [I caused] the presenting to her of offerings of millions of things concerning [the life, prosperity, and health of your majesty] ... [*Then she permitted me to take these trees*] ^m therefrom. Byblos ⁿ gave them to her lord for her satisfaction. I caused [*that trees be cut down*] from the choicest thereof. I brought 60^o cubits in [their] length ...

¹² *spd st r wsm hry-tp iry wmt ///* [*shs*]

they being of the highest quality, ^p the upper parts thereof being thick[er than] ...

^{lw} elve i st hr bswt nw t3-ntr spr r r n^u hnty-s^h /// [w3d-]¹⁴ wr^t m m3w nfr
 sbp [t3] ///

I [brought] them [down] from the hills of the god's land. Approaching the edge of the forest ^s ... [*The barges were loaded, and I travelled on the*] sea with a good wind and came (successfully) to [land] ...

a. The surviving signs appear indeed to be  Sethe saw only one  and considered it sensibly as the determinative of w3d-wr. There is only one  in the writing of w3d-wr in column 14, and writings in Wb. I, 269 also only use one  sign. In place of the second  he saw  (SPAW 1906, 359; Urk. IV, 534.13); I have tentatively retained his suggested reconstruction here. This restored occurrence is mentioned briefly in Vandersleyen, *Ouadj our w3d wr*, 113 n. 82.

b. The clue to this reading is the phonetic complement at the top of the next column.

c. Wb. I, 450.13. Eichler notes here the change from third to first person, although the precise location of the change is unclear (SAK 26 (1998), 220 n. 19).

d. The underlying sign below  indeed appears to be  (Colour pl. 15D). However, one would not expect a writing of  in *hd* (cf. Wb. III, 206–215). I am unsure where Sethe (SPAW 1906, 359 n.1 and 360 n. 3) intended to place the ; there is a faint red trace to the bottom right of the composite sign of the underdrawing which looks like . The following traces are however indicative of the feather and the top stroke of .

e. Extending the meaning of *hd hr* in Wb. III, 207.16.

f. Sethe reads the traces in this gap as , giving *zbi*, 'my tent'; the traces appear to be of a solid red vertical sign at the left, which do not accord with the yellow with red outline colouration of  as seen on the right-hand text of Pillar AE (Text AE.2 on p. 144). Helck translates this in *Verwaltung*, 350 as 'Ich ging zu diesem [Fürsten...]'.

g. Sethe places the demonstrative *pn* immediately after the seated figure, but the badly damaged area clearly contains traces of a pink sign with red flecks in the interior on a blue-green base, which can only be  or  (compare  in column 13 of this wall or both on Pillar BN), with a preference for the former as the  of the masculine *pn* is clear, and because the sign is less likely than  to occupy the whole width of the column.

h. This hieroglyph is mentioned but not illustrated in Davies, *Picture Writing*, 34.

i. Wb. III, 310.12 quotes this example as specifically designating 'Lebanon', but it seems that the more generic meaning of this word is better.

j. The falcon could be *nbs* or *hrs*, although I have opted for the former as it seems to me that the royal determinative is more suited to *nb*. The  hieroglyph here (Colour pl. 15C) is reproduced in colour in Davies, *Picture Writing*, pl. I, 1. Behind the falcon is an area of yellow paint, as if what was originally intended as  was finally written .

k. Eichler prefers to translate this word as 'Unwetter' ('storm': SAK 26 (1998), 221 with n. 21).

l. Following Helck. Sethe in Urk. IV suggests that the local goddess would be named here in the text.

m. This suggestion for filling the gap is from Helck.

n. The association between *kpny* and Byblos has been queried by Vandersleyen, *Ouadj our w3d wr*, 112–114, 127–128.

o. The upper example of $\overset{\circ}{\circ}\overset{\circ}{\circ}$ is taller than the lower one; $\overset{\circ}{\circ}\overset{\circ}{\circ}$ seems the most likely, but $\overset{\circ}{\circ}\overset{\circ}{\circ}$ is not impossible. Helck prefers 50. Eichler believes that this length refers to each flagpole (SAK 26 (1998), 221 n. 24). Note that the cedar of Lebanon can grow up to 40 m in height, and thus one such tree could make one flagpole of this size (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cedrus_libani, accessed 21 April 2016).

p. Lit ‘sharper than the prickles on ears of corn’, Wb. I, 374.5. See Sethe, SPAW 1906, 361 n. 1. However, it could also be part of Senneferi’s reaction to the needle-like foliage of a type of tree that he had never encountered in Egypt.

q. $\overset{\circ}{\circ}$ for $\overset{\circ}{\circ}$

r. This passage may be found in Vandersleyen, *Ouadj our wsd wr*, 349 (312).

s. Wilson wonders whether this means that they stretched back to the forest in the procession. If he is right a conventional Egyptian measure of hyperbole would have to be assumed, given that there were only 60 cubits of wood.

Some signs in columns 8–10 have been washed away, in particular šni and iw in column 8 and kpny in column 10. This is probably from an older attempt at removing wasps’ nests.

The text may be summarised as follows: Senneferi arrived in Lebanon, and went up to the hillsides where the trees were to be found, and was clearly amazed by the low cloud on them. He visited the shrine of the local deity, and made an offering to her, and she permitted him to take the wood away for the benefit of the king of Egypt (doubtless a circumlocution for the process of payment). The trees were then cut down, and the wood was of the highest quality (or different to Egyptian wood). It was then taken down to the sea, loaded on boats, and brought to Egypt. See the comments at the beginning of the text on Wall 3 above for parallels and discussions (p. 98).

There are no remains of any decoration in the middle area except the texts. The main decoration on this wall is to the right of these texts, and is separated from them by a blue band of varying width, from 2.5 cm wide at the bottom to 5 cm at the top. The scene presumably shows the bringing back of items from Lebanon. Two sub-registers survive, which appear to show elements of the work of the expedition.

Scene 4.1.a: A procession of men, horses and chariots

Pl. 29, Pl. 28B, Colour pl. 16A, Colour pl. 16B

The upper sub-register probably originally extended to the end of the wall; the first 70 cm is preserved to its full depth, after which just fragments survive. The better preserved part shows two groups of men followed by horses with chariots; although relatively complete, the surface of the plaster is badly scratched, perhaps as a result of birds or bats attempting to cling to it. It will be seen that the composition of this scene is quite complex and perhaps ambitious, and our understanding of it is not helped by the damage which it has suffered.

Two groups of men are shown at the left in layer depiction. The first has seven men; the layering effect is achieved not just in line but by subtle skin colour variation, between dark and light reddish brown. This differentiation is, however, not easy to detect on their torsos due to the wall damage. Their right hands are held in front of the short white split kilts they wear. They carry axes held horizontally, with the pink axe head facing up, bound to the haft with red binding. The axe heads are visible at above thigh level in front of the first figure. The end of the first haft runs across the kilt of the first man. Their left hands are in front of their chests each holding a pink bow with yellow strings; it would appear that only one left hand was drawn but the separate arms are layered. In addition, not all the individual bows shown behind the heads of the men stretch across the bodies. The colour of their wigs was presumably black, now damaged to the extent that the separate heads cannot be differentiated.

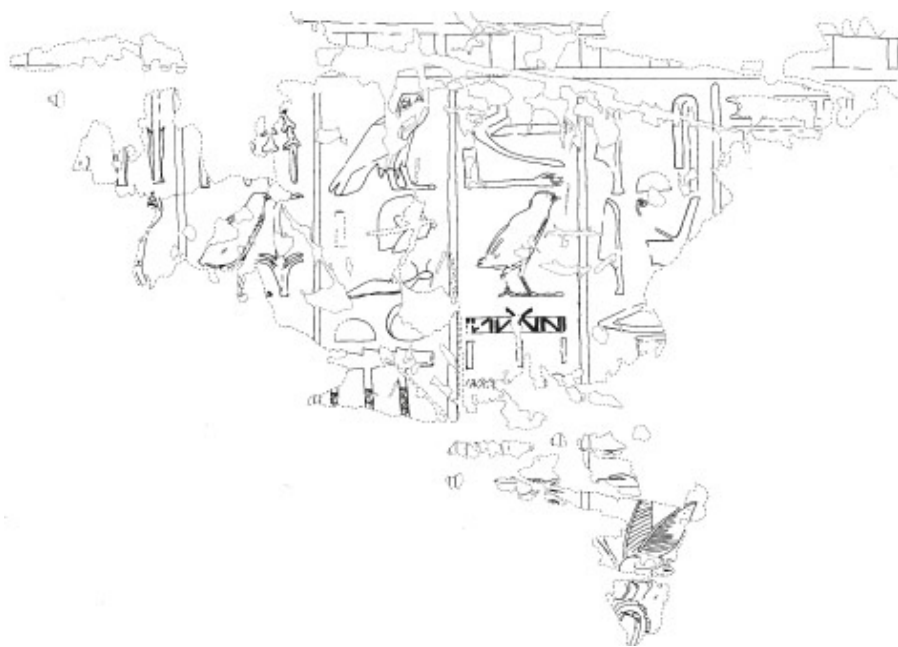


Fig. 89: [Text 4.1](#)

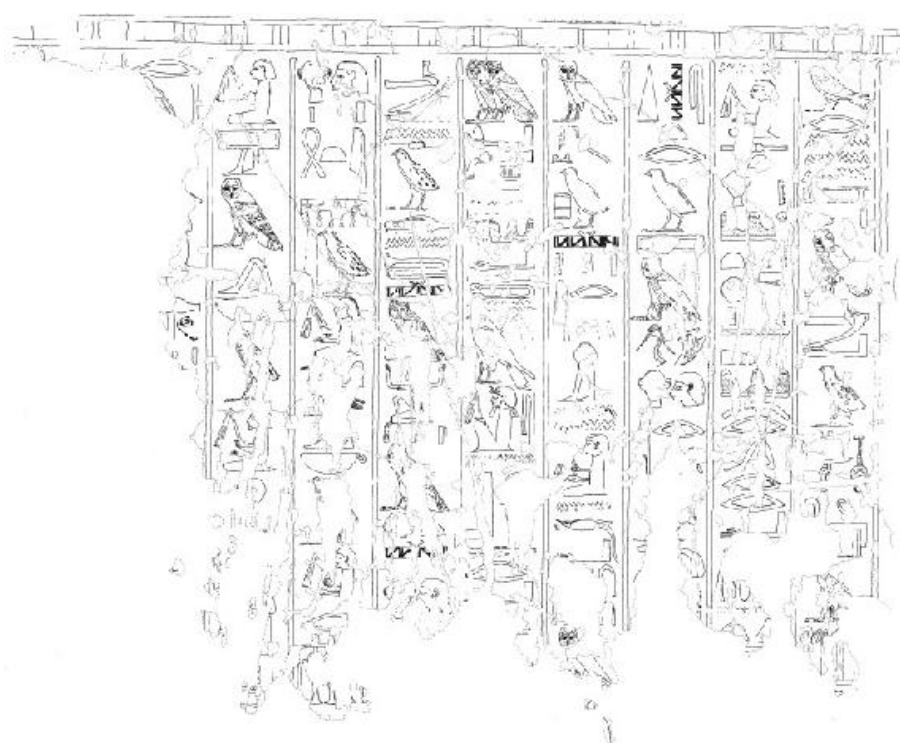


Fig. 90: [Text 4.2](#)

Behind them is a group of five similar men carrying axes at a lower level and also with bows on their shoulders. The differentiation of colour of the layered figures is slightly more marked than in the previous scene.⁶⁸

To the right of these men are three surviving pairs of horses, each depicted in layer fashion. The first pair consists of a red-brown and a white horse, the visible face being that of the latter. The tack of the horse in front is in red, with the cheek piece, brow band and reins visible. Around its chest is a harness saddle in red.⁶⁹ The mane of the white horse is quite long and painted pink overlaid with thin red lines. Their bodies are painted in front of the figure of a man accompanying them, of whom only his legs, the right-hand edge of his body, and his arms are visible. He holds a stick with his right hand beside the shoulder of the group of five men with axes, and his left arm is held up above the second pair of horses to someone behind. His head is probably facing left, but only his nose and the rear of his wig are visible.

The second pair of horses is something of a reversal of the first: a white horse further from the viewer, and a red-brown one at the front. The harness saddle is arranged more or less in the same way, but it is

depicted in a paler red and possibly outlined in red to contrast with the red colour of the horse. it also has a series of red blobs around its outside edge.⁷⁰ The reins of the front pair of horses disappear behind the second pair, and those of the second pair disappear into the damaged area.

To the right of the second pair of horses the surviving decorated area becomes smaller. Part of the yellow wheel of a chariot can be seen, behind which the heads of two further horses are visible. At least one hoof of a horse is drawn in front of the chariot wheel. Above these horses is a red shape, perhaps bearing black spots, which may be either part of the equipment of a chariot or an object carried by someone now lost. There is also a reddish curved shape going up behind the first pair of horses; is this a yoke for the chariot? The chariot appears to be pulled by the first pair of horses.

Horses appear in many Theban private tombs of the 18th dynasty, including tribute scenes, registration of animals, and occasionally in funerary processions.⁷¹ The present scene is closest in function to a tribute scene. Possibly the best parallel is that in the tomb of Menkheperresoneb (TT86), where two pairs of horses are shown, one with a chariot, each led by an Asiatic.⁷² In other scenes, the chariots tend to be carried or pulled by men; other pairs of horses exist,⁷³ as well as single representations,⁷⁴ but little else of the apparent degree of overlapping and complexity as the scene in TT99 seems to exist.⁷⁵

40 cm to the right of the last pair of horses described above, just below the *khoker* frieze (which extends for 90 cm), are fragments of some heads belonging to the end of the sub-register. There is the head of a man facing right (black wig), opposite two men who face left; they have yellowish hair, and beards. Their skin colour is a very light yellow-brown, and their eyes are coloured blue; the second figure is redder than the first. To the right is the head of another Egyptian; after a further 10 cm there is the head of a man with a black wig, over whose shoulder is a red bow-case with a white end to it. After that is the beginning of another text (Text 4.3) beginning *iyt m...*, ‘a coming in [?peace?]...’, and the top of a second column beginning *hr*.

Scene 4.1.b: A procession of men bringing wood

Pl. 29, Colour pl. 16A, Colour pl. 17A

The register below the last begins with a layered depiction of three men apparently kneeling with both hands in front of them. They wear long white robes with long sleeves on which there is a decoration of four red bands with some pale blue in between. Their hair appears short and creamish-pink, on top of which are painted a number of

short red lines. The tops of their feet are just visible at the end of the robe. Over their shoulders is a rope (white with red strands) which passes on to the men behind; the end of the rope is just visible below the hands. These men are not Egyptians; their skin colour is more yellow than that of the obviously Egyptian figures in the rest of the scene, and white robes with red and blue colour are characteristic of depictions of Asiatics (see also Wall 5 below (p. 106)).⁷⁶ Damage to their faces prevents us seeing whether they wore the characteristic beard of inhabitants of the Lebanon/Syria-Palestine area, and the hairstyle is rather strange, but it seems possible that this is a representation of some of the local officials or worthy persons who assisted Senneferi's mission to obtain the wood.

They are followed by a group of five Egyptians in layer depiction; the contrast of skin colours used to bring out the layers is stronger than that in the scene above. They are all dressed in the normal short kilt and their figures are preserved to just above the ankles. Their right hands are extended before them to grasp the rope, and their left hands hang behind them, also grasping the rope. The original black hair colour of all the figures has now been lost, leaving a cream colour.

This group is followed by one man on his own; it is clear that his wig colour has also been lost. His body is coloured somewhat lighter than the colour used for the outermost figures in the preceding group, presumably so as to differentiate him from them. His right hand is visible in front of the right shoulders of the men who precede him, holding a stick; he is presumably some form of overseer. Some reddish-brown traces before his face indicate that his other hand may have been held there.

Another group of four men follow him, the layering again achieved by varying the body colour. They are dressed in the same fashion as the preceding group. It appears that there is a small bag on the waistband of the kilt. Their right hands are in front of them holding the rope and their left hands behind, also on the rope.

The rope then drops down to the bottom of the scene. To the right of this last group of men is a smaller male figure facing right, whose body is coloured a much lighter brown, not unlike that used for the intermediate layer figures. His originally black wig now appears a greyish colour. He bends forward; his right hand is raised behind him, and his left hand grasps the rope before his knees. It is not clear what could be in his right hand.

The rope is attached to a light-brown coloured object being pulled; it is looped around it once or twice, and then there are more vertical

rope bindings (lashings?). The remainder is damaged, and thus it is not clear what it is, but given the context of the text of Senneferi just translated, it is probably an illustration of the wood. There is a man (smaller in scale than the pulling figures in the scene) facing left and standing on the thing being pulled. His right hand is extended a long way in front of him and his left hand is held up in front of his face with the palm towards him, perhaps a speaking gesture? His skin colour is more conventional than that of the previous man; he wears a white kilt and faded wig. His legs are somewhat flexed.

The last visible part of this scene shows further men in layer depiction. There are five of them, probably wearing short white kilts and black wigs (the rearmost one still quite black). They are holding on their shoulders a sort of yoke, a yellow (wooden) bar with a rounded end. Their right arms are holding the very front of this bar with their left hands just behind (i.e. both hands placed before their faces). Between the right and left hands hangs down a double loop of rope, which disappears into the damaged area. Just behind them it is clear that the horizontal bar continues, and traces of a hand are visible, thus presumably indicating the presence in the damaged area of another group of men.

From the context this scene surely shows the wood intended for the flagpoles from Lebanon. Senneferi's text makes no mention of the local populace being involved in the process, but the use of local labour seems inevitable. The fact that some Asiatics are shown dragging the wood in poses subservient to the Egyptians reflects the usual convention in which such persons must be depicted in the Egyptian monumental context.

There is probably room for at least one other sub-register below this one, now missing (see above).

Wall 4: Friezes and borders

There is a *khoker* frieze running the length of the wall, damaged in a few places. At the left end, above the royal canopy, the frieze is very heavily scratched so that little of it is visible. The block border follows the sequence red-blue-yellow-green-red. There is a blue band in the corner of the wall, and between that and the block border is a black and white lozenge pattern, which will be seen elsewhere in the tomb.⁷⁷ Julie Dawson observes that a section of the frieze above the men with horses has been replastered and repainted.

5.5.5 Wall 5: north wall

Wall plan: **Pl. 8B**; schematic **Fig. 91**

In the centre of this wall is another recess bearing traces of plaster, this time perhaps with a more rounded top than that in Wall 2,

suggesting that it originally contained a separately-made stela, in the conventional opposite position to the probable false door on the south wall (cf .p. 90).⁷⁸

Traces of original plaster appear all across this wall. The unusual nature of the surviving decoration makes it very difficult to suggest what might have surrounded such a stela, although offering scenes are by far the most common. The recess for the stela is larger than that of the false door in Wall 2. There are some stones at the bottom of the wall, possibly the remains of a support. As discussed above (p. 91) for the false door, it is most likely, from parallel examples, that the bottom of the stela aligned closely with the dado at the bottom of the wall.⁷⁹

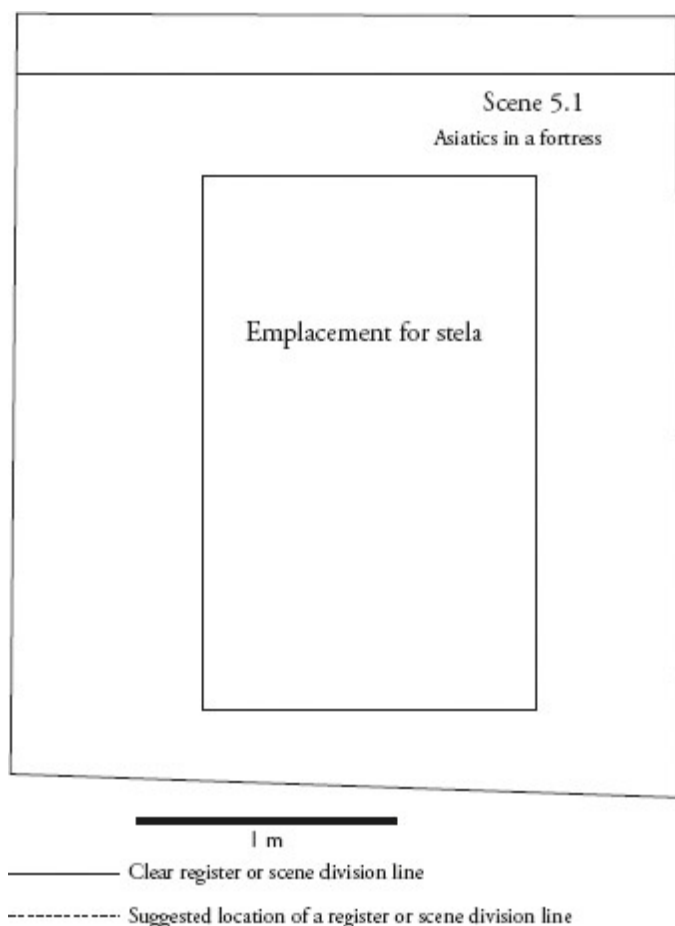


Fig. 91: Wall 5, schematic diagram

Scene 5.1: Asiatics in a fortress

Pl. 28C, Colour pl. 17B

At the top right-hand corner of this wall is a small area of decoration, badly damaged and apparently previously unobserved by visitors. This decoration shows a building with a small turret or tower protruding at the right and left sides. This structure is coloured pink, with the courses of brick or stone indicated on it using red lines, probably drawn with a straight edge. On top of the walls and turrets is a series of semi-circular battlements. In the central area between the turrets is a rectangular white shape, which appears to be decorated with three rows of pale pink circles.⁸⁰

Several figures are shown on the turrets (detail, [Colour pl. 17B](#)). At the left there are the upper parts of two Asiatics with their arms raised in a gesture of adoration. The head of the right-hand person is destroyed but the hair of the left-hand man is visible; his skin colour is an orange-pink and he is shown with a blue beard. The skin of the right-hand figure is yellow, and from the parallel arrangement with the figures to the right it would seem to be that of a woman. Both figures are dressed in similar clothing, mainly white but with blue and red stripes; the garment of the man extends to his wrist and that of the woman to the elbows. In front of and below the man is the head and neck of a figure with white hair, perhaps decayed from black; the colour of the skin is the same as that of the Asiatics. Immediately to the left of the left-hand turret is the upper part of a large amphora.

There is a similar pair of Asiatics in the right-hand turret, and they are better preserved: the hair of the man is blue and evidently cut short, while the hair of the woman appears longer although now coloured white.⁸¹

Above either end of the central uncertain white shape is a bird, unfortunately damaged by wasps' nests. The wings of both birds appear to be outstretched, but their arrangement is unclear. The legs and claws are clearly painted red. To the left of the left-hand bird and above the left-hand Asiatic seems to be the end of a text: there are a number of pale blue shapes and traces of a red sketch, the latter of which clearly gives $\overline{\Delta}$. These traces have been copied but the interpretation is presently unclear. There is a large red line (a sketch or a guide) running just below the block border, and another behind the hands of the left-hand Asiatic.

The only scene from a Theban tomb remotely parallel to this one is found in TT42.⁸² This shows a number of Asiatics, the leader of which, designated as *wr n rmnn* 'great one of the Lebanon', is prostrating himself, perhaps before the tomb owner Amenmose. The other three persons carry tribute. To the right of these figures is the building which structurally parallels that in TT99; it has four turrets, each with

a palisade surmounted by a series of crenellations, and almost identical to those in TT99, and is presumably a fortress associated with the Lebanon.⁸³ Between the inner two turrets is perhaps a tower with a window, which is probably different to the odd shape in the centre of our scene. A tentative interpretation of the scene in TT99 is that Senneferi was shown, like Amenmose, receiving Asiatic tribute and reverence; the large amphora adjacent to the turret would be part of the tribute being presented, although we might expect to see traces of the hands of the man who was holding it up.

There may be a parallel with a detail in Ramesside battle scenes showing possible child sacrifice,⁸⁴ or propitiation of the conqueror.⁸⁵ Another parallel of this type, perhaps from a temple scene of the late 18th dynasty, or showing the presentation of an elaborate vessel, is in Berlin. It shows several Asiatics on a sloping surface with arms raised in supplication before a fort-like structure to the left.⁸⁶

The central rectangular shape with possible circles and a bird above brings to mind a gold vessel forming part of probably Syrian tribute presented in TT63.⁸⁷ This fantastic and curious vessel could perhaps represent some sort of bird shelter.⁸⁸ It could also be a depiction in plan of an area inside the fortress, perhaps a Courtyard.

This scene clearly depicts a fortress in the style seen on the Egyptian North Sinai route to the Near East,⁸⁹ as well as enemy forts being attacked by the Egyptian king in Ramesside battle scenes.⁹⁰ The type of crenellation used on the ramparts of these forts is found on the top of the real gatehouse of Medinet Habu,⁹¹ and the tower design may not be very different from proposed reconstructions of the Nubian forts.⁹² In most cases, the Egyptian artist was more concerned with rendering the concept 'fortress' than distinguishing the particular special details of an Asiatic fort; for him it was enough to characterise the scene by the use of the Asiatic figures rather than with architectural detail.

It is possible that this scene in TT99 might be linked with that on the adjacent wall referring to Senneferi's trip to Lebanon. The parallel from TT42 quoted contained the figure of a Lebanese leader, and thus it is not impossible that the present scene is another echo of a very important, perhaps the most important, episode in Senneferi's career when he was sent to Lebanon by the king, which he then unsurprisingly decided to use in his tomb, giving us what may be the earliest depiction of a fortress in the New Kingdom.

The stela of Senneferi

Fig. 92 to Fig. 95, Colour pl. 13B to Colour pl. 14B

In the course of excavations in the Courtyard, fragments of fine

limestone bearing blue hieroglyphs and horizontal line red dividers in sunk relief appeared with considerable frequency. In addition, a number of pieces of the same sort of limestone bearing attractively painted raised relief of persons also made their appearance. The existence of a number of fragments with a thick blue straight and curved border suggested a free-standing stela, with a scene at the top and a number of lines of hieroglyphic text below.⁹³

In common with Wall 2, there is a recess in the facing Wall 5. Stelae are common in tombs of this period, and free-standing examples are not unknown.⁹⁴ Visits to some tombs in the area suggests that there were probably other tombs with separately made stelae in similar positions.⁹⁵ A variant of the free-standing stela is found in TT87, composed of a series of limestone blocks fixed into the wall.⁹⁶

The recess in the centre of Wall 5 noted above can only really have been prepared for such a free-standing stela. This recess is rather irregular, with a width about 1.22 m and a maximum height of 2.19 m. The large fragment 99.97.0816 which presumably belonged to the stela apparently preserves the whole depth of the object as 15 cm.

The highly fragmentary state of the material precludes a serious attempt at the reconstruction, particularly of the text.⁹⁷ Unlike the false door, fragments of which were also easier to identify, it has been impossible to reassemble a sizeable section. At least 146 fragments of limestone stela have been identified from the excavations. Of these, 15% came from the Courtyard, and 83% from the shafts in the Courtyard, the majority from Shaft I; only two came from inside the tomb, 99.95.0431 from Shaft C and 99.97.0325 from Shaft F.

It would appear that the stela, once removed from its original location in the tomb, was mostly smashed up outside the tomb, like the false door. The largest number of fragments of the stela were found in the same location as those of the false door (somewhere near Shaft I), and so both may have been destroyed together. This is further considered above on p. 97.

The history of the stela is harder to discern than that of the false door due to this damage. Limestone blocks were constantly reused in temples, of which Karnak is the best known example. Several stelae were reused in the fill of the Third Pylon, although all seem to be of royal origin as one would expect in such a temple.⁹⁸ Only one stela from that context has anything in common with those of private individuals, that of prince Ahmose, now in Cairo.⁹⁹ Presumably, due to their relative fragility, the reuse of limestone stelae from the West Bank in building work elsewhere would be more limited than that of granite objects and limestone blocks.

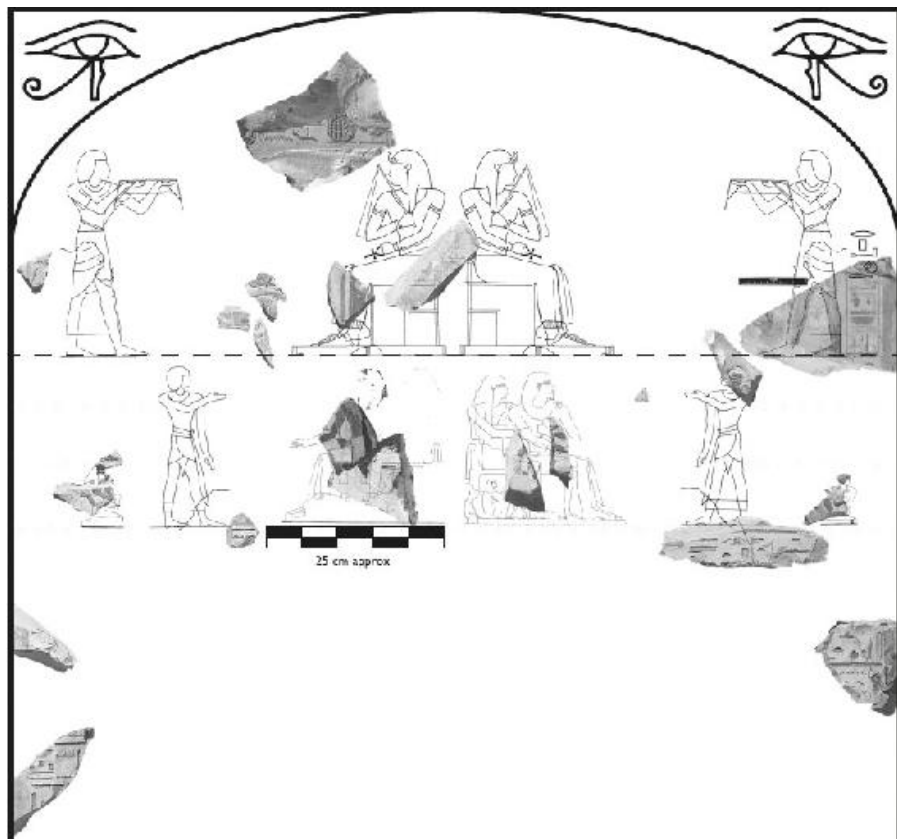


Fig. 92: Possible outline reconstruction of the lunette of the stela of Senneferi. The seated king here and the figure of Senneferi have been adapted from those reconstructed in Dziobek and Abdel Raziq, Sobekhotep, Taf. 33b, the right-hand couple from TT20 (Davies, Five Theban Tombs, Pl. IV), and the left-hand couple and squatting persons from TT82 (Davies and Gardiner, Amenemhēt, pl. IV, XVIII)

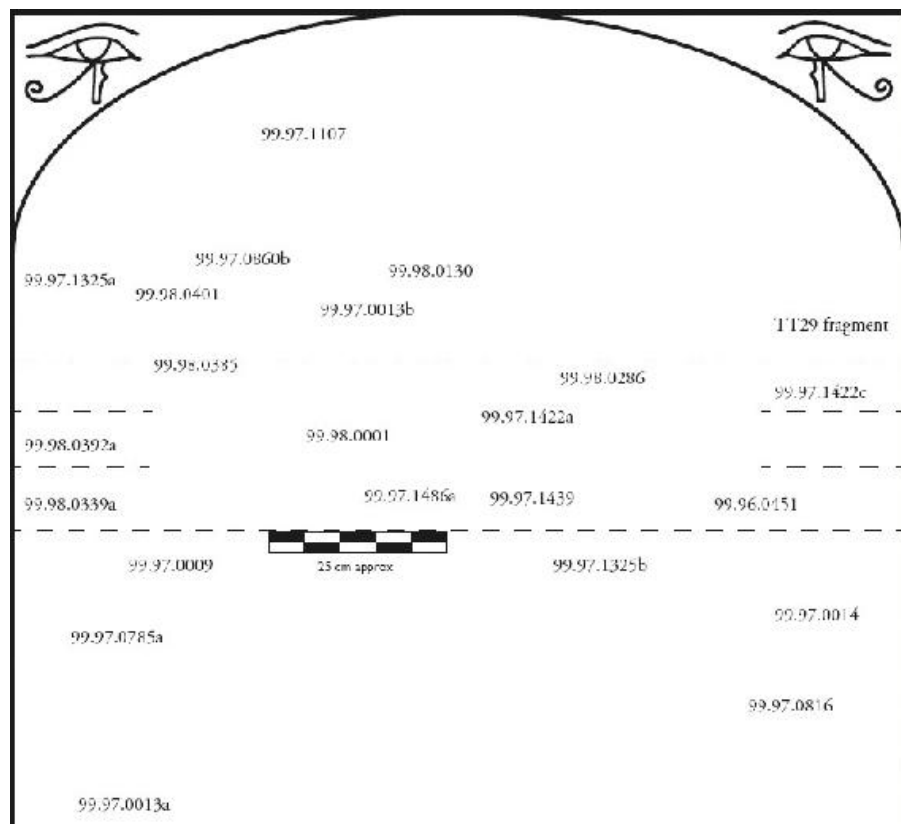


Fig. 93: The numbered fragments in Fig. 92

The image in the lunette

There is evidence for two images of a seated king and also for the depiction of a number of seated private individuals, which must be from separate registers. I thus assume that the stela had two registers of scenes; my further assumptions are that the top of the lunette would have been filled with a winged sun disc, and that there were *wedjat* eyes in the corners outside the lunette. All image fragments are in raised relief unless indicated otherwise.¹⁰⁰

The positions of most of the fragments in Fig. 92 (excavation numbers in Fig. 93) are only approximate as there is so little on which to base positions, as the shape and layout are so uncertain, and the actual composition of the lunette, as argued below, is unique. A hypothetical composite background image composed of elements of scenes from TT63 and TT82 has been superimposed on a suggested shape for the top of the stela.

Upper scene: fragments showing images of the king

99.97.1107 (Colour pl. 13B):¹⁰¹ bears beautifully coloured hieroglyphs in high quality raised relief, presumably in at least four

columns:

x^{-1} /// $wss/wsst$ n^{x+2} /// mrj^{x+3} /// $[z3 \text{ } r^e \text{ } dhwty-]ms [nfr-]hprw^{x+4}$ ///
 $nh \text{ } dt$

dominion/Thebes /// he loves /// [the son of Re, Thutmose III] [Nefer]kheperu
/// living forever

There is a similar writing of the cartouche on the nearby stela of Imanedjeh (TT84).¹⁰² The colour on this fragment is particularly well preserved, and the blueish hue to the background is very evident, along with the thick paint used, the brushstrokes of which are very evident.

99.98.0130: little colour remains on this fragment, also in high quality raised relief, showing the back of a left-facing royal/divine cube throne with a small raised cushion on which the rear of a seated figure remains. To the right (behind) is a *shen* ring forming the base of one of the fans or fly-whisks found behind royal and divine figures. To the right of that is the red right arm of a male figure. There is some red and blue colour on the throne.

99.97.0013b: fragment of a seated left-facing male figure wearing a short kilt, with before him a yellow royal tail.

Fragment 99.97.0013b presumably belongs to the same figure as 99.98.0130, and 99.97.1107 is part of the caption to the whole. The arm on fragment 99.98.0130 indicates the existence of two back-to-back figures separated by the royal fan. The central images must both have depicted Thutmose III. It is to be presumed that figures of Senneferi were shown to the left and right offering to the king, as there is plenty of space, and that at the right might indeed be the TT29 fragment to be described below.

Parallels for this scene are almost non-existent. Hermann only quotes one certain example (from TT42, in itself damaged and unpublished).¹⁰³ This bears a left-facing scene of a seated king, presumably either Thutmose III or Amenhotep II (the cartouche is empty), and the available space in the damaged area to the right suggests that a mirrored scene is possible. The damage in front of the surviving figure makes it unclear what was there, although Hermann suggests an offering table, based on traces before the king; it does seem unlikely that there was sufficient space to include a figure of the deceased here, and there are no traces of any accompanying text.

It is intriguing that a parallel to another scene, the fortress on the same wall (p. 106), has just been quoted from TT42, where the stela and the fortress are on opposite walls. The two tombs are not in close proximity to each other (TT42 is in Khokha) but Amenmose seems to

have been a near contemporary of Senneferi and it is not hard to imagine in the context of the time that similar design ideas were in the minds of the two men or their artists.

Upper scene: fragments showing offering figures of Senneferi and associated text

TT29 fragment (**Fig. 94**, **Colour pl. 14A**):¹⁰⁴ in the course of the excavation of TT29, a fragment of a stela was excavated in the courtyard of the tomb. It shows the legs and kilt of a male figure facing left, behind whom is a column of text:

[*iry pꜣt*] *ḥsty-ꜥ mh-ib n nb tawy wḥm nswt sn-nfr*

The [*iry pꜣt*] *ḥsty-ꜥ*, the trusted one of the lord of the two lands, the royal herald Sennefer.

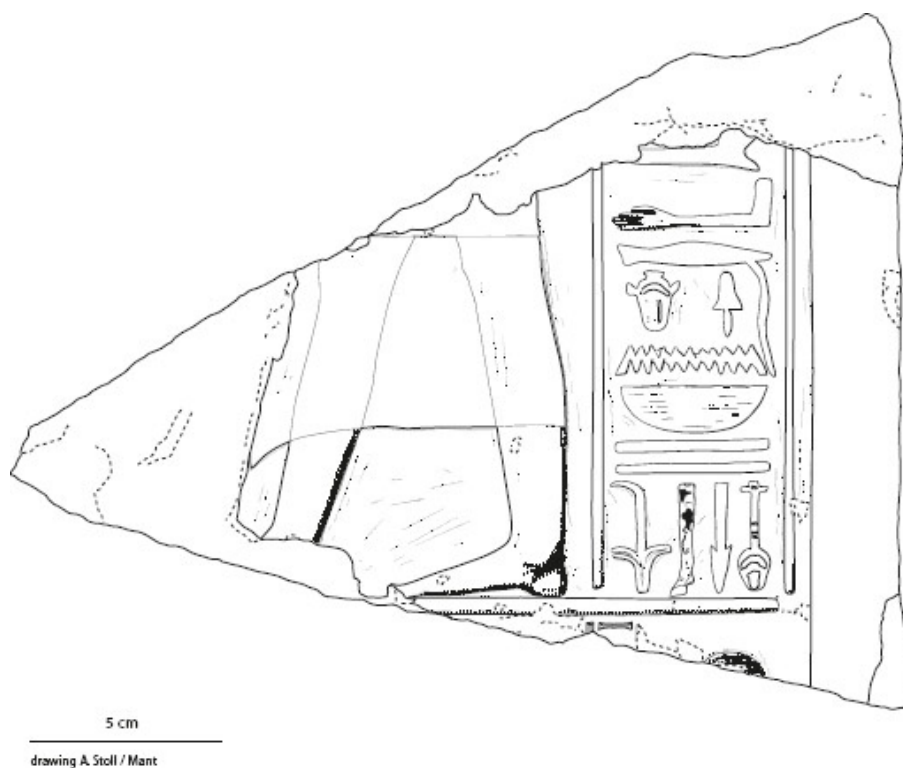


Fig. 94: Fragment of stela, probably from TT99, discovered in TT29. Image © Stoll/ULB, used courtesy Laurent Bavy/ULB

To the right of this is a thick blue band, which is presumably part of the border of the stela. Below the register on which the figure stands, there are traces of the elaborate heavy wig of another male figure facing left (see further below), accompanied by the tops of two column dividers in sunk relief. Only the first hieroglyph in the column

is preserved, perhaps .

The Belgian Mission that found this fragment is also working on the tomb of Sennefer (TT96); Laurent Bavy however sees no place for this fragment in the chapel of that tomb, and thus proposes that comes from the TT99 stela (personal communication). The name of Senneferi is written on this fragment without the *yodh*, and it might have been expected that he used the title *imy-r sḏswty* here. Nonetheless, when reduced to the scale of the fragments of kings just discussed, it does appear to fit almost exactly. We should perhaps expect a similar figure on the left-hand side of the stela. I reconstruct a minimum of *[iry pʿt]* as text above what survives.

Assuming the correct placement of the Belgian fragment, the curve of the lunette of the stela must have started above the surviving text. There is no consistency in the curvature of this part of Theban stelae.¹⁰⁵

The provenance of this fragment raises an interesting issue, as it is reported to come from an 18th dynasty context that postdates TT29, perhaps an access way created during the cutting of TT95 late in the reign of Amenhotep II.¹⁰⁶ This might indicate that the stela was already in pieces at that time, although it does seem rather unlikely that the tomb of Senneferi was damaged to this extent so soon after his burial. Further investigation seems to raise questions about the precise date of the deposition.

99.97.1325a: a small fragment of text in a column, consisting of a red  facing right, plus a vertical stroke below in black, presumably forming part of the title *imy-r sḏswty*. The scale is comparable to the Belgian fragment and presumably belongs above or besides its counterpart at the left. However, we should treat this with caution as the space at the left of the column divider seems wider than that at the right.

See further below for fragments of offerings which might belong in this register.

Lower scene: fragments showing images of seated couples and associated figures

The following fragments appear to be on a smaller scale, and it will be proposed that they belong in two sub-registers showing other family members, located in front of the central couples.

Left main image

99.98.0001: seated male figure facing left wearing a short kilt with probably a thin overrobe, giving a pink colour to the skin of his lower legs. His right hand holds a sceptre and his left is extended to (presumably) an offering table in front of him. He is seated on a black

chair. Around his neck is a broad collar, and on his right shoulder is a (female) hand, indicating the original pair composition.

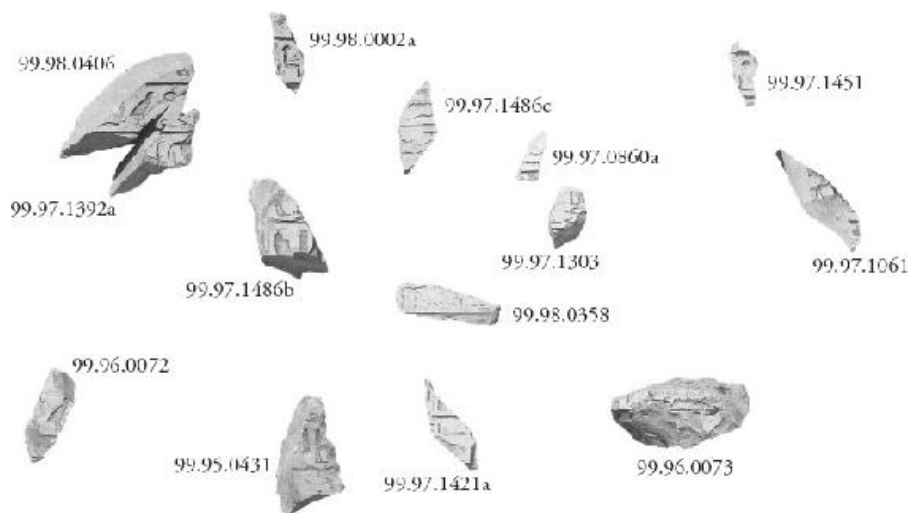


Fig. 95: Fragments of stela text.

The original positions of the fragments on the stela are presently uncertain

99.97.1486a: fragment of the legs of a seated woman which clearly joins 99.98.001. The black horizontal top of the seat is visible.

Right main image

99.97.1422a: seated male figure facing right with both arms in front. The lower right arm is extended above the lap and the left arm is perhaps folded back onto his chest.

99.97.1439: area of legs of the female figure with the male just described. She holds a lily flower in her hand.

Offering figure (?)

99.97.1422c: short wig of male figure facing left. This is possibly larger than some of the other fragments. For that reason I suggest that it belonged to a standing figure offering to one of the two couples in the scene. It does not, alas, appear to join the wig at the bottom right of the TT29 fragment. Smaller figures in either half of the scene

99.96.0451: part of the legs and left hand of a kneeling male figure facing left, holding a folded cloth in its left hand.

99.98.0339a: a female figure kneeling facing right, with her left hand held to her breast. To the left is the raised knee of another similar figure.

99.98.0392a: a small male foot, facing right. Perhaps from a series of smaller figures. Below is the top of a black wig and possibly part of a hieroglyphic text. It seems possible that it may be from a sub-register above the female figure 99.98.0339a.

99.97.0325¹⁰⁷ shows the white kilt of a figure in raised relief, with a red arm to the right. This is perhaps from a left-facing (standing) male figure, and could be one of those who would present the offerings to the couple in the subscene. It measures $4.7 \times 4.0 \times 1.0$ cm.

99.98.0286 is a tiny fragment of right-facing text in sunk relief and arranged vertically, to judge from the column divider at right. The orientation precludes its coming from the stela text, and the size and relief type probably excludes it being part of the main scene at the top. I thus suggest it is part of a text in front of either the seated couples or one of the persons making offerings. It certainly shows that these figures were, as expected, accompanied by text.

There are a number of other fragments of red and white, presumably from the skin or robes of male and female figures.

Fragments of offerings

The following fragments depicting offerings could be from either register; my impression is that they are scaled slightly larger than might be customary for the smaller sub-scene and thus I assign them to the upper scene. This is supported by the badly damaged parallel stela in TT42 where Hermann's verbal description suggests the king is before an offering table,¹⁰⁸ and also that in TT84.¹⁰⁹

99.98.0401: part of a pile of offerings.

99.97.0860b: part of a yellow two-compartment tray of cakes.

99.98.0385: possibly the green end of a table with an red cup or similar on it.

Reconstruction of the scene

The above fragments suggest the presence of two largely symmetrical scenes each formed of a pair of seated larger figures, presumably a couple, a figure making offerings to the couple, and then perhaps as many as three sub-registers of smaller squatting figures, all accompanied by offerings.¹¹⁰ The fragments indicate that the larger pairs of figures faced one to the left and one to the right, and two reconstructions seem possible: two couples in the centre facing out, or a couple at the right and at the left ends of the register facing in.

Although I have placed the figures in [Fig. 92](#) in the former arrangement, either seems possible; the small head below the TT29 fragment might argue for the central arrangement, as its scale and proximity to the register line might argue for it belonging in one of the sub-registers. The two couples would either both Senneferi and his wife, or one of Senneferi and his wife and one of his parents. The latter is based on the frequency of their appearance in the tomb, and is paralleled on the Grenoble stela of Useramun.¹¹¹

Text

The text itself is extremely broken, mostly into tiny fragments, and few fragments can be joined, so the text cannot really be reconstructed. My estimate of the spacing of the horizontal lines of text from the surviving fragments is about 6.4 cm, but the extent of the text is largely governed by the uncertain size of the top image. The selection of fragments shown in [Fig. 92](#), [Fig. 95](#) and [Colour pl. 14B](#) are the more easily understood ones.¹¹²

Long stela texts are found in several tombs of the first half of the 18th dynasty in the hill of Sheikh Abdel Qurna, and this text is usually termed the 'Great Stela Text'.¹¹³ I have been unable to equate the Senneferi fragments with any parts of this text, but they are so broken that this would be very difficult, and a considerable part of the text would be taken up with titles and epithets.

Fragments of text with approximate positions

Six fragments only can probably be related to an approximate position on the stela. These are also included in the suggested reconstruction of the top of the stela ([Fig. 92](#)). None of their positions is more than approximate as will be seen in this list:

99.97.0009: this tiny fragment bears sunk relief hieroglyphs and text border lines and also a small area of raised relief at the top which appears to be the base of the stand for an offering table. It thus represents the only really clear evidence of the transition between the scene and the text. Its position on [Fig. 92](#) is purely a guess.

99.97.1325b: this fragment shows mostly text, but there seems to be a small area of raised relief at the very top, which would suggest it is another piece at the transition between the two parts of the stela. The text may be part of a *hṯp di nswt* formula; if so it would be located at the top right of the text area.

99.97.0785a: the thick blue band at the left of this fragment is one of two which clearly indicate the left border of the stela, as seen, for example, in TT87 ¹¹⁴ or indeed on the fragment of the present stela from TT29 ([Fig. 94](#)). The text on it is perhaps the epithet $\text{[3]} m s^h f$ seen elsewhere in the tomb ([Ceiling text 2](#) on [p. 152](#)).

99.97.0013a: another section of the left edge, with parts of the name of Amun *nb nswt tswy*.

99.97.0014/99.97.0816: two adjoining fragments of the right-hand side of the stela, with a thick blue border line.

The thickness of the border in the best-preserved of the above fragments seems in accord with the TT29 fragment placed at the top of the stela.

Fragments of text, location uncertain

The following lists in numerical order the fragments in [Fig. 95](#), with comments only where needed.

99.95.0431: *iy* I am reminded of the example in TT79.¹¹⁵ Another similar example may be in TT88.¹¹⁶

99.96.0072: remains of *wts*.

99.96.0073 ; 99.97.0860a ; 99.97.1061

99.97.1303: traces of *hrrw*/[*s*]*hrrw*. Titles and epithets using this verb are considered above on [p. 14](#).

99.97.1392a/ 99.98.0406: the bottom line is presumably *mh-ib n nswt*. Similar epithets are found elsewhere in TT99.

99.97.1421a ; 99.97.1451 ; 99.97.1486b

99.97.1486c: *irnf*... *mr w*

99.98.0002a: possibly a determinative for a name, presumably Senneferi or one of his parents.

99.98.0358.

List of fragments used in the reconstruction

TT29 fragment; 99.95.0431; 99.96.0451; 99.96.0072; 99.96.0073; 99.97.0009; 99.97.0013a; 99.97.0013b; 99.97.0014; 99.97.0785a; 99.97.0816; 99.97.0860a; 99.97.0860b; 99.97.1061; 99.97.1107; 99.97.1303; 99.97.1325b; 99.97.1325a; 99.97.1392a; 99.97.1421a; 99.97.1422a; 99.97.1422c; 99.97.1439; 99.97.1451; 99.97.1486a; 99.97.1486b; 99.97.1486c; 99.98.0001; 99.98.0002a; 99.98.0130; 99.98.0286; 99.98.0339a; 99.98.0358; 99.98.0385; 99.98.0392a; 99.98.0401; 99.98.0406.

Overview

The lunette of the stela thus appears to be of an elaborate type with two registers showing the king in one and the tomb owner and his family in the other, a design which apparently has little in the way of parallel in the Theban necropolis.¹¹⁷ It has been argued above that TT42 may have had a similar royal scene at the top. Hermann suggests that in the cases of most tomb stelae, the offering table scenes were absent, presumably as there were many of them elsewhere in the tomb chapel; what offering scenes there are tend anyway to be on the free-standing objects.¹¹⁸ Stelae with double offering scenes as here and the inclusion of a number of family members are not common.¹¹⁹ The elaborateness of his stela would seem to be commensurate with Senneferi's ability to obtain access to resources for his funerary monuments.

The later history of the stela is considered together with that of the false door above [p. 97](#); whether it was already damaged in the New Kingdom was mentioned on [p. 111](#).

Wall 5: Friezes and borders

There are the remains of a *kheker* frieze and block border above the scene and down the right-hand side in the sequence green-blue-red-yellow-green. In the corner is a thin blue band; between the corner and the border is a lozenge pattern as elsewhere, but here the black has been lost and now appears almost pink.

5.5.6 Wall 6: east wall, north of entrance

Wall plan: [Pl. 11](#); schematic [Fig. 96](#)

No figures survive which would indicate the full extent of the original decoration, and thus the options for a formal reconstruction of the wall are limited. One large main register, as on Wall 4, is assumed: [Scene 6.1](#) is presumed to occupy the full height of that main register, as superimposing a comparable figure holding a staff on that of Senneferi in [Scene 6.2](#) suggests that there is space for two main sub-registers to the left, each perhaps depicting the tomb owner inspecting activities, probably similar to a scene in TT86.¹²⁰ It is impossible to tell how far these sub-registers extended.

The typical decoration of this wall of a tomb of this date would start at the right with a scene of making burnt offerings, a counterpart to that in [Scene 1.1](#) above.¹²¹ However, the composition of the remaining wall can be very variable. The main surviving scene here suggests a scene of inspecting workshops, as in TT86.¹²² In that scene, which is also located on the equivalent tomb wall, the owner holds a similarly cleft stick but faces right. A scene of weighing gold is also found in the same tomb, this time on the north wall; in this case the deceased is receiving the gold of the lands of Gebtyu and of vile Kush.¹²³ If it were not for the text, one would be tempted to envisage something similar in TT99, not least because one of Senneferi's responsibilities was as 'overseer of the gold lands of Amun'.¹²⁴

Scene 6.1: Uncertain scene, probably Senneferi making burnt offerings

[Pl. 30A](#), [Colour pl. 18A](#)

This scene is almost completely destroyed, although almost 2 m of space is available to accommodate it. There is an area of plaster capable of bearing decoration immediately adjacent to the entrance, but this area of the tomb is heavily smoked and it seems to be completely black; the plaster is not susceptible to cleaning. At the left end is this unclear text:

Text 6.1

x+1	<i>dbrw /// f///</i>	
x+2	<i>ntrw ///</i>	
x+3	<i>pr mrw ///</i>	

The translation is
presently uncertain

Scene 6.2: Senneferi watching weighing (and activities now lost) PM (4)

[Pl. 30A](#), [Colour pl. 18A](#)

The upper part of a figure of the tomb-owner facing left is preserved here. Around his neck is a collar consisting (from the left) of a thin yellow band, a thicker green band, a thin red band, then another green band. His wig is blue, and the triangular segments of the wig are formed in high relief, composed of blue pigment. Some red paint from the face overlaps the wig at the bottom. Immediately below the text about to be described is the top of a cleft stick held by Senneferi; most examples of figures in other tombs holding such sticks are standing.¹²⁵ These parallels suggest he most likely held a $\dagger$ sceptre in his other hand.

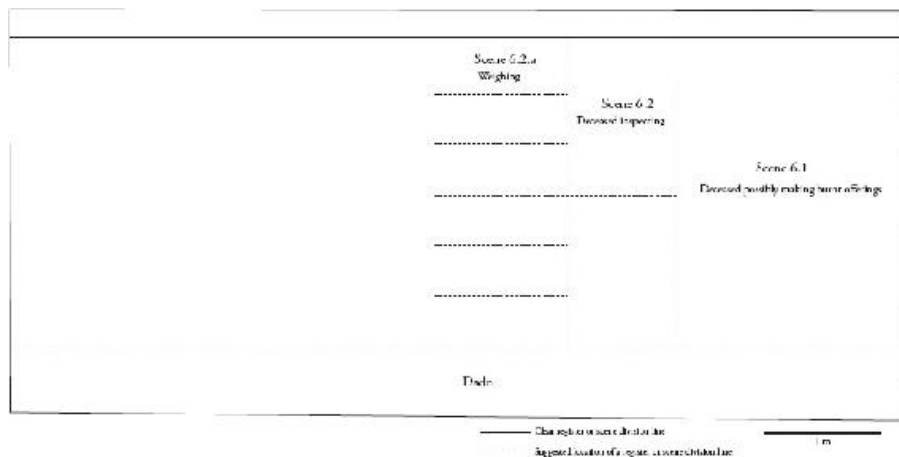


Fig. 96: Wall 6, schematic diagram

There are several other examples of modelled wigs in this area of the necropolis, although whether these others are composed of pigment is uncertain.¹²⁶ From the examples just quoted, it would seem they are a particular feature of the later Thutmoside period. Blue seems a characteristic colour for wigs in this scene (several of the remaining figures in [Scene 6.1](#) of TT99 are also blue) and in the tombs mentioned in the last footnote.

Above his head are the remains of a text in short columns:

Text 6.2

¹ *ms(z) iz² swbs hrwsn^a wn³ ibwsn rdi(?t)^a zš⁴ ?? fn⁵ wysn⁵ in try p^t*

⁶ *h^tly-^t imy-r s^dswty sn-nfri m^t-hrw*

Seeing the chamber (of) training (lit. ‘causing their faces to open up’) and opening their hearts and giving free path to him for their arms by the try p^t h^tly-^t imy-r s^dswty Senneferi, true of voice

a. There are few references to *swbs hr* (Wb. IV, 67) and seemingly no parallel for an *iz swbs hr*. There are references to the Book of the Dead, but the most relevant here is a text on the Northampton stela from TT11 which refers to a title of

Djehuty of *swb3 hr n hmwwt r irt*, ‘training the workmen to act’ (Urk. IV, 422.6).

a. It is unclear whether the sign  is above , or whether we have the infinitive *rdit*. A similar phrase is quoted in Wb. III, 483, 3–6. The crucial group is that at the top of column 4; the sign above  is surely , and the traces at the top of the column are perhaps .

Weighing scenes are not unusual, such as in TT343 where the same subjects are together as [Scene 6.1](#) and [6.2](#), although with a different text.¹²⁷ It is the text that makes this scene unusual, in that no reference is made in the admittedly meagre surviving areas to either the act of weighing or the goods involved. The key is probably in the presently enigmatic *iz swb3 hr*.

Scene 6.2.a: Weighing

Pl. 30A, Colour pl. 18A

At the left of the surviving area are parts of a weighing scene. The centre-post of the balance at the far left is probably white, outlined in black; to the right of it, a yellow string hangs down with a blue plumb-bob on it, the latter now almost black from soot and dirt. The beam of the balance is white with a few red vertical lines on it. The end is splayed, although not exactly into a finial, and from this hang down three white ropes with the fibres indicated by the use of red. The bottom of the pan is visible, and it contains a gold ring. Just below the plumb-bob is the hand of the man in charge of the balance. Four left-facing men survive to the right.

To the right are a pair of scribes in layer depiction, who wear normal short kilts, and short-sleeved semi-transparent white tunics. The tunics are coloured pink to show that they are partly transparent; traces of their wigs indicate that they were coloured blue. Their right hands are held before them holding reed pens with which they write on an angled piece of papyrus in their left hands. Tucked under the left arm of one of the figures is a white scribal palette with two inkwells.

The next man to the right wears a short split kilt, with the tops of his legs coloured pink, implying the presence of some further thin material; he is not wearing a wig. He holds his right arm in front of him, possibly holding a stick; his left arm is across his waist with his hand over the elbow of his right arm. Above him is a shrine-topped chest with a white frame and red interior panels; the ‘cornice’ at the top of the box of the chest is decorated with a number of vertical red bars against the white background, and the lid is red with a white edge.

The man at the right also wears a short white split kilt. He holds his right hand before him and over his shoulder is a sack (?); the outline

of his hand and arm are not visible. Traces of blue colour suggest he wore a wig. Above his head is another chest similar to that just described. The frame of the chest is a pinkish red-brown and the framed panel is yellow, and it has a 'cornice' like that just described. The lid is the same colour with the addition of a white edge.

A gap above the figures in this scene is suggestive of a space for text, but there is no evidence of any having been there. There is also a tiny area of plaster further down the wall with red shapes, but its content is unclear.

Wall 6: Friezes and borders

A *khoker* frieze is evident as far as this scene just described and also in the left corner. The frieze is much dirtier than the rest of the scene. The sequence of colours of the block border is red-green-yellow-green-red.

5.5.7 Wall 7: west wall, entrance to Passage

Wall plan: [Pl. 12A](#); schematic [Fig. 97](#)

The decoration only of the lintel is preserved; no indications survive of scenes or inscriptions on either side of the doorway.¹²⁸ The broken line in the schematic indicating the scene baseline has been added from the very similar proportions of a scene in TT112 of Menkheperresoneb, accompanied by his mother Taiunet, adoring Osiris.¹²⁹ There the deity is seated on his cube throne on top of a quite tall platform.

The decorated surface of the lintel stands approximately 2.2 cm proud of the level of the plaster of the walls either side. It is shaped in plaster, and the decoration cut into it in sunk relief.¹³⁰ The plaster is painted dark red in imitation of a hard and expensive stone like quartzite or granite, with the hieroglyphs and other decoration filled with green paint, again imitating the usage of hard stone (compare the real granite of the false door on Wall 2 above, [p. 90](#)). Traces of red paint over the green suggest that the hieroglyphs might just have been painted before the stone imitation colour was applied. There is some modelling in the hieroglyphs (such as  and ) but no detailing, while there is also some modelling in the figures, in particular the collars and the facial features.

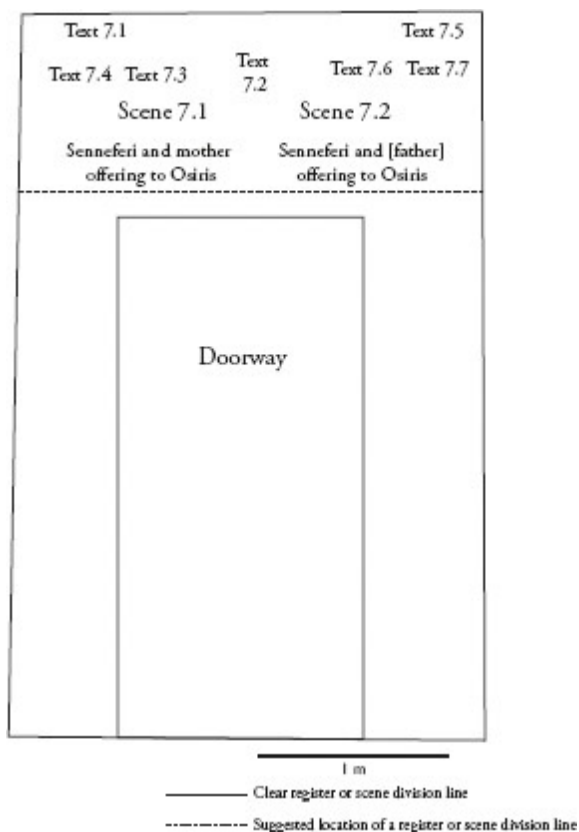


Fig. 97: Wall 7, schematic diagram

The decoration consists of two facing depictions of Senneferi worshipping Osiris. Stretching across the top of the scene is a 2 cm wide and very long  sign. In the middle below is a winged sun disc with two pendant uraei, either side of which is a Behdetite text incorporating a cartouche of Thutmose III (Texts 7.1, 7.5); that on the left is the better preserved.

Scene 7.1: Lintel, left, Senneferi and mother offering to Osiris PM (6)

Pl. 30B, Colour pl. 18B

Immediately below the sun disc are two back-to-back figures of Osiris, destroyed from about the chest downwards. These figures are almost identical, wearing the white crown, with large counterpoises for their collars visible at the tops of their backs. The shape of the figures is perhaps subtly different, suggesting that they may have been made by different craftsmen, or that the artist worked differently in different directions: for example, the beard of the left-facing Osiris is longer and more curved than that on the right.

The left-hand Osiris holds a *wꜣs* and a *ḥqꜣ* sceptre, which are visible separately at the top, before the staffs merge together. He probably also held a flail, as in [Sc. 7.2](#). In front of Osiris, Senneferi and his mother were depicted worshipping Osiris. The tomb-owner's presence is indicated only in the hieroglyphs, but his mother's head, wearing a tripartite wig, and raised hands are preserved. There is little detail remaining, and very little colour. To the right of her raised arm(s) is a small area of green colour, perhaps the shoulder of Senneferi.

The texts are as follows:

Text 7.1

At top left →

bḥdti dif nḥ n nb tꜣwy mn-ḥpr-rꜥ

The Behdetite, may he give life to the lord of the two lands, Menkheperre...

Text 7.2

Between the two figures of Osiris:

zꜣ nḥ ḥꜣf

May protection and life be behind [him]

Text 7.3

Before the face of Osiris →

¹ *difꜣsnt tꜣw ndm [mḥyt]* ²⁻³ *wsir nswt ntrw*

That he might permit the smelling of the sweet breath [of the north wind], Osiris, king of the gods

Text 7.4

Above Senneferi and his mother ←

⁴ *irꜥ pꜥ ḥꜣty-ꜥ* ⁵ *mḥ-[ib n]* ⁶ *nb tꜣwy imꜣy-r [sdꜣwtꜣ]* ⁷ *sn-nfrꜣ mꜣꜥ-ḥrw*

⁸ *mwtꜥ* ⁹ *zꜣt-dḥwtꜣ*

The *irꜥ pꜥ ḥꜣty-ꜥ*, [the trusted one of] the lord of the two lands, the overseer of [seal-bearers], Senneferi, true of voice; his mother Satdjehuty

The text seems to have been shaped largely around the destroyed figure of Senneferi, with several columns of uneven length; I thus conclude that the above texts have survived substantially complete.

Scene 7.2: Lintel, right, Senneferi and [father] offering to Osiris

Pl. 30B, Colour pl. 19A

The right-hand Osiris also holds a *wꜣs* and a *ḥqꜣ* sceptre and a flail, but the representations of the staffs are kept distinct. Most of this side of the scene (after the first three columns of text) is lost, although the extent of the scene can be judged by the remains of the right-hand end of it, with a column divider evident just to the left of the cobras in the canopy in Wall 4 (not included in the drawing). All that remains of

the decoration is the raised hand of the first figure, doubtless Senneferi, holding a  pot, with the beginning of the offering text below ([Text 7.8](#)). As Senneferi's mother accompanies him on the other side of the lintel, it seems reasonable to assume that his father would have accompanied him in this part of the scene.

Text 7.5

At top right ←

/// [mn]-hpr-[r] ///

/// [Men]kheper[re]...

Doubtless the same or very similar to [Text 7.1](#).

Text 7.6

Before the face of Osiris ←

¹ *diḥpṛt-hrw t ḥnqt kꜣw ꜣḏw ḥtpt²⁻³ wsir nb ꜣḏw*

That he might give invocation offerings of bread, beer, oxen and fowl and (other) offerings, Osiris lord of Abydos

Text 7.7

Above [Senneferi] →

¹ *iry pꜣt ḥꜣty-ꜣ² ///*

The *iry pꜣt ḥꜣty-ꜣ* ///

Five columns would seem to be missing to the right.

Text 7.8

Below hand of [Senneferi] →

irt ///

Making ...

At the far right-hand end there is a trace of the final column divider of the text, and to the left of it are some green traces of uncertain hieroglyphs.

Scenes relating to the adoration of deities on lintels over doorways (including the tomb entrance) and shrines are very common in Thebes. They may be found over the inner or outer faces of doorways, although the majority are located, as here, so as to face the entrance to the tomb. In the 18th dynasty, these show the deities associated with death and the west, most frequently Osiris, Anubis, or the Goddess of the West, although in varying combinations.¹³¹ They continue to be popular in the 19th dynasty, when solar deities are added to the repertoire. Locations over doorways are also a common place for the name of the king or kings served by the tomb owner. A

variation on this is a scene in which the royal names form the primary decoration of the lintel. TT99 contains most of these forms: Osiris ([Scene 7.1](#)), royal names over the entrance to the shrine ([Scene 10.1](#), [p. 122](#)), and Anubis over the niche at the rear ([Scene 15](#), [p. 135](#)), although there is no decoration surviving on the west (inner) side of any of the doorways, or over the entrance to the tomb.

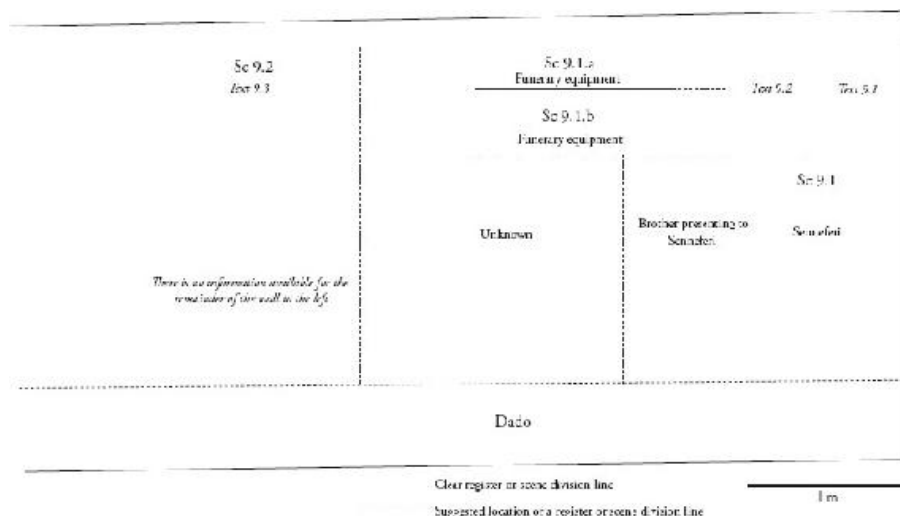


Fig. 98: Wall 9, schematic diagram of right-hand section

5.6 Passage or Corridor

5.6.1 Door reveals

There is no decoration on either the jambs or reveals of the doorway. At the top of the south reveal is an area of seemingly undecorated plaster extending onto the rear of the doorjamb. There are also traces of plaster extending all the way to the floor, indicating that it was originally decorated.

5.6.2 Wall 8: east wall, over entrance from Front room

No decoration remains on this wall, only some traces of unpainted plaster below the curved ceiling. There are, however, traces of plaster, often thick, everywhere. This area can be seen in [Fig. 41](#) on [p. 57](#).

5.6.3 Wall 9: south wall

Wall plan: [Pl. 13](#); schematic [Fig. 98](#)

There are three areas of decoration on this wall. Little progress can be made with an overall reconstruction of this wall due to the extent of the plaster loss; the exception is at the western end (Senneferi inspecting his funerary equipment).

As elsewhere, a dado level on this wall of roughly 50 cm, as seen in the Rear room of the tomb, is assumed. Similar scenes in TT85 and TT79 show the recipients seated.¹³² Only Senneferi is named in the texts, and there is no space in the scene for relatives as in the parallels.

Senneferi was almost certainly seated at the right with a standing figure presenting him with his funerary equipment ([Scene 9.1](#)). If we examine the likely reconstruction of the funerary equipment texts ([Fig. 99](#)), it seems clear that the columns were of unequal length and largely followed the shape of Senneferi's figure. The change of orientation in the texts happened immediately to the left of the seated figure. I believe that the likely size of the figure and the extent of the texts preclude a smaller register having existed between the main scene and the dado.

The figure, identified in [Text 9.2](#) as Senneferi's 'brother' but unnamed, would be shown, following normal Egyptian artistic conventions, about the same overall height as the seated figure. Above the likely location of that figure can be seen traces of a stone vessel, strongly suggesting that the upper sub-registers of the funerary equipment extended over the head of the figure below. Presumably the remainder of the space below the funerary equipment in [Scene 9.1.a/b](#) was filled with further sub-registers of objects, but no further proposals can be made. It is not really possible to reconstruct [Scene 9.2](#) and anything else to the left.

Scene 9.1: Deceased seated viewing funerary equipment PM (8)

[Pl. 31A](#), [Colour pl. 19B](#)

The right-hand end of this wall bears a text in two parts.¹³³ The orientation and content indicate that it was placed above a depiction of Senneferi, in front of whom was a man offering to him; there is only one small fragment left of any part of the scene, the top of a lily just visible at the bottom of the mostly destroyed fifth column of right-facing text ([Text 9.2](#)).

There are only two surviving parallels to this scene, in TT79 and TT85.¹³⁴ In both cases the deceased sits with one or more members of his family before elements of his tomb equipment. In TT85 there is a text above a scribe who is presenting them to the tomb-owner in a manner probably similar to here. Doubtless the objects in [Scene 9.2](#) below are part of Senneferi's burial equipment.

The limited parallels to this scene render a comparison by location almost meaningless. That in TT79 is in the front transverse hall, while that in TT85 is in the short passage which joins the two transverse

halls in the tomb. The latter is arguably in a comparable position to that of TT99.

The text is as follows; a number of reconstructions have been added using the parallels cited above and the reconstructions of Sethe; they are shaded in the reconstruction in [Fig. 99](#) and placed in [] below.

Text 9.1

Right (paralleled in both TT79 and TT85):¹³⁵

¹ *snḏm m pr-[f n tp t3 nty mnw m]* ² *wstꜥ m s[ḥt nb nṯrw ḥft]* ³ *ḥyt m*
pr-3 [nḥ wḏs] snb [im] ⁴ *iry pꜣt ḥsty-ꜣ ḥzy n nṯr nfr [imy-r sḏwly sn-nfr]*
ms-ḥrw ⁵ *r ms ḥrw-f nw grs šzp [mnw-f nw sm3-t3]* ⁶ *twwtꜣfꜣ nw ʿt nbt*
*ḥrpwtꜣ [r rw]-pr[w m ḥzwt n nṯr nfr]*³

Sitting pleasantly in [his] house [on earth which is established in] Thebes near [(the house of) the lord of the gods after] returning from the Great House, [lp]h, [by] the *iry pꜣt ḥsty-ꜣ*, the one favoured of the perfect god, [the overseer of seal-bearers Senneferi, true of voice], to see his burial equipment, that he may receive [his monuments of burial] and his statues of every stone that should be brought [and that are intended for] the temples [in the praise of the perfect god]

- The hieroglyph  is reproduced in colour in Davies, *Picture Writing*, pl. X, [14](#).
- The unusual determinative used here is surely a representation of a block statue, such as BM EA 48 or CG 1112 (see further [p. 24](#)).
- Not a common meaning of this verb (Wb. III, 327), but occasionally used in offering and presentation contexts, such as a text in TT84 (Urk. IV, 9547–9).
- I use here the reconstruction based on TT85 as that in TT79 omits the mention of statues.

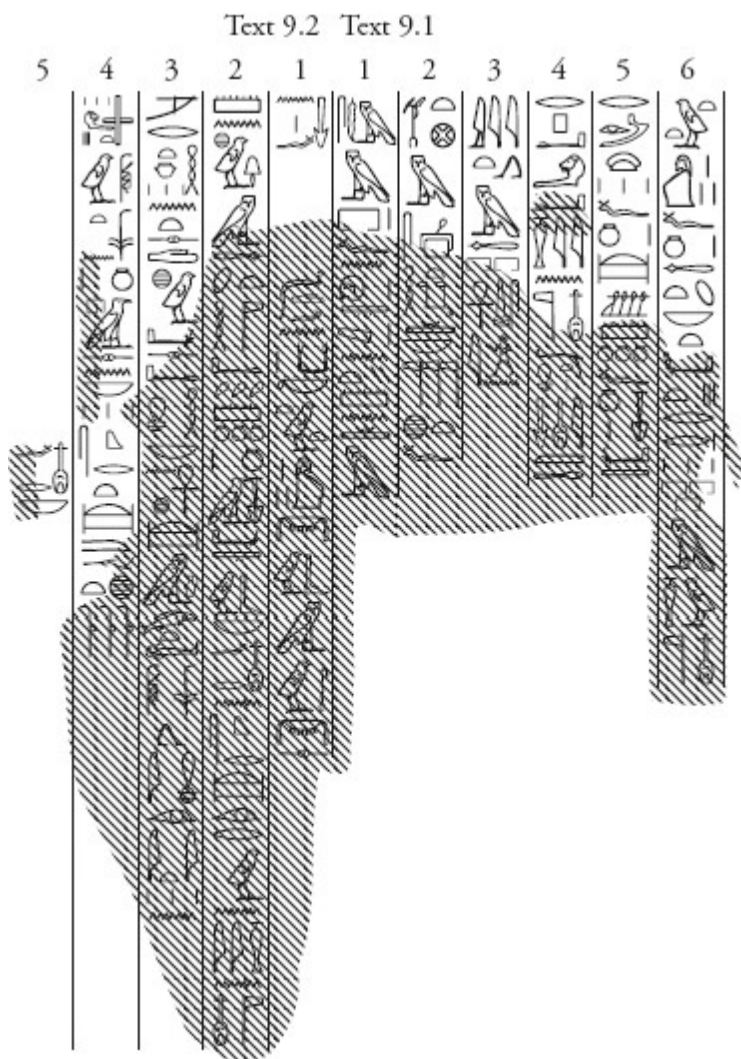


Fig. 99: Wall 9 reconstruction of texts 9.1 and 9.2 in normalised hieroglyphs

There are of course differences between the parallel texts. That in TT79 does not employ a fixed column length, but rather runs around the figures; in TT85, there are two longer columns before the first figure, and a consistent height above the remainder. The most probable longest column ran down behind the figure of Senneferi.

Text 9.2

Left (paralleled in TT85 only), with Sethe's reconstructions:

¹ snf ² [ddfn ksk tiwt nubw m dsm s] ³ mnbw m [st hrw-ntr
 mnw nw sms-t3 bw nb nfr n qrs irrw n hzy n ntr nfr] ⁴ mrht^b nt sdwh
 s[h nb nh hnmw hst sms nsut mi iryt n] ⁵ imyw-hwt sms nsut nw bsn
 nbw grst m-hr [rnpwt] ///⁵ /// nfr[t] nbr^a

His brother (name not written) [says: for your *ka*, statues gilded with electrum and em]bellished with [august stones of the god's limbs, monuments of burial and all good things of burial which are to be done for one praised of the perfect god], oil for embalming [the mummy, a coffin which unites the corpse of a follower of the king, like what was done for] those of former times (and for) a follower of the king of all their times, the possessors of burial after [years] /// everything good ///

a. The colouration of this blank area is seemingly much bluer than the rest of the background. This suggests it may have been overpainted at some point. See above [p. 19](#) for a suggestion as to the identity of this brother.

b. The hieroglyph  is perhaps that reproduced in colour in Davies, *Picture Writing*, pl. IX, 4, referring to two examples in the tomb; there appears however to be only one.

a. This column may well be part of a text in the adjacent scene.

The precise length of the columns of the left-hand text is uncertain, since this is not an exact replica of the text in TT85.

Some 10 cm to the left of *nfr(t) nbt* in the last column of text are the remains a column divider and part of a jar, probably of stone from its speckled appearance. The existence of the column divider seems to indicate that there might have been one further column of text to the left of the last visible hieroglyphs. The jar appears to be a sealed oil jar  with a red upper part and a mottled black lower part.

Some of the signs at the top of columns 2 and 3 at the right-hand side are washed away, as is the column divider between columns 3 and 4.

Scene 9.1a/b: Funerary equipment

The next surviving scene shows a selection of funerary equipment (including objects for the Opening of the Mouth ritual) in parts of two sub-registers.¹³⁶

The equipment is presumably laid out before the deceased as the continuation of [Sc. 9.1](#), and there are many parallels to the funerary equipment shown in TT79.¹³⁷ A number of the objects, particularly the sticks, staves, and sceptres are best paralleled in the object friezes on Middle Kingdom coffins.¹³⁸ Some objects, such as the divine bird emblems, are paralleled in Wall 13, where they are carried.¹³⁹

Scene 9.1.a: Upper sub-register

[Pl. 31B](#), [Colour pl. 20A](#)

The true beginning of this sub-register probably includes the sealed oil jar mentioned at the end of [Scene 9.1](#); the right end of the main preserved part of this scene begins with seven standing items, and there are the remains of something black hanging down out of the damaged area to the left of these seven items. The objects are all types

of sticks, staves, or sceptres: the remains of something red; a thin green stick (?); a thicker yellow object, perhaps a † sceptre as in TT79;¹⁴⁰ perhaps a chisel †, with a black top and a blue-grey lower part; two yellow sticks of indeterminate type; and a *mks* sceptre, the lower part of which is white with a number of horizontal red lines, and the middle trapezoidal element and the upper part yellow. These implements are probably intended for the Opening of the Mouth ritual, and real examples of some of these objects were found in the burial chamber of Senneferi (p. 260).

To the left of the staves is a rectangular chest with very short legs. The edges are decorated with a series of black and white bands, and the central part is coloured pink. Two knobs are visible on the right-hand end of the box. Its contents are shown as if above it. At the right end are four pink bows with pale yellow strings. To the left of them are seven crossed arrows, four pointing from top right to bottom left, and three from top left to bottom right. The points and the feathers are coloured black, while the shafts are yellow. A bowstring 0 is shown in the area beneath where the arrows cross.¹⁴¹ A 10 cm gap follows, and then there is part of another rectangular chest, probably of the same size as the previous one. The outer frame of the chest is again decorated with black and white bands, and the central area was filled originally with a brown wash with painted red-brown lines, some of which has flaked off to reveal a pink ground. Was it intended to represent wood grain?¹⁴² Shown above this chest are four white linen signs , the last of which is barely visible.

To the left of this is a lion-legged chair, standing on a wooden base. The frame of the chair is coloured black or grey-black, and there are small yellow areas on the front and rear legs representing inlays in the wood. The cushion of the chair is white, outlined in red.¹⁴³ On the cushion and resting against the (destroyed) back of the chair is probably another † sceptre. The shaft of this sceptre is coloured green, with two white bands at its middle, and a white base; the top of the sceptre is missing. The final item, coloured black, is probably the front leg of a bed, as it is higher than the adjacent chair.

Scene 9.1.b: Lower sub-register

Pl. 31B, Colour pl. 20A

At the top right of the lower sub-register are two groups of vessels next to each other. They are placed on a green mat with yellow bindings at the end. The first group consists of four pink *dsrt* vessels; to the right, one of perhaps originally four yellow *nmst* vessels is visible. These vessels are thought to belong with the Opening of the Mouth items in the scene.¹⁴⁴ Below these vessels is the top of

something brown and green, perhaps an item of furniture.

The remaining items in the scene were almost certainly drawn above boxes now lost. To the left of the vessels is another group of yellow staves or sceptres. The first is a *mks* sceptre with upper yellow and lower white parts, the latter bearing a number of red horizontal lines, and a white flail coming out of the right-hand side of the yellow part (compare the example without a flail in the sub-register above). It is followed by an *ams* sceptre 𐎠 with a bulbous end and a flail coming out of the left-hand side;¹⁴⁵ a *hqs* sceptre 𐎡 ;¹⁴⁶ a straighter version of the *hqs* sceptre 𐎢 , presumably an *wt*; two conventional *wss* sceptres 𐎣 ,¹⁴⁷ and lastly a *dsm* sceptre 𐎤 .

After a gap, the next item is a scribal palette, coloured white with a yellow band at the top, below which are circles of blue (intended surely for black) and red above one another, representing the inkwells. Red horizontal lines under both inkwells almost give the impression that the wells were intended to resemble *šm* rings (𐎶). Under the red inkwell are three or four short vertical strokes. Next to this is a white writing board with a carrying loop at the top.

The final surviving items are three yellow (for gold) falcons on divine perches, representing *idmy* linen stored in the box.¹⁴⁸ The first hawk and perch is more or less complete; parts of the second bird (probably a hawk) is then visible, with the perch lost, while the third perch but not its bird survives.

The objects in this scene and the better-preserved parallels seem to be overwhelmingly of a ritual rather than practical nature. While it is beyond the scope of the present publication, there may be links between some of the less obviously ‘ritual’ objects and religious texts, a subject in need of further investigation.¹⁴⁹

Scene 9.2: Uncertain scene PM (7)

Pl. 31C, Colour pl. 20B

The other remaining decoration is in the centre of the wall, at the top just below the *kheker* frieze. It shows the remains of two columns of text, described by Sethe as perhaps showing the receipt (or inspection) of cattle booty obtained by the king in war.¹⁵⁰ The location of the broken line on the reconstruction indicating a change of scene and orientation is a guess.

Text 9.3

iws /// *t* ...

cattle ...

nḥtwfms ...

his true victories ...

There is little here on which to build a plausible reconstruction. Scenes involving cattle of any type are rather rare in the 18th dynasty anywhere other than in the front hall of a tomb.¹⁵¹ The southern wall of the passage (as here) is one of the standard locations for a funeral scene, but it is unclear to me whether sufficient space would be available for it here; see below p. 130 for the possibility that it was in the Shrine, although an abnormal location on Wall 11 cannot be totally excluded. Only the tomb of Rekhmire (TT100) has been noted as showing cattle on this same wall, but there does not appear to have been enough space for a full inspection scene.¹⁵² The opposite wall is the location for an inspection scene in the tomb of Amenemhat (TT123),¹⁵³ while cattle form part of the funeral procession in the chapel of Amenemopet (TT29).¹⁵⁴

Very little can also be made of the text, although some comparable material has been listed by Helck.¹⁵⁵ Only one other tomb shows a scene which may represent the transfer of booty from a foreign expedition to the tomb owner, that of Menkheperresoneb (TT86),¹⁵⁶ and this interpretation is dependent on Sethe's heavy restoration of the damaged text.¹⁵⁷ Most of the scenes just noted occupy the register space near the top of the wall and could form the basis for a reconstruction, but taking it further would be, at present, of questionable value.

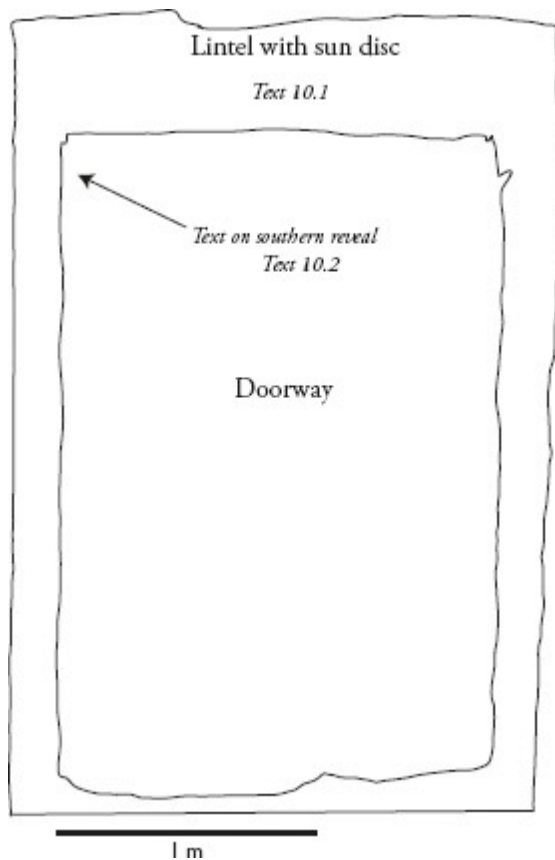


Fig. 100: Wall 10, schematic diagram

Wall 9: Friezes and borders

A *kheker* frieze survives along the top of most of the wall (see wall plan). It seems that from the middle to the west end of the wall the splayed tops of the frieze strayed onto the ceiling, and the paint there is lost. Julie Dawson observes that the green and blue colours in the frieze are unusually thinly applied, which perhaps contributed to their detachment. The block border on the wall is the usual red–green–yellow–blue–red with some black outlining, especially on the vertical border at the western end. In the western corner are traces of decoration: in the corner is blue paint, then a 2.5 cm wide band of green paint, and between that and the vertical block border is a pattern of vertical black lozenges.

5.6.4 Wall 10: west wall, entrance to Rear room

Wall plan: [Pl. 12B](#); schematic [Fig. 100](#)

The area around and within the doorway is devoid of surviving decoration with the exception of two small areas. No serious

reconstructions can be proposed.

Scene 10.1: Lintel over entrance to Rear room

Pl. 32E, Colour pl. 21A, Colour pl. 21B

A small area of decoration remains at the very top, above the doorway. The upper profile of this decorated area follows the curved profile of the ceiling; the height of the scene at the centre, when complete, was approximately 0.47 m.

The main item of decoration is a winged sun disc on the central axis of the tomb with pendant uraei, below which are the remains of a text. The disc is red in the middle and yellow round the outside. The uraei are mainly yellow, with a white band down their middles, and are blue at the bottom. The primary and secondary feathers of the wings are painted green, with a red scalloped effect on the lower edge. The covert feathers are detailed with a series of pale grey/blue chevrons against the background colour. At the bottom of each covert feather is a blue spot.

There are some differences between the painting on the right and left: the right-hand cobra is striated on the yellow and white areas, but the left-hand one is not. The covert feather detail is only on the right-hand wing of the sun disc, and the scalloped lower edge of the wings is outlined on the right but not the left; blue spots can be seen at the bottom of each feather on the right. It would appear that this scene was unfinished, and that the artist(s) began with the right-hand half of the scene which is the more complete.

A thin red band divides the winged sun disc from the text below:

Text 10.1

Left:

mn-[ḥpr-rꜥ mry] imn^a-[rꜥ] [nb nswt tswy ?^b]

Menkheperre, [beloved] of Amun-Re lord [of the thrones of the two lands]

a. Erased and restored, see below.

b. This is admittedly no more than an educated guess.

This is heavily reconstructed; there are indications of the existence of a cartouche to the right of that still visible, suggesting a mirrored or very similar text. The plaster bearing the *imn* hieroglyphs has a coarse concave surface and was clearly damaged and subsequently restored; the restoration is painted directly onto the coarse underlayer, and no fine ground layer was put on top.¹⁵⁸ This presumably happened during and after the Amarna period. See above § 4.3.7 for other examples in the tomb and discussion.

A 1.5 cm wide blue band runs above the winged sun disc; the

section to the right of the centre is decorated with a series of yellow stars. Between the ceiling and the decoration the brilliant white background colour is clearly evident.

Parallels in this position employing royal names from approximately the same date include the tombs of Amenmose (TT42), with the Horus names of the king plus images of the deceased,¹⁵⁹ and the chapel of Duaerneheh (TT125), in which the titles of Hatshepsut and Queen Ahmose appear in this position.¹⁶⁰ However, other arrangements are possible; for example, in the comparable position in the tomb of Qenamun (TT93) a scene of two Anubis figures is found.¹⁶¹ The larger temple tombs from the reign of Amenhotep III incorporate more elaborate compositions which include a series of formulae rather than the basic text which appears to have been located here.¹⁶²

Scene 10.2: Southern reveal of doorway

Pl. 32F

There are some remains of decoration on the southern reveal of this doorway, a text at the top and a figure further down. At the very top of this scene are traces of the normal block border (yellow–blue–red–green–yellow).

Approximately 70 cm below the border are two fragments of plaster, with a white background bearing two areas of red. These would appear to form part of the figure of a seated man with his left arm held above his lap and his right raised.

Below the border are fragments of three columns of text.

Text 10.2

/// rs /// m isbt /// spt

? /// in the east /// horizon

Although this text is too fragmentary to reconstruct, the preserved words make a hymn, or similar, to the sun most likely. A number of 18th dynasty tombs contain texts on door reveals referring to leaving the tomb, whether to adore the sun god,¹⁶³ or to go out into the necropolis, or to take part in the Valley Festival.¹⁶⁴ Other tombs contain pictorial decoration, such as a censuring scene.¹⁶⁵ Those bearing hymns often have figures of the deceased below, although such figures are usually standing, representing the intended movement from the death of the tomb to the new life in the sun.

Northern reveal of doorway

No decoration survives, but the very top of the plaster coat is preserved, and there are traces of plaster on much of the exposed rock surface.

See [p. 151](#) for the ceiling pattern used under the lintel (pattern P6), which has been smeared in many places. It is preserved for most of the width of the ceiling.

5.6.5 Wall 11: north wall

Wall plan: [Pl. 14](#)

There appears to be no surviving decoration on this wall other than a number of small fragments of the *khoker* frieze (see wall plan for locations). The frieze is like that on Wall 9 opposite, in that the tops of the *khoker* signs appear to have lost their pigment.

5.7 Rear Room (Shrine)

5.7.1 Doorway to Passage

Wall plans: [Pl. 15](#), [Pl. 20](#) (a small section between was not drawn); [Pl. 32A](#)

Over the doorway to the Passage, at the bottom right-hand corner, is the end of what was probably a horizontal line of text. Two red shapes at the right-hand end with a red curved line before them are probably , presumably a text ending with ‘Senneferi, true of voice’, with a blue-green horizontal band above. Space at the left-hand end of Wall 12 indicates that there was room for a vertical doorjamb bearing texts, presumably with a mirror image at the right-hand end of Wall 18. A likely parallel from TT82 suggests that the horizontal text may have been an *imshy hr* formula, with offering formulae vertically below.¹⁶⁶

5.7.2 Wall 12: east wall, south of entrance from Passage

Wall plan: [Pl. 15](#); schematic [Fig. 101](#); general overview [Colour pl. 22A](#)

The right-hand end of this wall is reconstructed as consisting of one large and one small register, using the feet of a seated figure at the right, presumably Senneferi ([Sc. 12.1](#)) as the basis for the layout. In front of him were perhaps three sub-registers of scenes, only the top of which is extant ([Sc. 12.1.a](#)). The left part, slightly less than half of the upper register, was filled with texts, titles and a biography; the presence of an isolated fragment at the lower left argues for the text filling the whole register. Assuming the dado on the wall to be roughly 50 cm above the floor as on Wall 13, there appears to be space for one long narrow lower register as proposed elsewhere in this room.

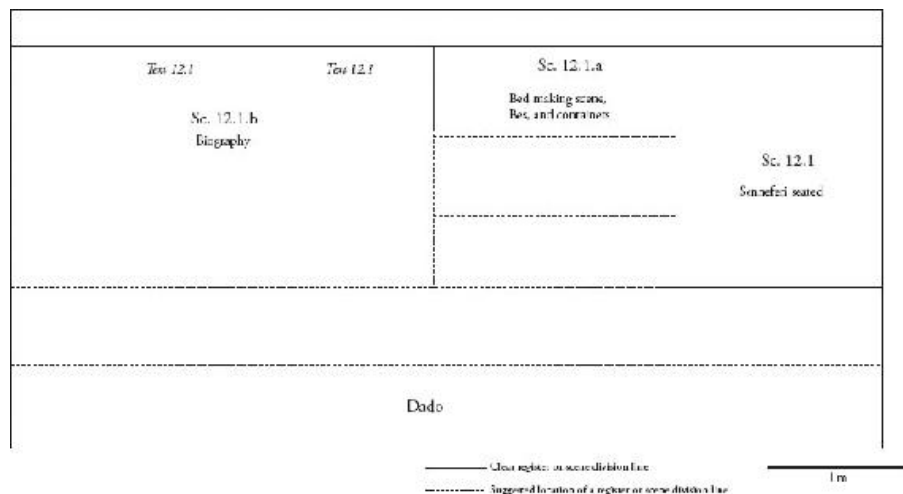


Fig. 101: Wall 12, schematic diagram

Scene 12.1 right: [Senneferi] seated

Pl. 32A

The only fragment of decoration surviving at the right-hand end of this wall shows the feet of a male figure on a green mat with yellow and red bindings. This is probably part of a seated figure of Senneferi watching activities in the rest of the register. Equally-spaced (7.2 cm) traces of red vertical lines on the mat suggest the possibility of a grid, although no horizontals are visible. If these form part of a conventional fourteen square grid as used for seated figures, then the male figure would have been approximately 1.01 m high to the forehead, allowing space for a text over his head. It would appear, insofar as anything can be said for such a small sample, that the painting of this is better executed than that in [Sc. 12.1.a](#).

See the wall plan for the location of another fragment of plain plaster on the wall in the original sub-register below [Scene 12.1.a](#).

Scene 12.1.a Bed-making scene PM (10)

Pl. 33, Colour pl. 22B

In the approximate top centre of the wall, just to the right of the biography is the left-hand part of a sub-register. This decoration is very simple, but quite unusual. From the height of the surviving decoration I surmise that there were originally two further sub-registers below this.

At the top left of the sub-register are two yellow shapes, most probably baskets or sacks. Their outlines are very thick, and they have a series of red horizontal lines running across them, perhaps indicating the weave of the material from which they are constructed;

a thicker band at the top perhaps indicates a cover. They are placed on a faintly drawn yellow baseline, with the original red sketch colour showing through underneath. Beneath, rather roughly drawn, is a red chest with a shrine-shaped lid; the division between lid and base is indicated by a heavier red brush-stroke in the same colour as the rest of the box.¹⁶⁷ Two crude protrusions at the front probably represent knobs.

To the right of the chest and baskets is one of the most unusual items in the tomb, a figure of Bes, presumably a statue or statuette.¹⁶⁸ The pose adopted by the figure is the standard one, squatting slightly, hands on knees, elbows spread out; the lower parts of the legs are destroyed. What initially strikes one as a red collar or scarf is perhaps an indication of his lion mane. The face is not that of the classic grotesque figure, but is almost featureless, except for the eyes which are indicated in red. The surviving body colour is pink, although a number of traces of black perhaps indicate that the figure could have been painted in that colour, which has since been lost from the surface. The colours of the few other New Kingdom painted figures of Bes (to be mentioned below) are not recorded.

To the right of Bes are two representations of stands for candles or tapers. The larger and more visible, with a thick red outline, is a tall yellow stand with a splayed top, on which is a dish containing a white candle. Between this and the figure of Bes, somewhat lower down, is the red-brown outline of a similar but smaller jar-stand bearing a candle. This appears to have been painted out using the white scene background colour. Almost certainly the smaller stand was not intended to be part of the final composition. To the right of the yellow stand is the left-hand part of a white canopy outlined in red; under the canopy is the upper part of a woman bending forward, almost certainly making a bed.

Neither main element of this scene is common in the tombs at Thebes. There is a small number of examples of Bes used as a decorative motif on items of furniture, mostly later in date,¹⁶⁹ but only one other clear example of a standing statue of the deity, which also happens to be in close proximity to a bed.¹⁷⁰ The association of Bes with sleeping quarters is well known,¹⁷¹ and his association with beds is surely also linked with conception and childbirth.¹⁷²

The other examples of bed-making scenes from New Kingdom Thebes are four in number,¹⁷³ all located around or over doorways, and all dating to the reigns of Thutmose III or Amenhotep II. The scene dates back to the Old Kingdom when it is somewhat more frequent, and there is often found near a doorway.¹⁷⁴ The association

with some form of sexual imagery is reinforced by the scene in TT140 which is immediately above a scene of a woman whose hair is being dressed.¹⁷⁵ There is little doubt that the combination of Bes and a bed-making scene, despite its rarity in New Kingdom Theban art, is totally apposite;¹⁷⁶ the location in TT99 is perhaps more prominent than in some of the other tombs as it is incorporated into a main scene, rather than being placed around a doorway. Could this be to do with the larger size of TT99 than other tombs?

There is a pair of red vertical guide lines between the two baskets, and another pair between the right-hand basket and the Bes figure. There are also some on either side of the chest. There are two prominent red guidelines for the top of the scene at the top of the wall, between the Bes figure and baskets and the block border. The quality of the painting appears much less sophisticated than the rest of the tomb; the outlines are very roughly drawn, and there is not the detail visible elsewhere in the tomb. Is there a lesser craftsman at work or is the scene simply unfinished? See also comments on [Text BN.1](#) on [p. 147](#).

Scene 12.1.b left: Biography PM (9)

[Pl. 32A](#), [Pl. 33](#), [Pl. 32C](#), [Colour pl. 23A](#)

The left hand part of this wall was taken up with a long inscription, partly a list of titles and partly biographical,¹⁷⁷ probably originally in 33 columns. It survives in one large and two small fragments: there is the top of the first column with two hieroglyphs, and then, much closer to the floor than the rest of the decoration, parts of columns 2–5, and finally the upper parts of the last eighteen columns of the text. No one column is complete. I estimate from the space between the second and third fragments that ten columns of text are lost there.

The text now mostly survives with the appearance of pale grey-blue monochrome hieroglyphs ([Colour pl. 29C](#)). There are also a number of splashes of paint (blue or green) on the text from the painting of the frieze above. The text is often difficult to read because of the faintness of the colours, and sometimes one uses marks on the plaster rather than traces of colour; this is particularly true for parts of lines 2–5. Some of the hieroglyphs in those lines are coloured a brighter blue, perhaps a closer indication of the original colour. Did that colour apply to the whole text, or is it unfinished? Julie Dawson is convinced that the remainder of the text does not have the appearance of deteriorated blue text; the difference in colours may be due to the grey being remains of the original sketch. The survival of some of the red guide lines may also indicate that the text was not finished.

The text appears to consist of two parts, divided here into [Text 12.1](#) and [12.2](#). 12.1 consists primarily of a list of titles and epithets; a pattern is set in column 1 which begins apparently with *iry p^{ct}*. This would seem to parallel the structure of columns 16–23, the surviving upper parts of which consist of *iry p^{ct} hsty-^c* followed by epithets. It is likely that columns 2–15 followed the same pattern. The fragment which survives nearer the bottom of columns 2–5 seems to contain actual titles and not epithets, and this may be the key to the structure of the whole of columns 1–23: *iry p^{ct} hsty-^c*, a set of epithets, a set of titles, and presumably ending with the name of Senneferi. That the extent of the epithets was very variable is suggested by the titles nearer the top of columns 18–19.

Text 12.1

Titles and epithets:

¹ *iry p^{ct} hsty-^c* ///

The *iry p^{ct} hsty-^c* ///

² /// *m mh^{2a} hsty-^cb*

/// *hsty-^c*

³ /// *hr nb msn irr hzzwt* ///

Horus lord of Mesen, ^c who does what is favoured ///

⁴ /// *hsty-^c imy-r hmw-ntrw n ?hr^d* ///

hsty-^c, overseer of priests of ? Horus ...

⁵ /// *irr^c* ///

who does

6–15 ///

(Missing)

¹⁶ *iry p^{ct} hsty-^c* ///

The *iry p^{ct} hsty-^c* ///

¹⁷ *iry p^{ct} hsty-^c wr^f* ///

The *iry p^{ct} hsty-^c*, great one ///

¹⁸ *iry p^{ct} hsty-^c wptwy nswt* ///

The *iry p^{ct} hsty-^c*, the royal messenger ///

¹⁹ *iry p^{ct} hsty-^c inq tswy n nb ?h imy-r [hmw-ntrw]* ///

The *iry p^{ct} hsty-^c*, the one who brings together the two lands for the lord of the palace, the overseer of [priests of ?] ///

²⁰ *iry p^{ct} hsty-^c sdr rsw-hr h^h sht hr n* ///

The *iry p^{ct} hsty-^c*, the one who spends the night being watchful, the one who seeks out what is good, the one who is pleasing to ///

²¹ *iry p^{ct} hsty-^c wr wrw m t3 r dfr ir nfšpsw nswt rmn* ///

The *iry p^{ct} hsty-^c*, the great one of the great ones in the whole land, to whom the

nobles of the king make obeisance ///

²² *iry pꜣt ḥsty-ꜣ ʿwy mnḥ zp sn nb tawy sḏsf ʿw ///*

The *iry pꜣt ḥsty-ꜣ*, the most excellent arms of the lord of the two lands, who makes holy the length of ///

²³ *iry pꜣt ḥsty-ꜣ ir mꜣwt mkḥ ḥfwt zpꜣ nb ///*

The *iry pꜣt ḥsty-ꜣ*, who does *mꜣwt* and turns his back on *ḥfwt* at his every opportunity (?) ///

a. I am unsure whether this is  or , and there is also space for another sign here. Compare the example of  in col. 25 of [Text 12.2](#).

b. This is not totally certain.

c. Horus of Mesen is associated primarily in the 18th dynasty with the city of Tjaru (Sile) in the Eastern Delta (Vernus, *LÄ* IV, 108–109; *LÄ* V, 948–947), and this unclear mention is probably further evidence for the link between Senneferi and his father with the Eastern Delta ([p. 16](#)).

d. The name of the deity is composed of a bird hieroglyph, possibly ; can this be associated with the earlier mention of Horus of Mesen?

e. Either side of these hieroglyphs are unclear traces.

f. See [Table 3 on p. 12](#) for other epithets of Senneferi beginning *wr*; I assume that *wr wrw m t3 r ḏrf* is excluded as it appears in column 21 of this same text.

Text 12.2

Biographical text

[Fig. 102](#) saves constant cross-reference to [Pl. 33](#).

²⁴ *ḏdf ḥw imni ḥwt(i) tꜣt tī wi m r ḥry m [ntt ḥwt]^a /// [n ḥwt]^b*

He says: I made my first office when I was the mouth which is in charge of [that which is and that which is not] ///

²⁵ *qdd ḥr irtyi mḥmi m tp-rd n ḥry-tpi sꜣn ///*

sleep^c did not [come (upon)] my eyes. I fulfilled my orders for my superiors and I opened^d ? ///

²⁶ *imyw-r šꜣnw ḥr st-ḥri sꜣwtꜣ ḥmi mnḥni /// [ḥwt(i) snw m]^f*

the overseers of the storehouses^g were under my supervision, for I was wise, I was knowing, I was excellent /// [My second office was]

²⁷ *imy-r sḏswty ḥkwi r wst ḥwnw rsy rdikwi r imy-r šꜣnwty šꜣpꜣ(i) ḥḥ ///*

overseer of seal-bearers. I was brought to Thebes, the Southern Heliopolis,^h and I was placed as overseer of the two granaries, and (I) received millions ofⁱ ///

²⁸ *bkwtsn m šꜣyt nt nḥwtsn m ḥtr n tꜣwt [rnp]^j ///*

their dues as the *šꜣyt* taxes of their cities and as the *ḥtr* taxes of counting [annually] ///

²⁹ *irt^k mꜣwt dwtw nḏ^l [ntr ḥr]-s ḥwt(i) ḥmi^m m ḥsty-ꜣ imy-r ḥmw-ntrw*

n sbk n inpw [Inrty?]ⁿ

doing things that are *mꜣwt*. One thanked the god for me concerning it. My third office was *ḥsty-ꜣ* and overseer of priests of Sobek and of Anubis [of Gebelein?] ///

³⁰ *wst m ḥry-tp nw ḥstyw-ꜣ m imy-r ḥwt nt imn ḥwtini ///*

Thebes as chief of the *ḥsty-ꜣ* and as overseer of the fields of Amun. I built^o ///

³¹ n nubty hnty ts-šnw n ntrw nbw spst tn irni hzzwtsn nb(w)t hry-tp

nh wd3 snb [nswt-bity mn-hpr]-r- [nh dt/di nh dt]^v /// [s]

for him of Nubt who dwells in (or, foremost of) Upper Egypt, and for all the gods of that nome. I did everything they favour for the good of the l.p.h. of [the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Menkheper]re [may he live forever/given life forever?] ///

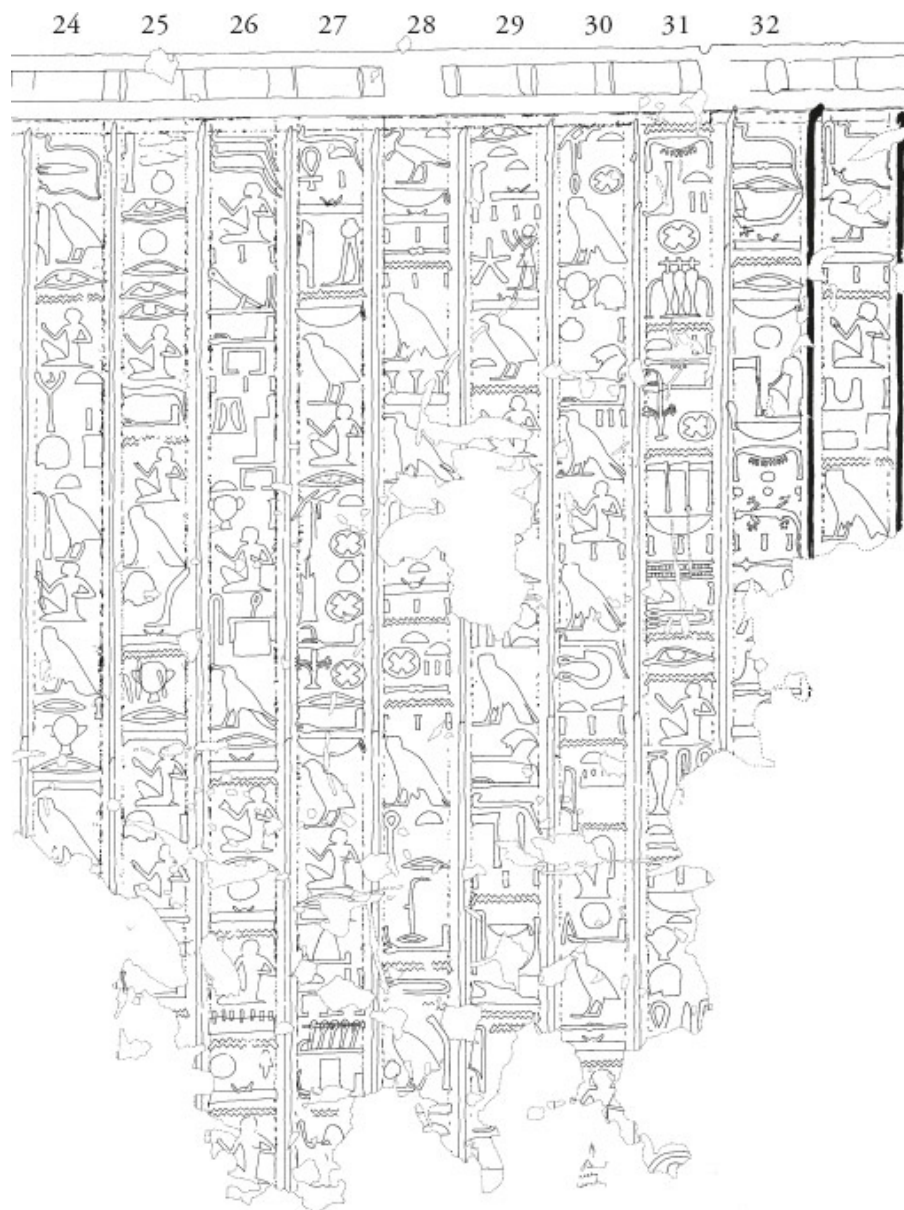


Fig. 102: Facsimile of Text 12.2

³² dsrn[2] rk ntr nb nub 33 st špst ///

(I) made holy the time of the god, being a possessor of gold and one who has many precious stones ///

³³ *sdḫw-rd dḫ pn m ///*

I endowed this mountain with [a tomb] ///

a. This reconstruction is based on the identical phrase on Senneferi's statue in the British Museum (EA 48, above p. 22), which is, admittedly, used as an epithet of Osiris, so my choice may be inappropriate. Although very vague in terms of the designation of a stage in his career, this suggestion (if correct) seems preferable to other suggestions which create a title not seen elsewhere in the tomb: thus the note to the translation of Urk. IV suggests *ḥry mds*, 'one who is over the police' (Blumenthal et al., *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, 115), while Helck, *Verwaltung*, 348, suggests *ḥry m [ḫpt swt m prw imn]*, basing it on a title of Hepusoneb on Louvre statue A134 (Delvaux, *SAK* 15 (1988), 57; Urk. IV, 472, 15–16). However, this should also be treated with caution, as Sethe seems to have overlooked the evident $\ominus$ in column 24. Another holder of a different title beginning *r ḥry* is Djehuty (TT11: *r ḥry dd tp-rd*; Urk. IV, 420.17).

b. Assuming original $\sim \Delta \text{𐀓}$ at the bottom of the column (Urk. IV, 530.3).

c. Guksch, *Königsdienst*, 226 ((095)03).

d. The damaged area appears to contain a rectangular sign at the right; $\square$ or $\text{𐀓} / \triangle$ come to mind, forming either *sš* (Wb. III, 481–482) or *šš* (Wb. IV, 273). Given that the context is unclear, the more general meaning of 'open' of the former might be better.

e. This example is the only attestation of the word given in Wb. IV, 18.11.

f. Sethe's reconstruction, Urk. IV, 530.11.

g. The title *imy-r šnr* is considered by Polz, *ZÄS* 117 (1990), 43–60. The appearance in TT99 is considered on pp 48, 49, 54 (example A7).

h. See the discussion of the scope of this term in Kees, *Priestertum*, 36, where he indicates that it could also mean Thebes, area of Hermonthis (Armant).

i. cf. Guksch, *Königsdienst*, 181 ((068)02).

j. Restoring 𐀓 with Urk. IV, 530.16.

k. Sethe read the first sign in this column as 𐀓 (Urk. IV, 530.17) but it is definitely 𐀓 .

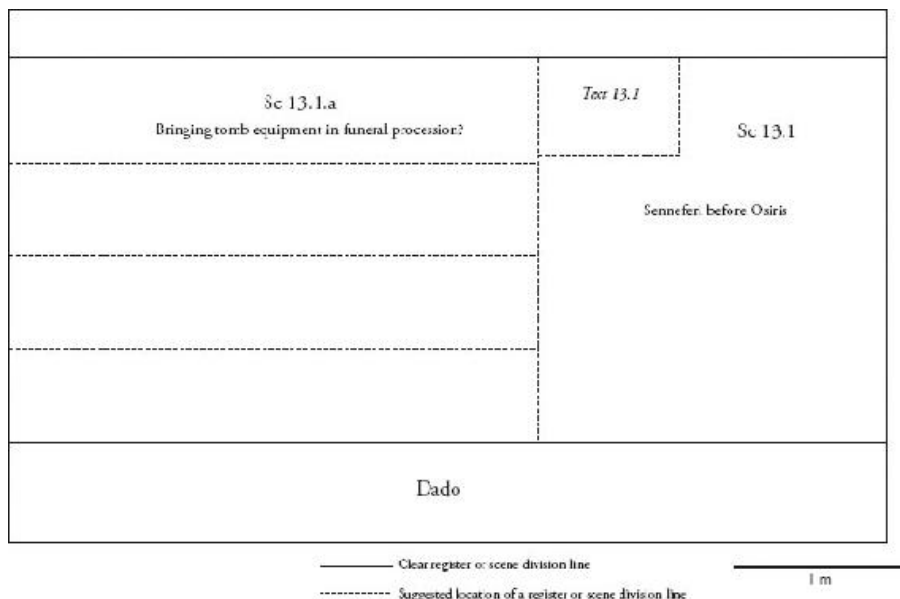


Fig. 103: Wall 13, schematic diagram

l. Urk. IV, 531.1 has 𓅓 .

m. Sethe's reconstruction of $\dot{i}st$ in the gap makes logical sense with the word $\dot{h}mt$ 'three' there, but I am unable to make the traces in the original into 𓅓 , as in l. 24.

n. I tentatively suggest this here, following Helck (*Verwaltung*, 349) and (Kees, *Priestertum*, 36).

o. cf. Guksch, *Königsdienst*, 173 ((060)09).

p. This is of course speculative, and based on other cartouches in the tomb, since only the non-committal 𓅓 is preserved.

Wall 12: Friezes and borders

A standard *khoker* frieze runs above all the scenes on the wall, compressed where it passes under the column abacus, as does a block border: red–green–yellow–blue–red. There are no traces of surviving black edges to the blocks. The area between the top of the *khoker* frieze and the concave ceiling is not decorated, just painted white.

The curved-topped area between the frieze and ceiling is painted the white wall background colour. There are on it three areas of discolouration. From the pattern of staining it would appear that these could have been made by bats. Similar ones are noted, for example, on Walls 13, 14 and 16. Given that the bat occupation is not extensive, I surmise that these animals only settled in the tomb for a relatively short period of time, and not in great numbers. When, however, is unknown.

5.7.3 Wall 13: south wall

Wall plan: [Pl. 16](#); schematic [Fig. 103](#); overview of decorated area

Colour pl. 23B

There is one remaining area of clear decoration, about 2.5×0.5 m. showing a series of bearers of funerary equipment, to the right of which are the remains of six columns of text with red column dividers. At the top right corner of the wall are some small areas of white undecorated plaster. There are also some traces of decoration in the very bottom right corner of the wall (in the first 1.15 m from the corner), above Shaft A. There is a lot of yellow colour (0.51 m above the floor) from the dado area, and then a 5 cm red band, presumably the top of the dado. There is some blue/green colour above this, perhaps part of a mat. I suggest in the next scene that the main depiction on the wall showed Senneferi before Osiris; the main issue is whether he was standing or sitting, and this is considered below.

As there are no further hints as to the register structure, the wall could have had a second small register above the dado as suggested for Walls 12 and 14, or the major figures could just have fitted the whole height of one register alone. This is considered in more detail below, where I tend to favour just one large register. The rest of the wall may have contained the funeral ritual.

Scene 13.1: Senneferi before Osiris

Pl. 34A, Colour pl. 24A

The six surviving columns of text at the right of the surviving decoration appear at first sight to be blank, but in fact contain very faint hieroglyphs. These signs are immensely difficult to read, and in many cases are evidenced by only a slight change in the colour of the background plaster, or where there is still an indication of the brush stroke on the plaster; the drawing of this scene is thus somewhat tentative:

Text 13.1

^{x+1} [t]n iry p^{ct} hsty-^c [smr] w^{ty} ///

by the iry p^{ct} hsty-^c [smr] w^{ty} ///

^{x+2} wr urw m t3 r dr.[f] ///

the great one of the great ones in the whole land ///

^{x+3} s ? t_h n iz ///

?? palace of the chamber ??

^{x+4} dwsw šd hr sh ? ///

Uncertain

^{x+5} /// pn mk ///

Uncertain

the *ḥsty-ꜥ* the overseer of priests of ///

This scene probably showed a standing figure of Senneferi adoring a god, surely Osiris;¹⁷⁸ the shrine in which the latter was can be adjusted in size to fit the context.¹⁷⁹ The lost text would thus begin *rdit ḳw* ‘giving praise’ (TT241)¹⁸⁰ or *dwꜥ*, ‘Adoring’ (TT110).¹⁸¹ Both these scenes were located on the south wall of the tomb, although the former in the front room and the latter in the passage; such scenes seem uncommon in the rear room of a tomb.¹⁸² I suggest below that the scene on the opposite wall of TT99 may also have depicted Osiris, although there more plausibly with a hymn (Wall 17, p. 142); if so, this tomb would be unusual in having two such scenes.

It has been indicated that it is uncertain whether Osiris sits or stands. The limited space might suggest he stands (as in the roughly contemporary tombs TT110 or TT241¹⁸³), as seated examples of the same date are more expansive,¹⁸⁴ although the later example of TT74 shows that a seated figure can also be compactly depicted.¹⁸⁵ Experiments imposing scans of these images on the wall plans do not help to decide which option is the better. In some ways, the full single register is to be preferred, as otherwise the resulting divine image would be rather small.

Scene 13.1.a: Carrying funerary equipment PM (11)

Pl. 34A, Colour pl. 24B, Colour pl. 25A

The main surviving part of the wall is to the left of this text, and consists of a procession of men carrying funerary goods, of whom seven survive, all facing right. They all have black wigs and wear short kilts (where preserved). The following description begins at the right of the procession.¹⁸⁶

The first man at the right carries a white table on his shoulders. On the table are three jars, the middle one being a white sealed vessel, and the others two yellow sealed spouted jars. The man holds the table with his right hand which appears in front of his face, and the brace of the table rests on his shoulder; his other hand is lost, as is his figure from the shoulders down. The second man holds another table in the same manner; his left hand is before him, clasping a yellow staff with a round bulbous top.¹⁸⁷ His figure is lost from just above the knees. On his table are three jars: a yellow sealed jar in the middle, with white jars on either side, that on the left with a spout and that on the right without.¹⁸⁸ The two outer jars are smaller than the previous group.

Next, two men carry a long box, originally a creamy-white, around

the outsides of which originally ran three black bands, now decayed and leaving the underlying sketch as the main evidence for their existence.¹⁸⁹ Their right hands are shown on the top of this long box; the left hand of the first man is shown on the end of the box while that of the second man is underneath it. The first man is preserved from the knees up, and the second from the waist. The contents of the box are, as usual, shown above it. At the right is a yellow collar with white ties at the back. The collar is divided into five bands, the outermost of which has a simple petal pattern outlined in red. A similarly shaped but polychrome collar is shown to the left. The ends of the necklace to which the ties are attached is the same yellow colour as the one to the right; the rest is made up of at least four coloured bands, the outer of which consists of blue petals. The inner bands are blue, green and red, with small amounts of white space between them; there are traces of another green band inside the red as well. On the left end of the box are two inlaid bracelets or anklets, composed of three vertical bands of blue, green and blue, separated by thin white bands.¹⁹⁰ Above these is a red snake head amulet with a white cord for suspension. This object presumably represents a carnelian or jasper amulet.¹⁹¹

The next two men carry another long chest, the body colour of which is pink with a thick red band around the outside. Only the tops of their heads are preserved, and their hands appear to be in the same positions as the previous men. The contents consist of, from the right: two axes, with white heads and pink curving handles; two pairs of sandals, the upper white and overlapping each other, the lower yellow and not overlapping; two further bracelets or anklets. Above the latter is an item shaped like a slightly curving tube, blue in the middle and with yellow ends, from each end of which curves out a short white cord. This is perhaps a large bead-shaped amulet,¹⁹² the originals of which sometimes bear names.¹⁹³ On the left end of the box are two yellow (meaning gold) falcons on red divine perches, representing the fine linen stored in the box.¹⁹⁴

At the very left end of the surviving decoration is the head and right hand of a man carrying another (long) box; the box is the same as the first one described above. All that is visible on it is part of the first item, a container or bag, upper part red, lower red (possibly mottled if not the result of damage), with white and yellow bands around the neck; it is similar in shape to the last two items carried at the right-hand end of [Scene 16.1.a](#) (see [p. 139](#)).¹⁹⁵

Depending on the register structure adopted for this wall (see above), there is room for two or three further sub-registers below.

Given the extent of early 18th dynasty funeral depictions, I believe a total of four is more likely, making the presence of a second main register improbable.

Such scenes of carrying grave goods are usually part of the funeral procession/scene, and the uppermost register of such scenes is a common position for the depiction of grave goods, with the passage as the most common location for the burial procession.¹⁹⁶ Given that the right-hand end of the wall in TT99 ([Scene 13.1](#)) shows Osiris, it seems hard to escape the conclusion that the funeral procession was located on Wall 13 in TT99.¹⁹⁷ However, if the remainder of this wall were to show the various stages of the classic earlier 18th dynasty funeral procession and associated rituals,¹⁹⁸ they would have to have been somewhat curtailed.

Wall 13: Friezes and borders

A *kheker* frieze of the usual splay-topped type runs the length of the wall, with the very top running over onto the ceiling.¹⁹⁹ This frieze is particularly well preserved and painted. It would seem that the blue colour was applied first to judge from the way in which the green overlays it; the sequence of application of red is unclear to me. The white bands seem to have been applied in two different ways. Thick paint was used for the main internal dividers between the colours, which merges sometimes with the red and particularly with the green, but not the blue. The thick white lines do not always go all round the blue disc. It appears that all the blue exterior of the *kheker* was painted with a white band of thinner paint, perhaps the sort of white used to finish off figures and hieroglyphs.

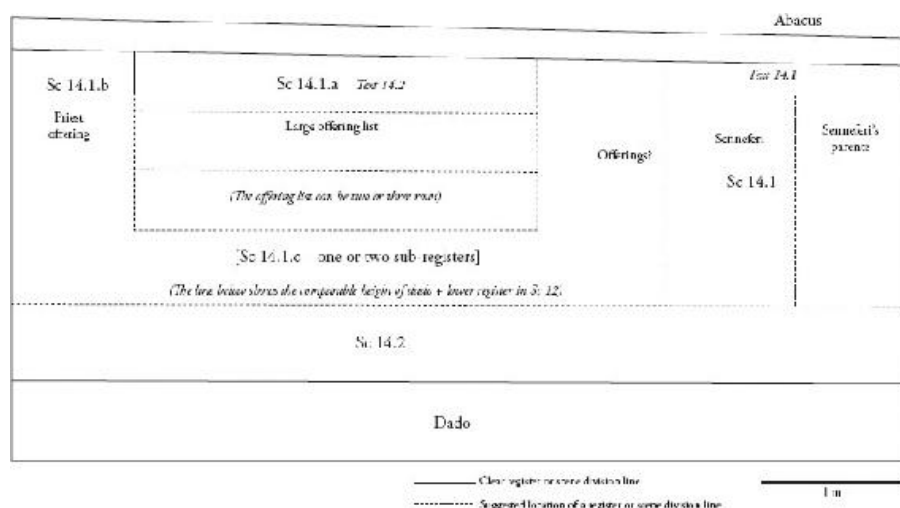


Fig. 104: Wall 14, schematic diagram

The block border is yellow–blue–red–green–yellow. The black colour which delineated both the blocks and the green bands above and below is well preserved. The block border continues down the right-hand end of the wall, but the black delineation is no longer visible. There is also a 3 cm green band in the corner, separated from the block border by about 1 cm of white.

A thick red line snapped at the ceiling line was used to provide a top guide. It is possible that the green of the *khoker* may have been painted at the same time as the green of the block border. See above for a note on the indication of the dado line.

5.7.4 Wall 14: west wall, south of central niche

Wall plan: [Pl. 17](#); schematic [Fig. 104](#); a general view of the right-hand part of the wall is in [Colour pl. 26B](#)

This wall bore the offering ritual scene. It now consists principally of the upper part of a large offering list, the remains of a text over the persons receiving the offerings, and the beginning of a text of the person making the offering.

The reconstruction of the general layout of the scene assumes a dado line at about 50 cm above the floor, as on the adjacent Wall 13. I believe there is space for one long main register (14.1) with a narrower one between that and the dado, neatly balancing the opposite Wall 12. The proposed height of these two registers is based on the amount of vertical space needed for the insertion of a comparable figure to that at the left of the offering list in TT82.²⁰⁰ The available space has also been compared with that in TT81.²⁰¹ The texts to the right of the list indicate persons receiving offerings, facing left. The two least certain aspects of this wall are the depth of the offering list, and the number of persons at the right; these issues will be considered further below.

Scene 14.1: Senneferi with parents PM (12)

[Pl. 35A](#)

At the top far right-hand end of this wall are the remains of the top 2–3 cm of some hieroglyphs with blue column dividers. A partial reconstruction in normalised hieroglyphs is provided here.



This very fragmentary text gives some information regarding who was depicted at the right end of this wall, which area is more extensive than in the more usual scenes of a couple receiving the offerings. A partial reconstruction in normalised hieroglyphs is provided here.

Text 14.2

1		pouring water
2	<i>det</i>	two drops of] cool
	<i>wt</i>	water
3	<i>wt</i>	ball of Upper
		Egyptian natron
		[of el-Kab]
4	<i>wt</i>	ball of Lower
		Egyptian natron
		[of the Wadi
		Natron]
5	<i>wt</i>	ball [of incense]
6	<i>wt</i>	the
7	<i>wt</i>	<i>srw</i> grain from
		Upper and Lower
		Egypt
8	<i>wt</i>	jug of milk
9	<i>wt</i>	vessel [for the
		left and right eyes]
10	<i>wt</i>	bread
11	<i>wt</i>	Onions
12	<i>wt</i>	Offering bread
		commanded in the
		two sides:[Words
		spoken four times:
		an offering that the
		king gives to
		Senneferi]Words
		spoken [four times:
		an offering that the
		king gives to
		Senneferi]
13	<i>wt</i>	vessel of white
		<i>mnw</i> -stone for
		wine
14	<i>wt</i>	vessel of black
		<i>mnw</i> -stone for beer
15	<i>wt</i>	great prepared
		offering table
16	<i>wt</i>	bread
17	<i>wt</i>	meat
18	<i>wt</i>	vessel of white
		<i>mnw</i> -stone [for

19	ⲙⲏⲱ	wine] vessel of black <i>mnw</i> -stone for beer
20	ⲙⲏⲱ	vessel of <i>bib</i> metal for beer
21	ⲙⲏⲱ	vessel of <i>hm</i> material c for beer
22	ⲙⲏⲱ	two drops of cool waterd
23	ⲙⲏⲱ	oil and oil
24	ⲙⲏⲱ	and oils
25	ⲙⲏⲱ	oil
26	ⲙⲏⲱ	best pine oil
27	ⲙⲏⲱ	best oil
28	ⲙⲏⲱ	bag of green eye- paint, [bag of] black eye-paint
29	ⲙⲏⲱ	clothing
30	ⲙⲏⲱ	burning of incense
31	ⲙⲏⲱ	two drops of cool water
32	ⲙⲏⲱ	offering table given from the invocation offering
33	ⲙⲏⲱ	that which comes from the royal offering
34	ⲙⲏⲱ	royal offering
35	ⲙⲏⲱ	royal offering that is in the broad hall/court

a. Does the ⲙⲏⲱ indicate a genitive referring to part of the specification now lost (such as that of *bib* metal in TT61, although ⲙⲏⲱ is not written there) or is it just a normal writing of the name of this implement (TT81, TT82; Wb. I, 555)?

b. The writing with —∞— is found in the 18th dynasty (Wb. II, 482); the main parallels use the more normal ∞.

c. An uncertain mineral, which may be related to a material used for eye-paint, but for which no all-encompassing translation may be proposed; the word may conceal two different materials (Harris, *Lexicographical Studies*, 176–178; cf. Wb. III, 199).

d. Probably the same as nos 2 and 31, but there would appear to be a spout on the vessel.

e. Is this a reference to the royal *wsḥt* or to the *wsḥt* of the tomb, where certain rituals probably took place, such as the Opening of the Mouth (Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 317–319)?

Text 14.1

x + 1

[wḥwt/wḥm] nswt /// ... royal
[messenger?]

x+2	///	///
x+3	///	///
x+4	/// [itfzsb]	/// [His father, the official]
x+5	h3y-[dhwty] ///	Hay[djehuty, true of voice] /// [his] mother /// [Satdjehuty, true of voice] ///
x+6	mwt[<i>fzst-dhwty</i>] ///	

There is probably no room for further text.

The *nswt* surely belonged to a title of Senneferi such as *wpwty nswt* or *whm nswt*; the *t* might suggest a preference for the former as reconstructed, as the latter is commonly written $\overline{\text{t}}$. The other surviving hieroglyphs indicate that Senneferi's parents Haydjehuty and Satdjehuty were also (seated) at the far right end.²⁰² The reconstructions above are based on the other references to Senneferi's parents in the tomb, and they suggest that the columns of text above the figures were not of any great depth (assuming they were all the same length, which cannot be guaranteed). The space between the offering list and the end of the wall is large enough to have accommodated three seated figures; making a comparison with the other scene with his parents (reconstructed on the lintel of Wall 7, see [p. 116](#)), and also with the locations on his statue and in his ceiling texts where both parents are named, I suggest that Senneferi's wife was not shown here, and that any gap between the figure of the tomb-owner and the offering list would have been filled by a pile of offerings. The overall structure of this wall is not unlike that of one in TT82.²⁰³

Scene 14.1.a: Large offering list

Pl. 34B, Colour pl. 25B, Colour pl. 26A

This scene consists of the upper row of a large offering list ([Text 14.2](#) on [p. 132](#)). The colour of the hieroglyphs and column dividers is a better-preserved (or less faded) version of the blue-grey colour of the autobiographical text on Wall 12 and the hymn on Wall 17. The colour of the column dividers is paler to the right of element No. 22; this is associated simply with the fact that more paint has worn off here. Traces of the underlying original sketch show through in many places.

Three of the last seven columns also have the remains of the determinative at the bottom of the offering list compartments; from that it is possible to suggest that the height of a row of offerings, with

determinative and number of portions below, was in the region of 36 cm. The contents of the list on p. 132 employ reconstructions of parts of each entry from lists in TT81 and TT82 which seem to offer the best overall parallels.²⁰⁴

Although the whole of the first row of the list survives, attempts to reconstruct the overall size are hampered by the degree of variation seen in other large offering lists of the period. The two options would seem to be a three-row list with one sub-register below dedicated to the offering ritual (Sc. 14.1.4), or a two-row list with two smaller sub-registers. Other examples, broadly following these two models, exhibit a strong degree of variability: the list of TT81 has three rows with two sub-registers below, but there is no lower register on the wall; those of TT82 have two rows of offerings and one sub-register of ritual.

The offering list is of the large A/B type as defined by Barta, in which the long offering list, originating in or before the 5th dynasty, was expanded by the addition of a number of elements, beginning here in the second column, consisting of offerings for the Opening of the Mouth ceremony, a process started in the 6th dynasty.²⁰⁵

It is rare to find an 18th dynasty offering list which includes all of the possible elements of this list type, but that in TT81 seems to be the most complete as far as it goes, and is the only one to include almost all the type B elements, which is mainly what survives from TT99. The other offering lists which survive either adopt rather different orders or are very damaged. The lists which have the most in common with TT99 seem to be that in TT61 and the first example in TT82. Both of these are arranged in two rows. It is impossible to say what the final shape of the TT99 list might have been, given that the criteria for the omission of some elements seems to have been as much to fit the list into the space available as for an obvious ritual reason.

New Kingdom use of the long offering list is more frequent in the early 18th dynasty, and it tends to be supplanted in the second half of the dynasty by the shorter 22 element list (as also found in TT99 on Wall 16 and the pillars).²⁰⁶ One reason for this may have been a combination of changes in the expression of the offering ritual;²⁰⁷ also the shorter type of list was perhaps more easily fitted into the decorative programme of tombs, particularly smaller ones; and lastly, it would be quite typical of the earlier part of the 18th dynasty to look back initially in the direction of the practices of the Middle and Old Kingdoms, when the larger list was more common, while at the same time developing its own new paradigms.²⁰⁸

Scene 14.1.b: [Priest] making an offering ritual

Pl. 34B, Colour pl. 26A

To the immediate left of the offering list is a column of text with a red column divider at the left. The text is in red paint only (represented by solid black in **Pl. 34B**), and gives the beginning of the offering formula to be made by the (destroyed) person below:

Text 14.3

irt htp di nswt di ///

Making an ‘offering that the king gives’, giving ...

I assume that the incomplete sign is , although this seems unusual.²⁰⁹

Further inspection of the plaster to the left of this divider indicates the original presence of some even fainter hieroglyphs, possibly ,  and ; they are indicated in broken outline in **Pl. 34B**. Was the second column a initial sketch for what later became the first column, which was itself not in its final form? That this text is still only in red draft shows that this section of the wall was designed and painted separately from the offering list.

[Scene 14.1.c: The offering ritual]

There are no clear traces of this scene surviving, but it is a sufficiently frequent scene in association with the presentation of offerings and the offering list to reconstruct it as being located below the latter.²¹⁰

Scene 14.2: Scene below the offering ritual?

Pl. 35B

There are a number of small areas of plaster approximately 0.68 m from the floor and 1.6 m from the left end of the wall. They consist of areas of red colour on a white background, and are the legs of male figures. Assuming the register positions in the reconstruction of the wall proposed above, they may have formed scenes of family members or offering bearers, such as in TT82.²¹¹

Wall 14: Friezes and borders

A block border and *kheker* frieze run all the way across the scene, apart from a short break in the frieze due to damage; the first (yellow) block of the vertical border at the left is visible. Both are as elsewhere; the sequence of the block border is yellow–green–red–blue–yellow, with some blocks delineated in black; there are also traces of the black that delineated the green lines above and below the blocks. As with the opposite wall, the concave ceiling results in there being a gap between the top of the frieze and the ceiling itself. There is also here no attempt to fill that space.

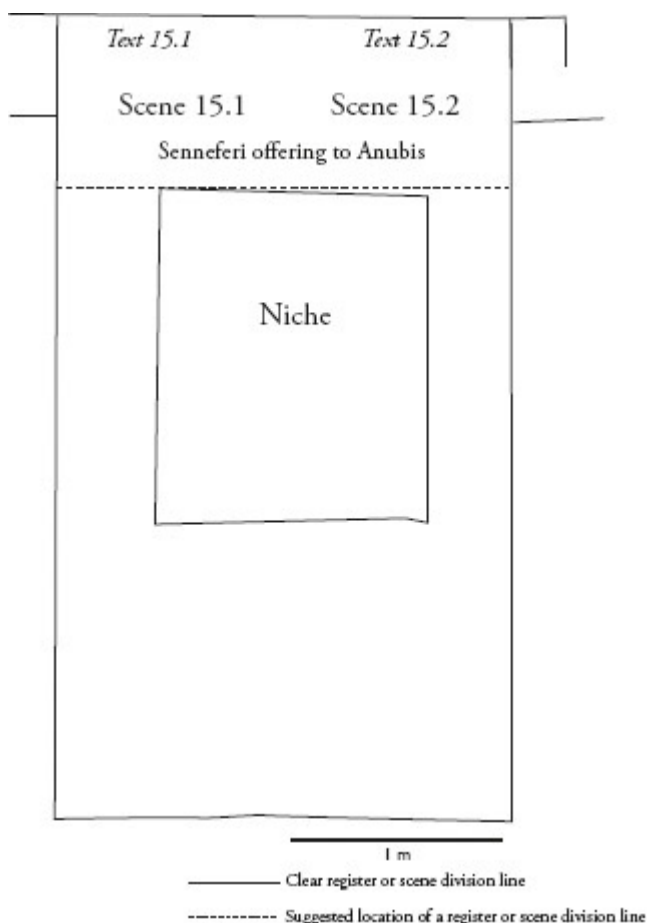


Fig. 105: Wall 15, schematic diagram

5.7.5 Wall 15: west wall, central niche and surrounds

Wall plan: [Pl. 21A](#); schematic [Fig. 105](#); with adjacent walls [Colour pl. 26B](#)

This section of wall consists of a niche with a decorated architrave above. The architrave shows two back-to-back scenes of Senneferi offering to Anubis. No traces survive of the original decoration surrounding the niche. Other than the instatement of a baseline for the scene, no other reconstruction of the decoration can be undertaken.

Niche

The niche dimensions are only approximate as they are taken to the rough stone edges at the front only:²¹² height at south: 1.18 m, at north 1.12 m; width: 0.82 m; depth: 0.83 m (to plaster at rear).

The walls of the niche were built up as elsewhere in the tomb: one stone shows through in one area where the plaster has fallen off. The

niche was at least finished off internally with white plaster, coated with a white wash, and about one-third of the original plaster on the back and southern walls still survives. Only the ceiling of the niche exhibits any decoration. Around the edge is a 2 cm wide blue band; the main area is painted with the same basic pattern to that used in the Passage of the tomb and under the west abacus of Pillar B, but with slightly different colouration (pattern P6, below [p. 151](#)). This decoration is preserved at the back left and the front right.

The walls of the niche are undecorated, but there are traces of horizontal red lines on the south side at 2 cm, 7.5 cm, 9 cm, 10.2 cm, and 11 cm from the ceiling, presumably intended to mark out the block borders and other parts of an intended scene. There is also a streak of red paint on this plaster from when the ceiling was being decorated.

Main scene: Senneferi offering to Anubis PM (16)

This scene is located above the niche, recessed slightly from the adjacent Walls 14 and 16.

Some areas of blue colour in this scene seem to have been wiped over so as to make some of them virtually invisible. I particularly note the left-hand *wedjat* eye and Anubis, and the rightmost column divider. It is also noticeable that in this scene all examples of  are extremely pale. It would appear that they were originally black, and they have lost far more colouration than the black colour of the wigs; this phenomenon is common elsewhere in the tomb.

Scene 15.1: Left scene

[Pl. 36A](#), [Colour pl. 27A](#)

Senneferi stands at the right of this sub-scene facing left offering to a recumbent Anubis in the form of a jackal on top of a shrine. He wears a black wig (now seemingly grey where the remains of the black have been absorbed into the plaster), and a broad collar of blue and green bands, with a green petal pattern at the outside (see the right-hand figure for a better-preserved example); his right hand is held above the two right-hand oval loaves on the offering table and his left hangs behind him, clasping the usual piece of cloth. A short beard is on his chin. He wears a short white kilt with a long white over-kilt, and the flesh of his legs below the short kilt is painted pink to represent the semi-transparency of the fabric. The kilt has a pink waistband.

Above Senneferi, extending over the offerings before him, is a text in five columns.

Text 15.1

¹ iri htp di nswt ² wdn ht nbt ³ wꜥb(i) zp sn n inpw ⁴ tmy-wt in ⁵ tmy-r
 sdwty sn-nfri

Making an 'offering that the king gives', offering in double all pure things to Anubis *tmy-wt* by the overseer of seal-bearers Senneferi

The pile of offerings is shown below this text.²¹³ There is a white offering table, decorated with wavy red and yellow lines indicating alabaster; the stand is lost, but underneath and to the right of the table are the remains of hieroglyphs representing the standard offerings: an upright red oval loaf, a beer jar, and probably the heads of an ox and a bird, giving . On this table are sixteen vertical slices or loaves of pinkish-red bread in two groups of eight facing each other. Above this table is a green mat with yellow bindings at the ends and in the middle, laden with food. From the left, we see two vertical oval white loaves, with red colour at the top and bottom, followed by a yellow basket with the weave or decoration indicated by the use of a series of coloured rectangles (see the right-hand scene for a better example). This basket contains blue fruit. Next is a round white loaf, with a red circle in the middle and red finger impressions at 90° intervals around the circumference. About 3 mm from the central circle are a series of red or perhaps black dots. On top of this loaf is a tray containing yellow bread or cakes. Two red oval loaves are to the right of this and complete the items of food directly on the mat. Returning to the left end of the food, above the left-hand oval loaves is a red leg of meat, on which lies an elongated pointed small loaf, a set of red ribs, and a bunch of grapes. The whole pile of food is topped with a bundle of leeks.

At the top left-hand corner of the scene is a large *wedjat* eye, coloured blue with the exception of the pupil, which is red, and the corners of the eyes which are coloured pink. The name of Anubis is written to the right of this eye, and to the right of the hieroglyphs is a large yellow  sceptre with red tassels around the middle,²¹⁴ positioned on top of a small red  hieroglyph. There is a large red  hieroglyph below the *wedjat* eye, and to its left are faint traces of . Below is a large, originally dark blue but definitely not black, recumbent figure of Anubis facing right.²¹⁵ This recumbent jackal sits on top of a white shrine, with a red door in the centre; the lower part of the structure is not preserved. The pigment of parts of the *wedjat* eye and the head of Anubis seems to have been smeared or 'washed'. The top of the shrine consists of a cornice, on which is a pattern of short vertical stripes coloured red-blue-green-blue-red. Below the cornice and on the sides of the shrine are the remains of a torus moulding with the binding marked in pink.

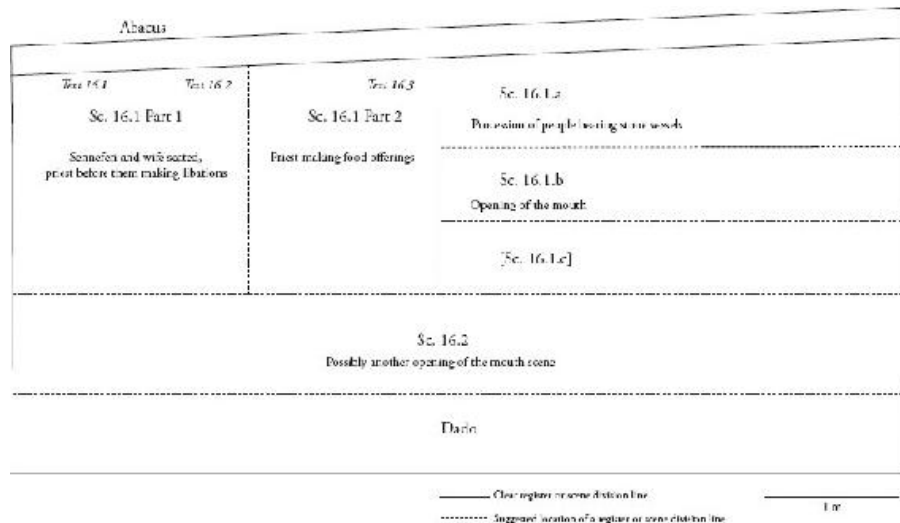


Fig. 106: Wall 16, schematic diagram

Scene 15.2: Right scene

Pl. 36A, Colour pl. 27A

This scene is broadly a mirror of that just described. The wedjat eye is not so well preserved; the Anubis is still blue, but a much darker shade so that parts of it might pass for black; this is due to the presence of a coating. The $\dagger$ sceptre does not stand on a ∇ sign, and the upper part of it seems to be overlaid with black, again as the result of a coating. The beginning of the blue platform on which the Anubis shrine reposes is visible at the left.

Senneferi again presents offerings to Anubis. His figure is slightly better preserved than the other but is dressed in the same manner. The black of the wig is much better preserved; his right hand is held across his body with the hand above a round loaf in the pile of offerings, and his left hand is before his thigh clasping the piece of cloth. There are traces of a small beard on his chin, and his collar is much clearer than in the other figure, and is made up of (from the inside) a blue band, a green band, a red band, a green band, a blue band, and then a band of blue petals on the outside. Each band is separated from the next by a fine white band/line.

The text above him is again in five columns:

Text 15.2

¹ *irt htp dī nswt* ² *wdn ht nbt* ³ *nfrt w'bt n inpw* ⁴ *šhm ntrw' in*

⁵ *[imy-r] sšdwry sn-nfrt mš'-hrw*

Making an 'offering that the king gives', offering all good and pure things to Anubis, the powerful one of the gods by [the overseer of seal-bearers,] Senneferi,

true of voice.

a. This is not a common epithet of Anubis; another example is in TT96B (Eggebrecht (ed.), *Sennefer*, 70).

Before Senneferi are a table and a mat bearing food, generally better preserved than their counterparts on the left. At the bottom is a white table with a blue stand, bearing imitation alabaster decoration in the form of diagonal red and yellow wavy lines. On it stand sixteen vertical slices or loaves of bread, arranged in two groups of eight; they are coloured yellow with pinkish-red tips. Traces of items may be seen either side of the table's stand. On the right were originally four, now three, items: the rightmost one is destroyed but was presumably a loaf, then a red beer jar, an ox head, and presumably a bird's head, again giving . Below each of these, presumably on the scene baseline, is a  sign with a green top and red stem. To the left of the stand of the table were originally presumably another four items; at the left are visible a sealed oil jar and an incense burner; the left-hand part of  is present, and the other traces appear to form , giving . A thousand of each of these was obviously intended.

Above the table of bread is another mat, apparently a dark green (from a coating) at the top and an ordinary green at the bottom, with yellow and red bindings at the ends and in the middle. From the right, we see one round white loaf with a yellow circle in the middle and yellow finger-marks at 90° intervals; there are a series of tiny red dots around the edges of the yellow areas and four small round yellow circles equidistant from the centre. To the left of that is an oval white loaf with red colour top and bottom; then another basket of blue fruit. The decoration of the body of the basket is much clearer than on its counterpart on the other side, with a series of small rectangles giving a pattern in yellow, black, and red. Then comes another oval white/red loaf, followed by another circular white loaf. Above the left-hand pair of loaves is one upright oval loaf and a bunch of grapes, with a dead bird above the basket and right-hand loaves. Above the grapes and the left-hand side of the bird is a leg of meat with a blue hoof, and above the tail of the bird is the head of an ox. The pile is topped off by a bundle of leeks.

For some general comments on lintels over doorways and niches see Wall 7 above (p. 117). Some parallels have been mentioned above, and other parallels for adoring deities above a main cult place will be found in the discussion of Wall 2, above p. 90. Examples of adoring deities above niches include TT53 (Anubis and Osiris),²¹⁶ TT61 (Useramun with Anubis and the Goddess of the West),²¹⁷ and TT85 (Anubis, only, on either side).²¹⁸

Wall 15: Friezes and borders

The border at the left and the top of the left-hand scene consists of a thin blue line, but above the right-hand scene it changes to a red line, returning to a blue line down the right-hand side of the scene. This has been shown in the drawing by the use of a black fill for the red line. No explanation for this can be offered at present.

5.7.6 Wall 16: west wall, north of central niche

Wall plan: [Pl. 18](#); schematic [Fig. 106](#)

This decoration consists principally of Senneferi and his wife receiving a libation from a priest as part of the Opening of the Mouth, with a further priest making a *ḥtp di nswt* offering to them before an offering list and table of food. At the right are three sub-registers of offering bearers and rites before mummies. The Opening of the Mouth seems to be the predominant theme of this wall, as three of the main scenes (libation, offering and the rites before mummies) can be linked with the ritual.

The wall is a very irregular shape; note in particular the way in which the presence of the northern abacus in the room has meant that the *kheker* frieze was begun under it and then slopes up to the top right corner of the wall. The artists have tried to make the best of the disparity between the angle of the frieze and the register lines.

For the purpose of reconstruction, the top of the dado has been placed at approximately 50 cm from the floor as appears to be the case at least on Wall 13. The height of the main scene has been estimated by scaling the large figures down to their baseline; this leaves room for probably three sub-registers only at the right, parts of each of which survive, and one narrow long second register below. This would appear to be roughly the same arrangement as proposed for Walls 12 and 14.

The main scene on this wall consists of two parts, which are here designated Part 1 and Part 2.

Scene 16.1 Part 1: A priest pours a libation for the couple in the Opening of the Mouth PM (15)

[Pl. 37](#), [Colour pl. 27B](#), [Colour pl. 28A](#)

At the left end of the scene are the tops of the heads of (seated) figures of Senneferi and his wife Taiamu. In addition to her black wig, the top of the blue eyebrow and outline of the eye of Taiamu are preserved. Only parts of Senneferi's black wig are preserved. Over their heads runs a zig-zag blue line of water poured by the priest at the right.

Seven right-facing columns of hieroglyphs describe them:²¹⁹

Text 16.1

¹ *iry pṯ ḥtꜣy-ꜥ sḏꜣwty bity* ² *smr wꜣty mr(y)* ⁴ *n nswt* ³ *ḥꜣz(y)* ⁵ *n bity* ⁴ *n ꜥꜣl n*
mnḥꜣfꜣ ḥꜣry-ib tmy-r sḏꜣwty sn-nfr mꜣꜥ-ḥrw

⁶ *snṯf mṯꜣf n(y) st-ibꜣ nbt* ⁷ *pr tꜣ-bmw mꜣꜥ-ḥrw*

iry pṯ ḥtꜣy-ꜥ, seal-bearer of the *bity*, sole companion, beloved one of the king, the one favoured of the *bity* for the greatness of his excellence in the midst, the overseer of seal-bearers, Sennefer, true of voice.

His sister, his beloved, one belonging to his affection, the mistress of the house, Taiaamu, true of voice.

a. A good example of how a scribe or artist would remove hieroglyphs which are not totally necessary to fit in a cramped space, here obviously restricted by the need to depict the water stream above the couple.

The priest (presumably a lector or *sem* priest) performing the libation for Senneferi and Taiaamu wears a short black wig and a kilt, and a white sash is visible around his torso. The top of the libation vessel is just visible below the first column of the libation text above, in eight columns, the final line of which is behind the figure of the priest.

Text 16.2 (detail in [Colour pl. 29D](#))

¹ *mst wpt-r m hwt-nwb^a dd mdw⁷ wsir imy-r sḏwty sn-nfr mš-hrw ḥbk*
ḥb³ hr ḥb hr ḥbk ḥbk ḥb⁴ sš ḥb sš ḥbk ḥbk ḥb (ḏhwti ḥb)^{b5} ḏhwti ḥbk ḥbk
ḥb dwn-nwy ḥb⁶ dwn-nwy ḥbk wsir imy-r sḏwty⁷ sn-nfr mš-hrw šzp^c
nk tpk (i)ḥ^d nk⁸ qsk hr gb ḏhwti (i)ḥ sw tm iti(i) wsir imy-r sḏwty
sn-nfri

Creating the opening of the mouth in the mansion of gold. Words spoken: ‘the Osiris, the overseer of seal-bearers, Sennefer, true of voice: your purification is the purification of Horus, the purification of Horus is your purification; your purification is the purification of Seth, the purification of Seth is your purification; your purification is the purification (of Thoth, the purification of) Thoth is your purification; your purification is the purification of Dunanwy, the purification of Dunanwy is your purification, the Osiris, the overseer of seal-bearers, Sennefer, true of voice. Take to yourself your head, unite your bones to yourself in the sight of Geb and Thoth. Make him a complete person, Atum (my) father: the Osiris, the overseer of seal-bearers, Senneferi’.^e

a. The question of the identity and location of the *hwt-nwb* is a complex one that I hope to address elsewhere; a brief note on this will be found in Bohleke and Strudwick, forthcoming. TT96B has a well-known representation of Sennefer and his wife being libated which is also accompanied by both a libation text (as here) and a different reference to the *hwt-nwb* (Eggebrecht (ed.), *Sennefer*, 60).

b. The scribe/artist omitted one  at the column break. Note how he carefully positioned the names of Osiris, the four gods in the libation formula and that of Senneferi at the tops of the columns, even though this may have had the (unintentional) consequence of omitting some of the text of Thoth.

c. The next section of the text clearly refers to the deceased’s bodily parts being reassembled as was done to Osiris. A similar text accompanies a libation scene in TT241 (Shorter, *JEA* 16 (1930), 58, pl. XVII (R)). cf. Wb. V, 68 (9).

d. The writing *ḥb* is a more recent version of the older verb *ḥb* (Wb. I, 174), no doubt here graphically playing on the noun *ḥb* already used many times.

e. Note the two different writings of the tomb-owner’s in the two parts of this text ([p. 8](#)), and likewise the use of  and  in the two examples of his principal title ([p. 13](#)). [Text 16.1](#), captioning the seated figures addressed in this formula, calls the tomb-owner Sennefer and writes that title with .

The libation scene is part of the opening stages of the Opening of

the Mouth ritual, and is shown, for example, frequently on later New Kingdom stelae;²²⁰ the text *mst wpt-r m hwt-nwb* is the title to the whole ritual, and the libation text itself is a very old composition.²²¹ This example of an Opening of the Mouth depiction is probably of Otto's type 4, an isolated scene, with the receiver of the ritual either a statue or dressed in festive clothing.²²² Such isolated scenes are less common than those grouped around false doors and stelae.²²³

Scene 16.1 Part 2: Another priest makes offerings to the couple PM (15)

Pl. 37, Colour pl. 28A

To the right of the preceding part of the scene is a short offering list with a table of food below, both of which are to be understood as part of the ritual being made by the priest at the very right of the preserved scene. The offering list consists of 22 items, of conventional composition:²²⁴

Text 16.3

¹ <i>mw</i>	2	Water	¹² <i>sn-bity</i>	1	Honey
² <i>htj</i>	1	<i>htj</i> bread	¹³ <i>mw dšrt</i>	2	<i>dšrt</i> vessel of water
³ <i>pzn</i>	1	<i>pzn</i> bread	¹⁴ <i>bd</i>	1	Natron
⁴ <i>dpt</i>	1	<i>dpt</i> bread	¹⁵ <i>irp mhy</i>	1	Lower Egyptian wine
⁵ <i>twr</i>	1	Meat	¹⁶ <i>šr(t)</i>	1	Roast meat
⁶ <i>šrt</i>	2	Roast meat	¹⁷ <i>wr n twf</i>	1	<i>wr n twf</i> meat (cooked)
⁷ <i>irp</i>	2	Wine	¹⁸ <i>hwn</i>	1	<i>hwn</i> meat (cooked)
⁸ <i>hnqt</i>	2	Beer	¹⁹ <i>št</i>	1	<i>št</i> cake
⁹ <i>špnt</i>	2	<i>špnt</i> drink	²⁰ <i>pšt gswy</i>	1	<i>pšt</i> cake, two halves
¹⁰ <i>mw</i>	[2]	Water	²¹ [<i>mw</i>]	1	<i>dšrt</i> vessel of water
¹¹ <i>h-snd</i>	[-]	Recitation	²² (<i>qbhw ht sntr</i>)	2	Libation and burning of incense

Beneath the list is the food being presented to the couple. It is placed on a stone table laden with yellow bread, the stone (alabaster) represented by red and yellow wavy decoration. There are 28 slices or loaves of bread, fourteen facing in each direction, and the tops are pinkish-red.²²⁵ No traces of the stand or anything underneath and to the left survive, but to the right are traces of a white spouted vessel with the red stem of a lily lying on it. A trace at the right near the bottom of the scene is perhaps that of a table or stand under the vessel just noted.

Above the table of bread is a green mat with yellow and red

bindings at the ends and in the middle.²²⁶ From the left, we see a white vertical oval loaf, with pink colour at the top and bottom; a basket containing blue-black fruit, the basket decorated with rectangles in red, white (scene background colour), and yellow; a cucumber, which partially overlaps a round white loaf, with a yellow circle in the middle and four equally-spaced reddish-yellow finger-marks. Approximately 5 mm from the centre of the loaf are a series of red dots, while equidistant between each set of finger-marks are a pair of red dots. In the centre, above the bindings on the mat, is an upright oval loaf; its body colour is a pale yellow-brown, with yellow colour at the top and bottom. To the right is another round white loaf, another cucumber, and another basket of black/blue fruit. The decoration on this latter basket is in essence the same as the previous one, except that the coloured rectangles on it are larger and more distinct. There is another white upright oval loaf with red colour at the right end of the mat.

It is simplest to describe the food above by reference to the left and right halves of the table. The left half (the first four items on the bottom row) commences with the head of an ox and a dead bird; on top of the latter is a white tray containing yellow cakes, and on top of that a blue bunch of grapes. On top of the head of the ox are one green lily and two buds, with their pink stems twisted into a loop; around the central loop of the stems is a white and red binding. For the right half (the last five items on the bottom row), at the left is a large set of red ribs and a red leg of meat. Above the ribs is a bunch of green leeks bound together with a red and yellow binding; on top of the leg of meat is a round loaf; on top of that a red lidded dish, and at the top right is another bunch of grapes.

To the right of the food is the offering text and the figure of the priest making the offering.²²⁷ There is a large hole with a mud protrusion in the middle of the text; this could be from a very large insect nest (now largely removed), or less likely, part of an emplacement for a light made by modern inhabitants, although there is no smoking on the ceiling above. The text is as follows:²²⁸

Text 16.4 (detail in [Colour pl. 29E](#))

¹ *hṯp di nswt inpw gb wsr psdt ʿt psdt ʿrt itryt šmʿw mḥw ḥs m t ḥnqt ḥs*
m kw ipdw ḥs m [šs mnḥt]^a ² ḥs m snr mrḥt ḥs m [ḥt nbt nfrt wʿbt ḥs
m ḥt nbt nfrt bur(i) ddi^b pt qmst t3 innt ḥpy^c m ḥṯp di nswt [n nṯrw]^d
³ *m prt-ḥrw n ḥw ʿwy^e ⁴ dsn^e bḥ swbḥf dḥwty⁵ wdnsf wʿb zp sn^f n wsr*
lmy-r sḏwty sn[-nfr/nfrt]^g ⁶ n snḥf mṯf nbt pr t3-[šmw]

An offering that the king gives and that Anubis, Geb, Osiris, the Great Ennead, the Little Ennead, the two shrines of Upper and Lower Egypt give, (being) a thousand portions of bread and beer, a thousand portions of oxen and fowl, a

thousand portions of [alabaster and clothing], a thousand portions of incense and oil, a thousand portions of every perfect and pure thing, a thousand portions of every perfect and sweet thing that the sky gives and the earth creates and which Hapy brings, as an ‘offering that the king gives’ [for the gods], as an invocation offering for the transfigured dead, arms that they may give, the inundation that it may purify, Thoth that he may offer, (may everything be) pure twice over for the Osiris, the overseer of seal-bearers, Sen[nefer], and for his sister, his beloved, the lady of the house, Ta[iamu].

- a. The reconstruction of the next column leaves space here for one group, and this is the logical pair between oxen and fowl and incense and oil.
- b. The triangular loaves held by the hands survive only in pink; they are frequently blue (Seyfried, *Amonmose*, 160 (D37); Brack and Brack, *Tjanuni*, 102). This probably indicates decay in the colour, as the plural strokes below are in pink too.
- c. There are red traces of Δ here (dotted in [Pl. 37](#)) which indicate that the original plan for this text was changed between the sketch and the final execution. The $\square$ appears to have been shifted left as a result of the presence of the earlier sign.
- d. As, for example, on the statue of Senneferi in the British Museum (BM EA 48, above [p. 22](#)). cf. Barta, *Opferformel*, 105–106.
- e. As in TT66 (Davies, *Scenes from some Theban Tombs*, pl. XI), and on statue Louvre A134, Delvaux, *SAK* 15 (1988), 58.
- f. In the parallel in TT92, the phrase *w^b zp sn* is placed separately at the end of the text, so it may be a distinct phrase rather than part of that which mentions Thoth.
- g. Available space above the head of the priest suggests that there would be room only for one group of signs in the damaged area, and whether that included *ms-hrw* is unknown. Given the variability of the writing of his name seen already on this wall, I prefer not to suggest the form used.

The man making the offering appears to the right of the text facing left; his right hand is extended before him, passing through the two long columns of text, with his fingers touching the bunch of grapes at the top right of the pile of food. His wig is black, and he is clad in a leopard skin (pale yellow with white edge and yellow spots), with a white sash across his shoulders, this having a blue edge and a red line down the middle. He is thus a lector or *sem* priest.

The remainder of the wall to the right of this offering scene is composed of (probably) three sub-registers showing people bringing offerings and also episodes in the Opening of the Mouth ceremony. There are no traces of any texts accompanying the scenes. In the tomb of Senemiah, a wall in the passage is composed of an upper register of people bringing offerings, two registers of rites before mummies, and a lower register of further offerings.²²⁹

Scene 16.1.a: Procession of people with offerings PM (14) I

[Pl. 36B](#), [Colour pl. 28B](#)

The top sub-register is the best preserved, and shows a row of men and women bringing offerings. Assuming the surviving figures to have been typical, the men were dressed in short white kilts and black wigs (black colour generally very well preserved); the women are all dressed with black tripartite wigs, white dresses with shoulder straps exposing one breast. There is a gap of 1.2 m in front of the first figure; presuming a constant spacing for the figures, and that the male-female sequence of the rest of the scene continued the whole way across, there were probably five further figures in the gap, making a total of thirteen in the whole scene.

1. Immediately to the right of the offering text is all that remains of the first person in the procession, a white jar with decoration on it in pale red in imitation of stone being held up by a destroyed man (the red of his hand is just visible). This vessel appears at the far right of [Pl. 37](#).

2. There is a very small trace of the object carried by the next (female) figure, possibly the top of a sealed oil jar. The position of this trace is marked on the wall plan, but is not shown in the drawings.

3–6. Not preserved, but presumably male–female–male–female figures.

7. Man holding his arms in front of him, supporting a sealed oil jar, only the very top of which survives; the remains of some lilies are visible before his waist (see the other figures). The figure is complete apart from the arms and one foot.

8. Woman holding both hands before her, the right beneath, the left supporting a white bottle decorated with curly black decoration, perhaps representing brecchia.^{[230](#)} From her right hand hang down a lily and two buds; the flowers are green, the calyx of the buds and flowers yellow, and the stems pink and white.^{[231](#)} The red outline of the stems does not always follow the pink body colour very closely.

9. Man holding up a white jar with curly decoration on it in red indicating stone, perhaps brecchia, and three lilies as above hanging from his right hand.

10. Woman holding up a squat globular white jar, decorated with four diagonal wavy red and yellow lines representing alabaster.^{[232](#)} Three lilies as above hang from her right hand. Her figure is missing from the thighs down.

11. Man holding a sealed oil jar in his right hand and supporting it with his left. This jar is blue at the bottom and red with white bands at the top. Three slightly longer lilies hang down from his right hand. His figure is destroyed from just above the bottom of the kilt downwards.

12. Woman holding in her right hand a jar with an offset lid, or perhaps a small bag (see example in Wall 13 with parallels, [p. 130](#)). The top is red and the bottom is decorated with three blue bands separated by thin white bands. Three lilies as above hang from her right hand. Her figure is destroyed from the waist down.

13. Man holding up a similar object to the last woman, and three lilies as above in his right hand. His figure is destroyed from the waist down.

Several of the items carried in this scene are intended to represent stone vessels or ceramic ones decorated in imitation of stone.²³³ Stone vessels appear in offering processions before the deceased, as in TT61 and TT82, where the bearers are children of the deceased.²³⁴

Scene 16.1.b: The Opening of the Mouth: rites before mummies PM (14) II

[Pl. 35C](#), [Colour pl. 28B](#), [Colour pl. 29B](#)

The second sub-register is preserved only below the first three visible figures in the sub-register above, with a small fragment near the right end of the wall. It shows parts of scenes from the Opening of the Mouth ritual.²³⁵

At the left is the standing figure of a man facing left with a short wig, with his left arm behind him and his right extended, holding up a ♂ sceptre. There is no object of his attention visible despite there being a sufficiently large blank area of wall before him to contain another figure. This is presumably part of a slaughtering scene, identified by the presence of the ♂ sceptre,²³⁶ two of which are part of the full Opening of the Mouth ritual (Otto scenes 23/24 and 43).²³⁷ The fullest illustration of these scenes in TT100 show a female figure (one of the two kites) standing in front of the man with the sceptre in scene 23/24 and the in opposite orientation to that of TT99 in the case of scene 43.²³⁸ However, it is likely that many of the larger scenes were often abbreviated for reasons of space, and a slaughtering scene probably very like that here is found in TT112, although not in the specific context of the Opening of the Mouth.²³⁹

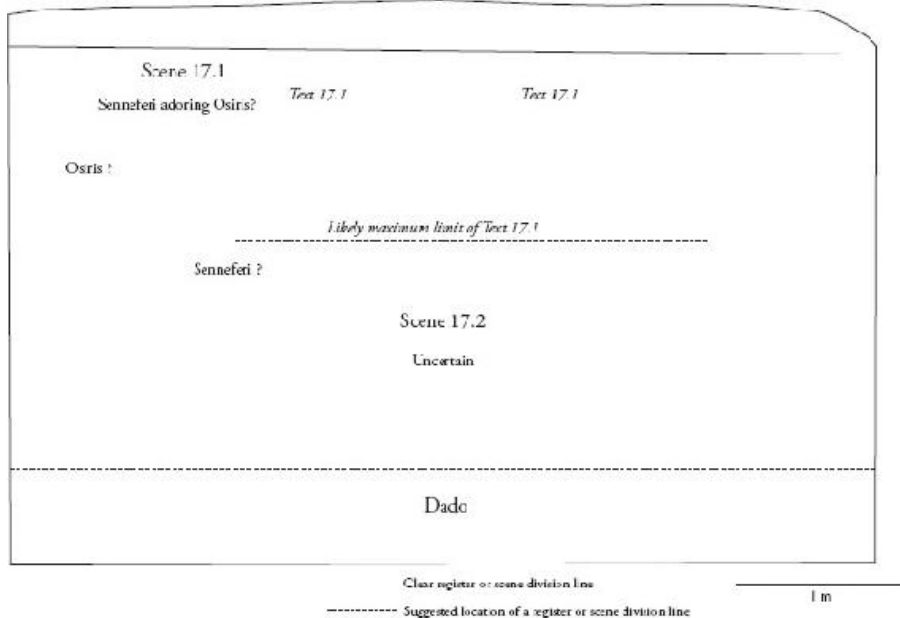


Fig. 107: Wall 17, schematic diagram

To the right is the upper part of an upright white mummy facing right; the facial colour of the mummy mask is yellow, with a blue beard line and a blue divine beard extending from its chin. The wig was coloured black, with a number of curved yellow lines running from top to bottom, rather as seen on actual coffins or masks; these lines are executed in thicker paint. There is a minute yellow trace of something held up to the mouth of the mummy, but the associated figure is not preserved.

Some red traces perhaps indicate the survival of construction lines on this part of the wall. Also, various red traces around the two figures perhaps indicate that the original was planned slightly differently. There is a red horizontal line running through the hairline of the mummy, and there are some red areas between the two figures.

Following a gap of about 0.5 m, the midriff, wig lappet, and beard of another right-facing mummy is visible. To the right of it are the hands of a male figure holding something up to the mummy. The object seems to be white, in two roughly rectangular parts, and is probably the *ḥt*, perhaps a polishing stone, used in episode 36 of the ritual.²⁴⁰ The shoulder of the man is just visible, and claws on his hand and shoulder show that he was wearing a leopard skin.

[Scene 16.1.c: Uncertain scene]

There is room for a third sub-register here but no traces are preserved.

Scene 16.2: Perhaps the Opening of the Mouth? PM (14) II

Pl. 35D, Colour pl. 29A

There are four areas of decoration of varying size preserved below the scenes described above; they are among the lowest areas of decoration surviving in the tomb at 0.5 m above ground, and thus probably form part of a long narrow register below the main scene.

The leftmost fragment shows the short white kilt and legs of a man facing left. His rear foot partly overlaps the front foot of a second man. The heel of the rear foot of the second man is visible, and his front leg seems to be bent slightly more than usual. He appears to be carrying something white, assuming that a red area above the knee is the hand of this man.²⁴¹

Yellow and red traces to the right indicate the presence of something uncertain. Below these are traces of the yellow and red dado.

The second fragment is about 0.35 m to the right, and shows a left-facing man (preserved below shoulders) in a short white kilt, bending slightly forward. Immediately behind him is a tall white object, the nature of which is unclear; it could be a piece of cloth carried by the man to the right. The third fragment (0.15 m to the right) is a small fragment of the lower back and top of the kilt of a man bending slightly forward. Perhaps this man is carrying the uncertain white shape just noted.

Wall 16: Friezes and borders

The *khoker* frieze on this wall is completely preserved. It employs two sizes of *khoker*, a shorter one under the abacus at the top of the left of the scene, and then a normal sized one to the right. The size of the larger *khoker* reduces slightly from left to right; the border is also not level. The *khoker* signs here are better painted than on Wall 13, with many remaining traces of red preliminary drawings. Red appears to have been the first colour applied, then the green and blue, and then the white outlines. These white lines are much finer than on Wall 13. There appear to be no white lines around the outer blue edges, but the signs were rather cleaned up by the white used for finishing the figures, as seen from the brush strokes. This application of white accords broadly with the evidence from Wall 13.

The block border is also conventional red–blue–yellow–green–red with some black outline. A short section of the block border also survives at the level of [Sc. 16.2](#).

The decoration in the corner at the right consists of a lozenge pattern on a blue-green background, like that at the right-hand end of Wall 9, but the black is heavily eroded. There is a blank space above

the *khoker* frieze, smaller than those seen at the south side of the hall.

5.7.7 Wall 17: north wall

Wall plan: [Pl. 19](#); schematic [Fig. 107](#)

Very little is preserved of this wall, just two fragments of the large text (separated by a gap of probably six columns). They are said by Sethe to be a prayer to Osiris. The pale grey-blue colour of the text is similar to but stronger than that of the biography on Wall 12.

The top of this wall is not level; the evident explanation for this (which can be seen from interior photographs of the room) is that the painters of the tomb endeavoured to make the *khoker* frieze on this wall join those at the north ends of Walls 16 and 18, which were not at quite the same height above the floor.

The wall is difficult to reconstruct due to the present lack of parallels, but it seems fairly clear that the main scene showed the deceased adoring Osiris. The deity would have been in a shrine at the left, with Senneferi and possibly family members adoring him.²⁴² I suggest that the main scene continued below the surviving text for about 90 cm or 1 m. Assuming a 50 cm dado as elsewhere, the intervening space is only adequate for the figure of Senneferi and anyone accompanying him, and I conclude that there was only one main register on this wall too, like Wall 13.

Thus both the north and south walls of this room may have borne scenes of adoring the same deity (see also Wall 13 above, [p. 128](#)).

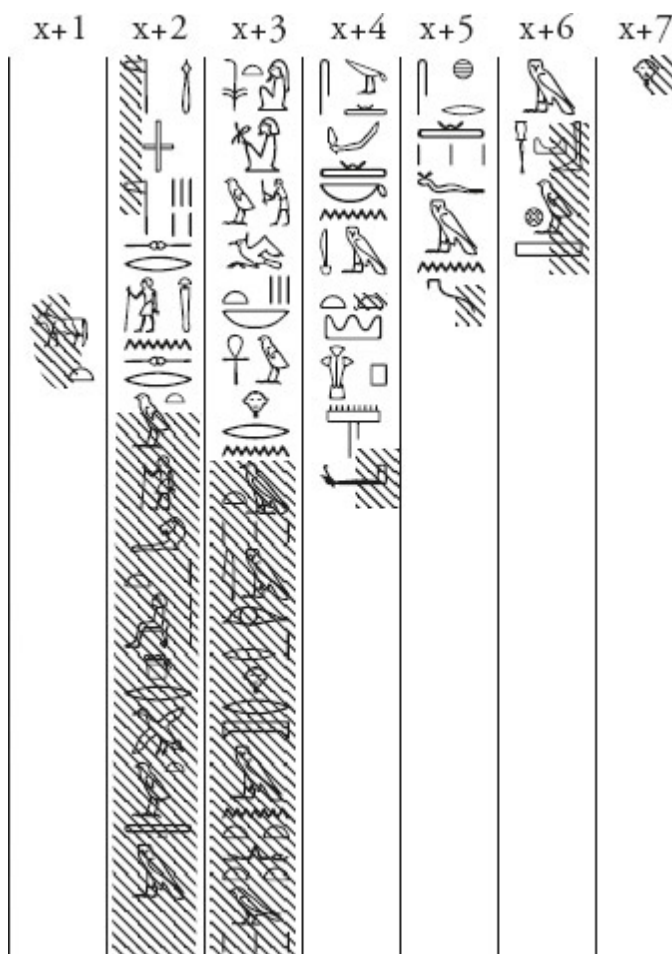


Fig. 108: Wall 17, reconstruction of the left part of Text 17.1 in normalised hieroglyphs

Scene 17.1: Senneferi adoring Osiris PM (13)

Fig. 108, Pl. 38A, Pl. 38B, Colour pl. 30A, Colour pl. 30B

The text is preserved in two disconnected fragments.²⁴³

Text 17.1

^{x+1} /// k3 [psd]t ///

bull [of the ennead] ...

^{x+2} ntr 3 imy ntrw 5^a sr tpy n srwt [hwt spss dr pwut ts m]^{b x+3} nswt ssw rhyt
nb nhw hry ntyw im ir r-hry m ntt iwtz^{b x 4} sm dsrk^c n nmt(t)^d h3p ///

great god among the five gods, first official of officialdom, [the foremost noble one since the antiquity of the land in respect of] the king, guardian of the *rekhyt*, lord of the living, the one who is over those [who are there (*the dead*), who acts (as) spokesman regarding what is and what is not], who leads your holiness for the necropolis? who hides ...

^{x+5} shrwf m nw ///

- his plans in *nw* ...
- x+6 *m 3bdw š ///*
in Abydos ...
- x+7 *hpr ///*
upon/face ...
- (6 lines missing)
- x+14 *tp t3 n ?c ///*
upon earth, (negative)...
- x+15 *wšhw ///*
wreaths of flowers ...
- x+16 *hb wsg hpr ///*
festival, the *wag* festival, it happens that ...
- x+17 *tytyw^f m mšwt rs ///*
(see note f) in truth to be awake...
- x+18 *n iri tšst^g ///*
I did not complain ...
- x+19 *hpti m pr-nfr wd ///*
I rest in the *pr-nfr*, command ...
- x+20 *nḥwyf(y)^h mryt n ///*
his ears, that which is loved ...
- x+21 ?
- ...

a. This is the only example of this divine designation in *LGG* IV, 401. The designation *ntr 3 imy ntrw* on statue BM EA 48 (p. 22) is also only found on one further monument, a scene of adoring Osiris in TT85 (PM I², 172 (16); I thank Heike Heye for drawing this to my attention, and for a photograph of the scene). Osiris is called *hry n ntrw* in TT373 (Seyfried, *Amenmose*, 82, 84, fig. 96 (Text 67)). The identity of these five gods, known from other sources, is treated in de Meulenaere, *JEA* 68 (1982), 142–144; as well as the offspring of Geb and Nut, there seems to be an obscure divine quintet at Hermopolis (ibid., 143). Senneferi seems to have invoked this essentially Heliopolitan reference to Osiris unusually frequently. Could it be anything to do with his Delta origins? See [Ceiling text 2](#) on p. 152 for Geb termed *wr n ntrw* 5.

b. These reconstructions (see [Fig. 108](#)) are based on part of the text on BM EA 48 above ([Fig. 3 on p. 23](#)); although little more than a guess, it does give two restored columns of the same length, suggesting the lower extent of the original text.

c. Read by Sethe as $\smile$, but clearly $\smile$.

d. Wb. II, 265.4 only lists this one example, and does not give a translation. Blumenthal et al., *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, 121 n. 1 to text 176 suggest a comparison with *nmt* in Wb. II, 264, ‘Richtstätte’ = ‘place of execution’. However, this is in part based on Sethe’s misreading of the previous sign as $\smile$. The online Wb. (<http://aaww.bbaw.de>, accessed 7/12/2015; Zettel DZA

25.117.920) suggests ‘Nekropole?’.

e. Perhaps the top of the hieroglyph  is here?

f. I somehow doubt that  is associated with *t3* ‘door’, but presumably with one of the others of the *t3yt* word family in Wb. V, 231–232, which cover the range of meanings of ‘resist’, ‘shrouding’ and others associated with weaving and bandages; one of them is a name for Osiris, ‘the shrouded one’ (Wb. V, 231.11).

g. Wb. V, 408 (11), noted there only in Middle Egyptian literary texts.

h. Although Senneferi bore some epithets containing *nbwy*, this example does not appear to be one of them. See [Table 3 on p. 12](#).

Scene 17.2: Uncertain scene

In the centre of the wall near the bottom is a small piece of plaster with hieroglyphs in a similar style to the preceding text. Given the suggestion of a limit to the depth of [Text 17.1](#), I feel it probably belongs in a separate scene, but it is too small to admit of translation.

Wall 17: Friezes and borders

The *kheker* frieze is as elsewhere; the block border is conventional, although the blocks are slightly shorter and squatter than before; the sequence is red–green–yellow–blue–red. There is a white blank area above the frieze, which varies in depth due to the shape of the ceiling.

5.7.8 Wall 18: east wall, north of entrance from Passage

Wall plan: [Pl. 20](#).

Scene 18.1: Uncertain scene

One remaining trace [Pl. 32D](#)

There are no large-scale remains of decoration on this wall. Only in the top left-hand corner of the wall is a small area of plaster with traces of the tops of the leftmost two columns of hieroglyphs in the scene.

The position of  in the final column is surely part of a title, such as *imy-r sdwty*, presumably above a destroyed figure of Senneferi facing right, suggesting that only he was shown in the destroyed scene. The context of the , only the legs of which are preserved, could be from another title or epithet; for example, *wr wrw m t3 r drf*. I assume that, as with many of the texts in the tomb, the columns were not very long. There are traces of a standard kheker frieze, poorly-painted with thick white lines dividing the parts, and many sketch lines still visible, and a block border, the latter only at the far left-hand end (green–yellow–?). There is no gap above the frieze; the ceiling curves away immediately. The corner decoration seems to consist of a blue or green band, separated from the block border by a 2 cm wide white band.

Two small areas of plaster towards the bottom right part of the wall appear discoloured and bear no traces of decoration.

5.7.9 Pillars

Both pillars bear the remains of texts on all sides. Only two are sufficiently preserved to show parts of the figures who once were located below them.

Fig. 109 shows how the decoration is orientated. There is a great degree of symmetry: both texts on the inner faces of the pillars appear to be identical, and would have shown the deceased facing out of his tomb receiving offerings. The northernmost and southernmost texts are of the same type, beginning *prt r t3*, expressing his wish to return to earth after death, and are also orientated towards the entrance to the tomb. The east and west side decoration on each pillar consisted of two facing texts, presumably one over a figure of Senneferi and the other over other persons who were carrying out presentations and other rituals. The arrangement was thus carefully devised to show a mix of basic (offering) and more complex rituals, along with the newly developed solar orientations first made apparent in earlier New Kingdom tombs.

I have not provided schematic diagrams for the pillars, so the wall plans should be consulted for what is left of the layout. With the almost total destruction of the pictorial scenes which would have been there, the scope for reconstruction is very limited.

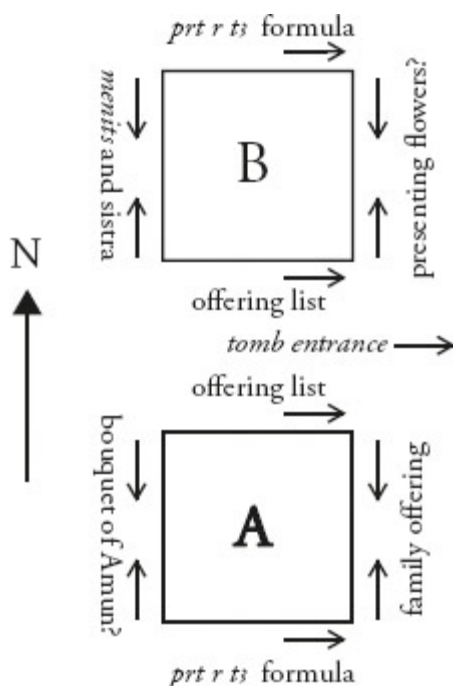


Fig. 109: Location of pillar texts in TT99



Fig. 110: Reconstructed text on Pillar AS in normalised hieroglyphs

The borders around the pillars are described on [p. 148](#).

Pillar A East face (Pillar AE) PM A (a)

Wall plan: [Pl. 22A](#); Decoration: [Pl. 39A](#), [Colour pl. 31A](#) This face bears an almost complete text in two parts, below which are the remains of a scene. Below the left-hand text is the top of a male figure, doubtless Senneferi, with a black wig, and a collar of blue–green–blue–green–blue bands separated by thin white bands, and an edge of blue petals; the red colour between the latter was applied after the collar was painted. His right arm seems to have been held across his chest, slightly obscuring the collar. He appears to have been wearing a thin semi-transparent over-robe from the traces of pink at the bottom of the surviving scene. At the point where the two texts meet there is the top of a lily, surely held by his wife who faces him.

It thus seems reasonable to reconstruct this scene something like an example in TT61,²⁴⁴ where the tomb-owner is seated; there is less width to the scene than in TT61, and it would seem that there would have been room for little more than the standing female figure of Senneferi's wife, who would have been carrying the aforementioned lily.

Text AE.1: left ²⁴⁵

¹ *mš nd-hr innt hmtf mswf² snwf hmwtf³ hrw n wpt-rnpt nbb-kšw*
³ *hrw tpy rnpt prt spdt in iry p't hsty-^r smr⁴ n mriwt sr n wbs nš ib wr*
hzw⁵ m pr-nswt ph šw m šst tn mn⁶ r šhrr m t3 r dšf imy-r ššwty
[šn-nšrī ?mš^r-hrw²]

Seeing the greetings which his wife, children, brothers and craftsmen are bringing on the day of the New Year festival and the *nbb-kšw* festival, b on the day of the first of the year, the appearing of Sopdet, by the *iry p't hsty-^r*, companion great of what is loved, the official to whom the heart is opened, one great of praise in the house of the king, who reaches old age excellently in this office, the mouth which makes (men) content in the whole land, the overseer of seal-bearers, [Senneferi,

true of voice].

- a. This hieroglyph is reproduced in Davies, *Picture Writing*, pl. VIII,10.
b. Reference is made to the *nḥb-kꜣw* festival several times on these pillars. This festival took place on the first day of the *Peret* season, and is associated with the coronation of Horus as well as the funeral celebrations of Sokar. In addition it was also celebrated as a second New Year's day, hence the association in this text. See Assmann, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien* II, 465; Shorter, *JEA* 21 (1935), 41–48; Barta, *LÄ* IV, 387–390; Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, 510–511. The guinea-fowl hieroglyph here is illustrated in Roberts, *Guineafowl Past & Present*, 7th plate after p. 10, cf. p. 2.

Text AE.2: right ²⁴⁶

¹ m_z n_d(t)-h_r in h_mt_f m_rt_f n_bt p_r ² t_z-i_mw dd_s n k_rk s_t-h_b^a ³ h_kn_w
n_wd n_w i_zwy m ⁴ h_s n_b^b p_n n r_np_t w_dn n_k n_b-k [i]m_n[-r-] ⁵ i_w-k m p_rk
n n_hw n_dm-i_b-k i_m

Presenting gifts by his wife, his beloved, the mistress of the house Taiaimu. She says: ‘for your *ka sti-ḥb*, *ḥknw* and *nwd* oils of the two chambers in all this thousand of years that the lord [Amun-[Re] has commanded for you. May you be in your house of the living and enjoy yourself there.

- a. Probably the hieroglyph mentioned but not illustrated in Davies, *Picture Writing*, 43.
- b. Clearly ; Sethe read .

In addition to the text in TT61 already noted, there is another parallel on an intercolumnium in TT46 (**Fig. 111**).²⁴⁷ The formulation of both text parts is almost identical.

Pillar A North face (Pillar AN) PM A (d)

Wall plan: **Pl. 22B**; Decoration: **Pl. 39B**, **Colour pl. 31B** This scene is very damaged, and bears the upper parts of five columns of text facing left and the upper part of a short offering list orientated to the right. This scene would appear to be effectively a mirror image of that which faces it on the southern face of Pillar B (Pillar BS).



Fig. 111: Scene on intercolumnium in TT46 paralleling [Text AE.2](#)

Text AN.1

The text on Pillar BS ([Text BS.1](#)) is marginally better-preserved than that on Pillar AN, and thus it was decided to use the former as the basis of the reconstruction, which will be found on [p. 148](#).

1 *hꜥp m niwt n ///*
 2 *nt dꜥt irt ///*
 3 *swt ///*

See
 reconstruction
 and translation
 of Text BS.1 on
[p. 148](#)

4 *m bꜥh b(f)t ///*
 5 *nt tpy-rnpt m ///*
 6 Missing

Text AN.2

The offering list contains the first five elements of the short offering list, as found in more complete form on Wall 16 (p. 138):

¹*mw* ²*ḥtj* ³*pzn* ⁴*dptj* ⁵*iwr*.

Proposing the original width of the list is difficult. Allowing for a block border, there is room for only four compartments to the left of the four which are fully preserved. Assuming that the full 22 elements of the short list were originally present, then three rows are needed, and it is not possible for these to have even numbers of elements: thus we have to postulate a second row of eight elements and a third of six, or two rows of seven each.²⁴⁸ Three rows of elements of the size of the preserved row would occupy approximately the same amount of vertical space as the reconstructed text. There was surely a seated figure of Senneferi on the pillar with offerings before him, but the seeming absence of a text relating to making an offering to him suggests that no other figures were shown. I propose that it is more likely that this figure faced out of the tomb, following the text orientation.

Pillar A West face (Pillar AW) PM A (c)

Wall plan: **Pl. 22C**; Decoration: **Pl. 39C**, **Colour pl. 32A** Here are found the upper parts of ten columns of text, now rather faint. They may originally have been blue or black in colour but are now greyish with hints of red (from the sketch?); presumably they were never finished. There are no surviving traces of any further decoration.

The scene is not easy to reconstruct. As the text columns stand, they are about 10 cm shorter than the fully-preserved ones of the east face of the same pillar. As for the width of the text, it is unlikely that there were any additional columns at the left, but perhaps an additional one at the right (not certain). The texts are clearly concerned with festivals (*nḥb k3w* in particular). One option for the right-hand text could be one beginning ‘A coming in peace carrying the bouquet of Amun ...’. Presumably Senneferi would have been the beneficiary of the action in **Text AW.1**.

Text AW.1

¹ *iyt m ḥtp* ///

A coming in peace ///

² *dwst ḥtp nty tp t3 šzp ?* ///

underworld, rests, which is upon earth, taking ///

³ *ḥb n nḥb-k3w* ///

festival of *nḥb-k3w* ///

⁴ *mrḥt nt psdt* /// [*iry pṛt*] ⁵ *ḥsty-ᵉ smr* ʕ^a *n mr[wt]* ///

mrḥt oil of the ennead /// [(to/for) the *iry pṛt*]-*ḥḥty-ꜥ*, companion great of what is loved ///

⁶ *m* ///
in ///

a. This hieroglyph, already very faint, has the remains of a wasps' nest over it, and it is completely unclear whether it is or . I choose the former as only *smr ʕ n mrwt* is attested in his titulary (see [Table 1 on p. 10](#) and [Table 2 on p. 11](#)).

Text AW.2

1	<i>st3 i</i> /// [<i>n</i>]	Dragging ? ///
2	<i>ḥb-k3w</i> ///	(the festival of)
		<i>nḥb-k3w</i> ///
3	<i>n psdt</i> ///	of the ennead
		///
4	<i>ḥz</i>	praise ///

Both this pillar face and the next appear to have regularly placed blobs of red paint approximately 3 cm down from the top and slightly to the right of most column dividers.

Pillar A South face (Pillar AS) PM A (b)

Wall plan: [Pl. 22D](#); Decoration: [Pl. 39D](#), [Colour pl. 32B](#) This face bears an extremely faint (unfinished) text, often visible only through the brush-strokes which have left a mark (and little colour) on the plaster. The hieroglyphs in the first column at the right are clearly coloured red (sketch colour?), suggesting that the others are basically the same colour eroded to leave a pale pink trace. I consider there is room for four further columns of text (now destroyed) to the left.

Text AS.1

1	<i>pṛt</i> [<i>r t3 r m3 itm wbs</i>]	Returning to earth [to see the sun disc when it opens up]
2	<i>dwꜣy</i> [<i>ḥꜣwty-tꜣwꜣ in</i>]	the two mountains [of <i>ḥꜣwty-tꜣwꜣ</i> by]
3	<i>iry pṛt ḥḥty-ꜥ^a</i> /// [<i>smr</i>]	the <i>iry pṛt ḥḥty-ꜥ</i> /// [<i>smr</i>]
4	<i>wꜥty</i> ///	<i>wꜥty</i> ///
5	<i>ʕ</i> ///	///
6	<i>ʕw</i> ///	///

b. a. I am assuming ² here but the traces, and the space, might also favour ³, suggesting a title such as *imy-r sḏꜣwty*, although that is indeed unlikely to be followed by *smr wꜥty*.

We are probably justified in restoring the *pṛt r t3* formula as on

Pillar BN ([Text BN.1](#) on [p. 147](#), where fuller references will be found), which begins in a similar fashion, and the presence of  at the top of column 2 suggests that further cautious restorations can be made from that pillar. This formula also appears in [Ceiling text 9](#) on [p. 158](#). The parallelism of location and orientation of these two texts has been noted above. The first text column as thus reconstructed would seem to be about the same length as the complete column on Pillar AE.

There are two green bands at the top, delineated with red lines, and some roughly delineated blocks for a border which seems never to have been completed; two blocks have been painted green with three blank blocks between them.²⁴⁹ The plaster of this face of the pillar must have sloped out further down as the rock nearer the bottom presently protrudes beyond the plaster at the top. Further red blobs are evident as on Pillar AW above.

Pillar B East face (Pillar BE) PM B (a)

Wall plan: [Pl. 23A](#); Decoration: [Pl. 40A](#), [Colour pl. 33A](#)

This face bears two painted hieroglyphic texts in at least eight columns. The only remaining trace of decoration below is the probable top of a lily just visible under column 3 of [Text BE.1](#), probably pointing to the right. This suggests a scene of presenting flowers to the deceased at the right, presumably seated. The height of these columns is very similar to those on Pillar AE.

The texts read as follows; Sethe's reconstructions have been inserted in [] where appropriate:²⁵⁰

Text BE.1

¹ *iry p^t hst-^c s^dwt^y bity smr w^ty mn* ² *h^zwt 3 mrwt w^c n hr imy ///* ³ *shntf hnt rhyt^b n 3t n mnbf h^ry-* ⁴ *ib 3q hr nfrwt pr hr h^zwt imy-[ib]* ⁵ *imy 3p swt-ib^c n ///* ⁶ *s^r mdw-sⁿ ///* *[r shr]* ⁷ *r m [t^s r drf...]*

The *iry p^t hst-^c* seal-bearer of the *bity*, sole companion, one established of praise, greatly beloved, the unique one of Horus, who is in /// who was promoted to be at the front of the *rhyt^b* because of the greatness of his excellence in the heart (of his lord), the one who enters bearing good things and exits bearing praise, the one who is in [the heart], the one who is in the palace, the joy of ///, the one who makes their words to ascend ///, [the mouth which makes (men) content] in [the whole land...]

a. This hieroglyph is illustrated in Davies, *Picture Writing*, pl. VIII,2, although the barb is coloured blue rather than green.

b. This is probably the hieroglyph referred to but not specifically illustrated in Davies, *Picture Writing*, 26.

c. This unusual hieroglyph is evidently an intriguing monogram of  and .

Probably no columns are lost to the right.

Text BE.2

Only the tip of first sign of the right-facing text at the left, pertaining to the person approaching Senneferi, is preserved. It is probably ⲓ, perhaps from *in* or *ind-hr*? It is likely that three or four columns are lost here.

Pillar B North face (Pillar BN) PM B (d)

Wall plan: [Pl. 23B](#); Decoration: [Pl. 40C](#), [Colour pl. 33B](#) The principal decoration on this face is a painted hieroglyphic text in eight columns occupying the whole width of the pillar face. Just below the bottom of column 5 can be seen the top of the head of Senneferi, down to the hair line. His hair colour was probably originally blue but it is now very patchy. There are some unclear traces which could belong to a grid but are not measurable. The length of the columns of text is roughly the same as on the adjacent Pillar BE.

The four left-hand columns on this face bear a brownish discolouration, the cause of which is uncertain (not smoke). There is also very clear stylistic evidence that a different painter worked on this scene, since the hieroglyphs and the border are much larger and less subtle than on the other painted faces (particularly AE and BE), resulting in a text of only eight columns as opposed to up to twelve on other faces. This may be attributed to carelessness or inexperience on the part of the artist.

The titles starting in column 3 were copied by Sethe.²⁵¹ The text before the titles can be reconstructed from a parallel in [Ceiling text 9](#) of the Passage of this tomb ([p. 158](#)), and probably parallels that on Pillar AS ([p. 146](#)).²⁵²

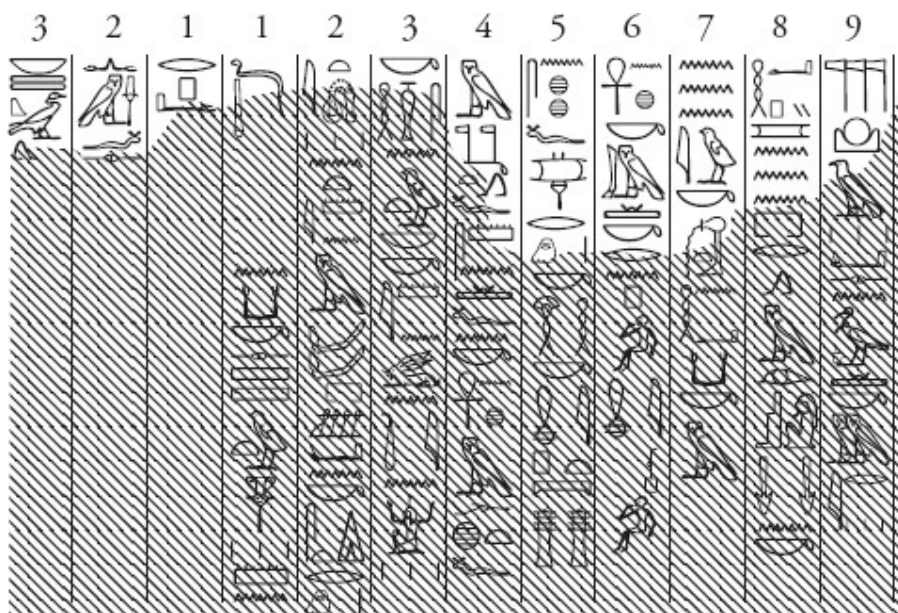


Fig. 112: Reconstructed text on Pillar BW in normalised hieroglyphs

Text BN.1

¹ *pṛt r tš [r mš]* ² *itn wbs dwwy* ³ *nw ḥwty-tšwy in iry* [*pṛt*] ⁴ *ḥsty-ḥ sdwty*
bity smr ḥ n mr[wt] ⁵ *r n nswt ḥwty n bity* ⁶ *imy-ib n nṛ nṛ imy-r*
ḥswt nwḥ n [imn] ⁷ *whm nswt imy-r sdwty sn-[nfrī mš-ḥrw]* ⁸ *ir n zšb*
[ḥy-dḥwty mš-ḥrw]

Returning to earth [to see] the sun disc when it opens up the two mountains of *ḥwty-tšwy* by the *iry* [*pṛt*] *ḥsty-ḥ*, seal-bearer of the *bity*, companion great of what is loved, the mouth of the king of Upper Egypt and the ears of the king of Lower Egypt, the one who is in the heart of the of perfect god, the overseer of the gold lands of [Amun], the royal herald, the overseer of seal-bearers Sen[neferi, true of voice], begotten of the official [Haydjehuty, true of voice].

Pillar B West face (Pillar BW) PM B (c)

Wall plan: **Pl. 23C**; Decoration: **Pl. 40B**, **Colour pl. 34A** Only the top 15 cm of this scene is preserved, but it shows the full width of the text in twelve columns, three facing right,²⁵³ and the remainder facing left. There are no traces of decoration below. The text probably showed Senneferi at left, facing right, participating in a rite of the Valley Festival.

Text BW.1

1	<i>iry pṛt [ḥsty-ḥ] ///</i>	The
2	<i>n šymf s^a ///</i>	<i>iry pṛt [ḥsty-ḥ] ///</i> he shall not be strong ///
3	<i>nb tšwy ḥq ///</i>	the lord of the two lands, the

a. *n šmḥf* surely begins an epithet, *nb tswy* ends a different one, and *ḡ* is the start of another. Several similar phrases have been seen on the monuments of Senneferi (above [Table 3 on p. 12](#)).

Text BW.2

This text is paralleled from a number of 18th dynasty tombs and the Saite chapel of Basa; the reconstruction given here in [Fig. 112](#) is based on the most complete scene, retrograde in the tomb of Puyemre, which also has a very similar pattern of line breaks.²⁵⁴ Below the latter text, four women present menits and sistra to a seated figure of the deceased. A similar depiction should be reconstructed in TT99. This scene is an illustration of a rite in the Valley Festival, performed by the singers of the temple of Amun.²⁵⁵

¹ *dd mdw* [(title and name) *n ksk zšwt mn*] ² *šw* [*nt imn m dšr-dšrw*
šzp nk st diw r fnd] ³ *k ḥz* [*n tw nbk imn wnti n ḥb*] ⁴ *m šbḥf* [*šmmḥf*
nk nḥ m-ḥḥf] ⁵ *snḥḥf* [*uw r fnd*] [*k wḥk mt pt dd*] ⁶ *nḥk wḥmk r* [*np mi*
rnp] ⁷ *twk wḥ* [*ti ḥn ksk m*] ⁸ *ḥpy* [*prw m wšr ssnk*] ⁹ *nṯrw* [*štyw* [*di*
sn bsk mm iryw <title and name>]

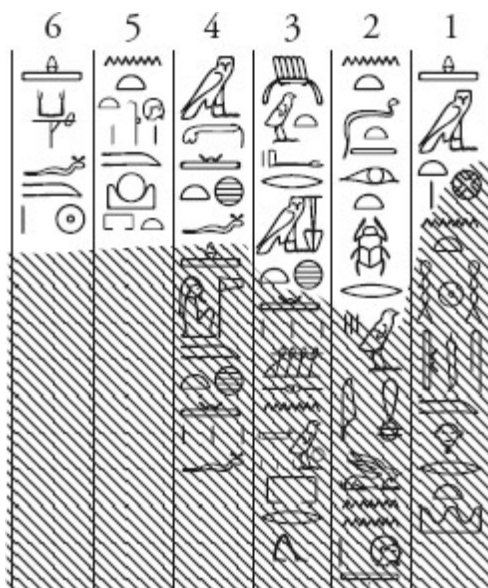


Fig. 113: Reconstructed text on Pillar BS in normalised hieroglyphs

Words spoken: [(title and name) for your *ka* the sistra and men-] it [s of Amun in *dšr-dšrw*; take them to yourself and hold them to] your [nose,] for [your lord Amun] has favoured [you, and you exist for millions (of years) in] his entourage, and [he] has established [life for you with him,] he has renewed the air for [your] nose, [and you shall endure like the sky, and your life [shall be stable], and you shall repeat [youth like fresh water.] You are pure [together with your

ka through] Hapy [who comes forth from Osiris, and] the gods and the horizon-dwellers [join together for you, and they shall place your *ba* among them < title and name>].

The column divider between columns 6 and 7 has been smudged or wiped.

Pillar B South face (Pillar BS) PM B (b)

Wall plan: **Pl. 23D**; Decoration: **Pl. 40D**, **Colour pl. 34B** At the top of this face of the pillar are parts of six columns of hieroglyphs; there are no remains of decoration below. This text appears to mirror that of Pillar AN (**Text AN.1** on **p. 145**), and the description, reconstruction and study of the text will be found below as this is the better-preserved of the two.

Text BS.1

The content of the first four columns of this text can be reconstructed from a largely parallel text in TT93.²⁵⁶ There, a seated figure of Qenamun with offerings is shown below this text. The likely length of the text is comparable to that of the other pillar faces. Using the TT93 parallel, a suggested reconstruction of the TT99 text is given here in normalised hieroglyphs (**Fig. 113**).

¹ *hṭp m [n]iwt [nt nḥḥ snḏm m ḥrt]* ² *nt dt iri ḥprw [m]i wnn tp r* ³ *swt*
⁴ *r smḥ [ḥt šzḫ snw prw]* ⁵ *m bḥḥ ḥft [ḥtp ntr m ḥtf ///]* ⁶ *nt tpy-rnpt m šḥt*
 /// ⁶ *ḥtp ksf m ḥrw ///*

Resting in the city [of eternity, sitting in the tomb] of his funerary estate, making forms [like when he was on earth], stretching out the arm to partake of the things [and receiving the offerings which came forth] from the (divine) presence [when the god was satisfied with his property/rites...] of the first of the year festival in the horizon ... resting his *ka* on the day ...

The last two lines of text in TT99 are different from TT93, and it is not presently clear where the name of Senneferi would have been.

[Text BS.2]

To the right of the above text was certainly a short offering list as on Pillar AN (**Text AN.2** on **p. 145**), but it is completely lost here.

Pillar borders

There are no friezes, but blank areas of white plaster are above the border where it does not abut further decoration. In each case, the block colour sequence is read left to right starting with a red block. Each border had two green bands at the top and bottom, delineated with red lines.

Pillar AE

Top: block border red–blue–yellow–green, with black lines round the

Pillar AN	sides. Top: larger block border than on the previous pillar face, red–green–yellow–blue.
Pillar AW	Top: block border in red–blue–yellow–green, possibly with back outlining.
Pillar AS	There are some roughly delineated blocks for a border which seems never to have been completed, except perhaps for the green blocks.
Pillar BE	Top: block border red–blue–yellow–green, with small traces of black outlining.
Pillar BN	Top: block border red–blue–yellow–blue with black outlining.
Pillar BW	Top: block border with an irregular sequence red–green–yellow–blue–red–green–blue–yellow–green–red, not outlined in black for the most part.
Pillar BS	Top: block border red–green–yellow–green–yellow, also running down the left-hand side.

In all cases where plaster survives at the sides, the border clearly framed the whole scene. The block sequence is fairly consistent with the exception of BW and BS, with some exchange between blue and green, some of which may be attributable to my inconsistent recording. There seems to be some variation in the block size, perhaps the work of different artists. The most irregular is that on Pillar BN, where unusually coarse hieroglyphs have been noted above.

5.7.10 Decoration of abaci of columns

South: **Pl. 38C, Colour pl. 35A**; North: **Pl. 38D, Colour pl. 35B**

North and south of the central area of the Rear room, running along the southern side of the northern abacus and the northern side of the southern abacus, are areas decorated with cobras with long sinuous coils and tail (see [p. 61](#)). The area they fill resembles the curved top of a shrine. The snakes were painted first and then the blue background was added, with white borders above and below. They are broadly similar, but some differences will be noted below.

The head of each cobra is yellow and its raised hood is decorated with a white scale pattern; the cobra is winged, and it would appear from the northern example that the right wing is held down before it and the left up in front. The fronts of both snakes are rather damaged, caused by two of the strange black masses which are found spaced

around the walls of this room, evidently bat roosting locations. In front of the cobra on the north side is the top of a cartouche containing ☉, and to the right of that the top of 𓆎. The decoration at the front of the southern cobra is less clear than the northern; it is not possible to see quite where the wings of the snake are placed. It appears that there is a 𓄚 immediately before the cobra. At the far left is 𓆎.

From this it appears that the two snakes were intended to be more or less symmetrical, preceded by a 𓄚 ring, a cartouche, perhaps of Thutmose III, and *ntr nfr*. There are 23 coils on the northern cobra; the southern cobra has 24. The coils are coloured yellow with red dots in five roughly parallel lines. At the bottom of the coils there is a white band bearing a series of red diagonal lines. I suggest that the southern cobra was painted by a different artist to the northern. Not only is there one more coil, but the head is not quite in the same position vis-à-vis the end of the wall; also, the coils themselves are much more crudely painted; there are three/four parallel lines of dots, which are much thicker than their counterparts, and the outside edge line is very thick indeed. The white interior band is wider and the red lines across it are much thicker. This might be the result of different artists working on each side, or of the same artist painting in different directions.

These cobras probably had a dual function in the tomb decoration. The first was to act as a practical space-filler, and the second to symbolise the giving of life to both the king and to Senneferi.²⁵⁷

5.8 Chapel ceiling decoration and texts

Pl. 21B is a scaled ceiling plan of the tomb, showing the main areas of decoration and damage. **Fig. 114** is a schematic diagram indicating the disposition of the texts and ceiling patterns to be considered, using the numbering scheme described below.

5.8.1 Decoration

5.8.1.1 Patterns found in TT99

As in all Theban tombs of this date, the ceilings are decorated with a variety of coloured geometrical patterns, divided into sub-areas by yellow bands bearing hieroglyphic texts in blue. In these larger areas, four patterns only are used, despite the ceilings being divided into seventeen areas by the yellow bands. These four patterns are referred to below as P1, P2, P3 and P4. Smaller areas see a greater range of patterns, and thus pattern P6 appears in the ceiling between the Passage and the Shrine and in the Shrine niche. There are a further

four decorated areas under the abaci of the columns, adjacent to the pillars; these repeat two of the other patterns, and introduce two new ones (P5, P7). Hence the Shrine of the tomb displays all the patterns in use, and the other two rooms a subset of only two. Only parallels to these patterns published in colour will be quoted below.²⁵⁸

P1 (*Egyptian Ornament*, No. 35; [Colour pl. 36A](#), [Colour pl. 36C](#)): A pattern of a series of yellow diamonds, each bearing a pale red four-petal design and four red spots between the petals, outlined with thick blue or green lines, alternating with pattern of white diamonds with similar petals and dots (although here the dots are paler than the petals), also outlined in blue. Thick red and white zig-zag lines separate the two patterns.²⁵⁹ The green zig-zag lines appear along with blue lines in the Front room of the tomb, whereas the version in the Rear room only employs blue zig-zags.

P2 (*Egyptian Ornament*, No. 67, but no exact match; [Colour pl. 36B](#)): A pattern of red, white, blue and yellow squares, each bearing the same petal and dots pattern just described, although the petals are almost invisible on the yellow squares. The dots appear to have been originally red on all backgrounds, although the colour is most strongly preserved on the yellow, whereas the red square has white petals, the white square red petals, the blue square yellow petals, and possibly red petals on the yellow. The squares are outlined with yellow lines. The sequence is a red square followed by white–blue–white, then a yellow square succeeded by another white–blue–white.²⁶⁰

P3 (*Egyptian Ornament*, No. 95; [Colour pl. 37A](#)): A grid of yellow petals. Where the petals join there is a large white dot. The spaces formed by the petals are alternately filled with red, blue and green, each with a white dot in the middle.²⁶¹

P4 (*Egyptian Ornament*, No. 26 or 29; [Colour pl. 36D](#)): A pattern consisting of a series of yellow diamonds, within which are two further diamonds in black outline. Between each row of yellow diamonds are blue, red and green zig-zags; a white line outlines the red zig-zag.²⁶²

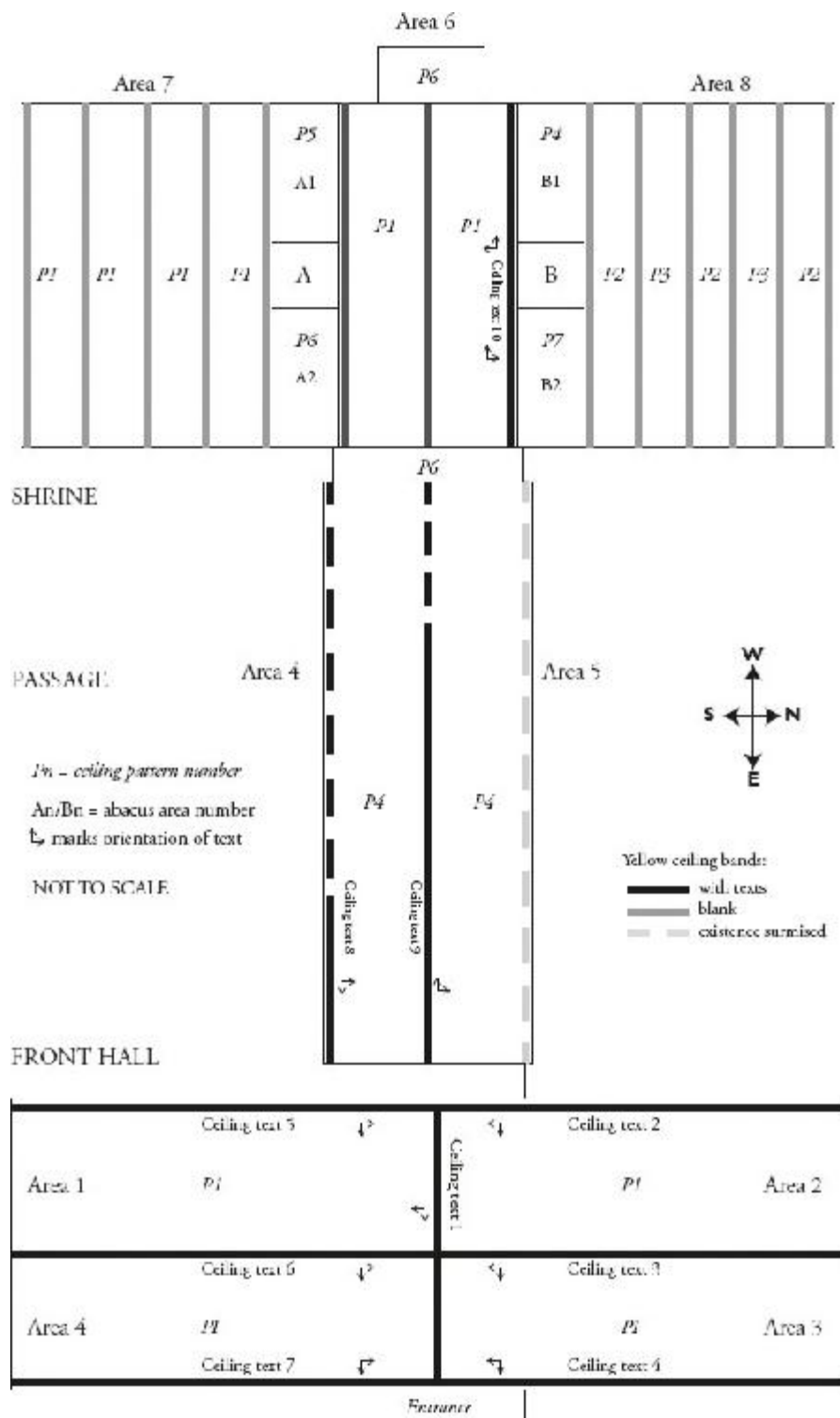


Fig. 114: Schematic diagram (not to scale) of the different ceiling areas and texts in

P5 (*Egyptian Ornament*, perhaps No. 42; **Colour pl. 37B**): A pattern of white and yellow squares, bordered by thick green lines. Within the white squares are red petal patterns and dots; the scheme is similar to P1 but with different colouration. In the centre of the yellow squares is a white square, around the outside of which was drawn a thick white line.²⁶³

P6 (*Egyptian Ornament*, probably No. 21; **Colour pl. 37C**): a series of zig-zag lines, red–blue–green–blue, each separated from the next by a thin white line.²⁶⁴ This pattern is also found on the ceiling of the niche (above [p. 134](#)).

P7 (*Egyptian Ornament*, no exact parallel but perhaps No. 153; **Colour pl. 37D**): a series of small yellow circles, over which is painted a spiral in black; the tails of these spirals also serve to link together the spirals over adjacent circles. In the centre of the spaces between the circles, against the white/ cream background, is a blue circle with a thick red outline and a red blob in the centre; the four corners of the white/ cream space are filled with red triangles.²⁶⁵

A glance through the parallels cited shows a number of other tombs which appear frequently, in particular TT82 and TT87; there can be little doubt that these patterns were fashionable in the Hatshepsut–Amenhotep II era. Also, *Egyptian Ornament* for P2 and P3 quotes examples from TT97, an adjacent tomb to TT99, slightly later in date.²⁶⁶

5.8.1.2 Ceilings in the Front hall

The ceiling of the front hall is flat. The text bands are all composed of blue hieroglyphs on a yellow ground, bordered with white and with a red band running through the white; they have an average width of 18/19 cm.

The ceiling bands divide the ceiling into four areas (Areas 1–4), each of which is decorated with the same pattern (P1), which is almost the same as that in the Shrine, but using green as well as blue zig-zags. These patterns are generally dirtier and rather faded as a result of smoke damage.

The treatment of the join between the ceilings and the walls is as follows, based on the area above the corner where Walls 5 and 6 join: the ceiling decoration is separated from the wall by a series of bands: a 2 cm wide band of white, a red line 0.6 cm wide, and another 2 cm band of white.

5.8.1.3 Ceilings in the Passage

The profile of the ceiling in the Passage is concave or vaulted. It

originally bore three ceiling bands: that in the middle is preserved for almost the complete length of the Passage; the southern one is preserved for 2.5 m from the doorway to the Front room; the northern band is completely destroyed. The same pattern (P4) is used for the resultant two areas (Areas 1–2) of the ceiling.

The ceiling within the doorway dividing the Passage from the Shrine is flat and decorated with pattern P6.

5.8.1.4 Ceilings in the Shrine

The ceilings are mostly preserved, with three main ceiling areas, and four smaller areas under the abaci of the columns, as in the diagram. There is also decoration on the sides of the abaci themselves, north of A1–A–A2 and south of B1–B–B2, already described on [p. 148](#). For notes on the ceiling in the niche, see above [p. 134](#).

Central area (Area 7 on diagram)

The profile of this ceiling section is shaped very much like a shrine (see above [p. 61](#)), and has three ceiling bands, only the northern of which bears a text. This text is painted in blue on the usual yellow background; the half-way change in orientation is considered below ([Ceiling text 10](#) on [p. 158](#)). The pattern on the ceiling is pattern P1. This pattern is the same as in the front hall, but the white lines dividing the blue and red zig-zags are much more pronounced.

Southern area (Area 8 on diagram)

The ceiling of this area is concave or vaulted from north to south, and level from east to west. It is divided into four decorated sections by five uninscribed yellow bands. The four ceiling areas employ the same pattern P1.

Northern area (Area 9 on diagram)

Like Area 7, this is also shrine-shaped, although not quite so marked. It is divided into five decorated sections by six uninscribed yellow bands. The five sections employ two patterns, P2 and P3, in the sequence P2–P3–P2–P3–P2.

Pattern P2 is set out on an original grid of squares measuring approximately 6.5 cm, while pattern P3 is on a 5 cm grid. The paint on the two northernmost sections is less thick than on the others; it has the appearance of being more worn.

Underneath abaci of columns. Four different patterns:

A1: S side W of pillar: pattern P5.

A2: S side E of pillar: pattern P6. The paint on the surface has a smeared appearance, as if it has been wiped over with a wet cloth. The damage to the south side of this area reveals the number of pieces

of stone that had to be attached to the wall before the final plaster could be applied.

B1: N side W of pillar: basically pattern P4 as in the Passage of the tomb.

B2: N side E of pillar: pattern P7.

5.8.2 Texts

The texts are all painted in blue hieroglyphs on yellow bands; their location and numbering is indicated in [Fig. 114](#).²⁶⁷ The search for parallels of ceiling texts faces two difficulties. The first is that ceiling texts seem to be particularly poorly published, and thus the following references to parallels were not systematically collected, but have more often been found by chance, although I do include some unpublished sources.²⁶⁸ The second problem is the variability of the texts themselves, largely triggered by the varying size of the tomb to which they belong and the space to be filled. Their composition seems very flexible, a mixture of a varying collection of phrases together with varying title strings, perhaps selected as much with an eye to space as to content. Having said that, there are a number of very helpful parallels in TT96A and TT131. However, I have not sought out parallels to the undamaged *hṯp di nswt* formulae.

5.8.2.1 Front room

The name of Amun has been mostly cut out in this room, and repairs only seem to have been effected in the southern half of the room. All texts apart from the first and last are written in horizontal orientation. The parallels which provide the text which has been reconstructed in [] are indicated in the discussion of each text unless specifically noted.

Ceiling text 1: Front room centre (Fig. 122)

This text, the so-called ‘Nut text’, is very common in this position in tombs.²⁶⁹ The goddess can be imagined as stretching herself over the body in the coffin and thus producing a mini-cosmos for the deceased;²⁷⁰ by extension, this surely can apply to the whole tomb as well. There is a similarity to the content of PT356, §580c and also PT368, §638a,²⁷¹ which itself can appear on coffins.²⁷²

[*///*^a *mwṯ*].*i nwt psšnt n ḥri ddi m iḥmw-sk imyt n^b m(w)t(i)*

[<title, Senneferi> he says?] My [mother] Nut, you have placed yourself to my face, that I will be placed as an undying star which is in you, and I shall not die.

a. The gap here is about 75 cm, so there is only room for a few signs. The parallels suggest perhaps one title, presumably *imy-r sḏswty*, and Senneferi’s name, although the precise composition is variable; the presence of *ms^c ḥrw* also varies. No doubt space was the constraint. TT131 and TT82 introduce the spell with *ddf*, TT87 does not, but all these parallels place the name of Nut, and *mwṯi*, after the

verb *ps̥s̥*, whereas in TT99 it is definitely before that verb.

^b.  for  here. It would appear that TT131 (text at left) omitted this hieroglyph. TT82 adds  at the end.

Ceiling text 2: Front room north, west side (Fig. 115; a detail is in Colour pl. 35D)

Paralleled in TT131²⁷³ and TT96A (unpublished).

*h̥tp dī nswt wsir [h̥nty imntyw^a wnn-nfr m m̥s̥-hrw ntr ʿ h̥ry-ib t̥z-wr
gb smsw wr ntrw 5^b wddt nf lw̥ t̥zwy d̥isf ʿq prt m h̥rty-ntr sm̥ t̥z] m
imntt nfrt n iry p̥t h̥sty-ʿ wr m h̥tsf ʿz m s̥h̥f sr m h̥st rhyt^c imy-r s̥d̥wty
sn-nfri m̥s̥-hrw ir n z̥sb h̥ry-d̥h̥wty m̥s̥-hrw ms n nbi pr z̥st-d̥h̥wty
m̥st-hrw s̥qdt s̥h̥ m n̥sm̥t̥^d m̥ s̥msw n ntr ʿ h̥tp st m /// mm̥ s̥msw f n k̥z
n imy-r s̥d̥wty sn-nfri m̥s̥-hrw]*

An offering that the king gives and that Osiris [the foremost of the westerners, *wnn-nfr* who is true of voice, the great god who dwells in the Thinite nome, and Geb, the elder one, the great one of the five gods, who has ordained for himself the inheritance of the two lands] give [that he/they may permit entering and going forth from the necropolis and a burial] in the beautiful West for the *iry p̥t h̥sty-ʿ*, the one great in his office, the one great in his nobility, an official at the front of the *rhyt*, the overseer of seal-bearers, Senneferi, true of voice, begotten of the official Haydjehuty, true of voice, born of the lady of the house Satdjehuty, true of voice, (and that he may permit) travelling by the noble in the *n̥sm̥t* barque [in the following of the great god... and take his place /// among his followers, for the *ka* of the overseer of seal-bearers, Senneferi, true of voice].

^aThere is here a gap of 2.2 m, which area of damage is very rectangular, as if it has been deliberately made. It was probably cut out to hold a modern structure placed in the recess in the floor at this point, perhaps a vertical loom (p. 58). The restored text is in both TT96A and TT131, and seems to fit TT99.

^bGeb is occasionally termed *smsw* (LGG VI, 347–249); the epithet *wr (m/n) ntrw* 5, reconstructed from both TT96A and TT131, is not listed by Leitz as pertaining to him (LGG II, 450–451). See Text 17.1 on p. 142 for a consideration of the other mentions of five deities in TT99.

^cThe titles given to Senneferi up to this point in the text exactly parallel those in TT96A and TT131.

^dThe remainder of the ceiling surface, measuring 1.2 m in length, is lost. The equivalent text in TT96A is only preserved for a few signs, but it does diverge from the parallel in TT131 in mentioning another boat. The parallel in TT131 is better preserved, and it seems possible that the first phrase and Senneferi's titles could have fitted in here, and so I have tentatively restored them. Both alternatives are given in Fig. 115.

Ceiling text 3: Front room north, middle (Fig. 116)

In TT96A (unpublished), and partly paralleled in TT131.²⁷⁴

*hṯp di nswt [imn-r^c]^a k3 hry šbm imy t3 ḥmw nfr iwtj bsnf wd^c ryt m pt
m t3 sb3 nfr šhd tswy dgg-tw^f ḥpr zp nfr dif prt-ḥrw t ḥnqt k3w ipdw šs
mnht sntr mrht ht nbt nfrt wbt ḥtpt dḥw prrt ḥr wdhw n r^c nb n k3 n
iry p^t ḥsty-^c smr wty mry nb tswy imy-r sdswy sn-nfr mš^c-ḥrw ddḥw
irn(i) is mnḥ m niwti nt nbḥ sign(i)^b st ḥrti m zt dt*

An offering that the king gives and that [Amun-Re] gives, the bull who is over the powerful one who is on earth, the perfect steering oar who has no secret, the one who judges in heaven and on earth, the perfect star which illuminates the two lands, who is seen when he comes into being at the perfect moment, that he may give invocation offerings of bread, beer, oxen and fowl, clothing, alabaster, incense, oil, everything good and pure that is offered, the provisions which come forth upon the offering tables daily for the *ka* of the *iry p^t ḥsty-^c*, sole companion, the one beloved of the lord of the two lands, the overseer of seal-bearers, Sennefer, true of voice. He says: I made an excellent tomb in my city of eternity and (I) made excellent the location [of my rock tomb in the desert of the everlasting.]

^aThere is possibly a little more space than just the obvious . It was not restored.

^bParallel text in TT131, Dziobek, *Gräber des Vezirs User-Amun*, Taf. 98 (Südflügel, östlicher Textstreifen); id., *Denkmäler des Vezirs User-Amun*, 78–80. I have chosen just to restore the first few words from TT131 to indicate the flavour of what probably followed, as the gap to the end of the wall from this point measures 1.55 m; in TT131 there is nearly 4 m to the end of this text.

Ceiling text 4: Front room north, east side (Fig. 117)

Parallels in TT96A²⁷⁵ and TT84.²⁷⁶

*[ḥtp di nswt r^c-ḥr-]^a šḥty bs^b ḥnh wbn m nwb<t> šhd tswy m ism šḥtf^c ir
šzp m wn n ḥrf dif m3 nfrf ḥfti wbnf swtf ḥp^f m ḥnh wnn b3 ḥny m
šmswt r^c [r^c nb ḥt mnti m ḥrtj-ntr m ḥtp ḥr wsr n <titles>]^d sn-nfrt
mš^c-ḥrw*

[An offering that the king gives and that Re-Hor]akhty gives, the living *ba*, who rises in gold, and who illuminates the two lands with the gleam of his horizon, who has created the light through the opening of his face, that he may cause that his beauty is seen when he rises and his rays when he sets in life for the living *bas* in the following of Re [every day, that his corpse be established in the necropolis in peace with Osiris, for <titles>] Senneferi, true of voice.

^aGap of 0.5 m.

^bThe damage to this sign, while not deep, is surely too localised for it to have been accidental. Presumably the ram hieroglyph was cut out as it was a recognised form of Amun, even though it is actually part of the writing here of *b3*; contrast the undamaged use with the *ba* bird in [Ceiling text 9](#) on [p. 158](#). This tends to suggest that the persons responsible for the damage of the Amarna period were illiterate craftsmen following orders to remove known symbolism of Amun, rather than those who could read the texts. See Manuelian in Teeter and Larson (eds), *Gold of Praise*, 285–298.

^c seems an unusual determinative for *šḥt*, but is also found in TT96A

(Assmann, notebooks). An hieratic confusion seems improbable, so perhaps either the same craftsman was involved or Sennefer copied text directly from Senneferi. See further § 5.8.3.

^dGap of 3.2 m, only partially capable of restoration.

Ceiling text 5: Front room south, west side (Fig. 118)

For comments about the change in colouration of this area of text, see the discussion of Scene 3.2 above (p. 99).²⁷⁷

*hṭp di nswt wsir ntr ꜥ hqꜣ dt inpw tpy dwf nb tꜣ dsr dišn prt-hrw t hmqꜣ
kꜣw ꜣpꜣw šs mnhꜣ sntr mnhꜣ rnpt nbt hꜣ m hꜣ nbt nfrt wꜣbt sꜣnt tꜣw ndm
n mhyt /// [šhm bꜣf hꜣfyw]^a m bꜣb iry mhyt imy-r ꜥ wꜣm imy-r šwt nšmt
imy-r hꜣswt nuob nt [imn]^b hꜣry-tp n ꜥst nbt imy-r ꜥhwt nt [imn]^b hꜣsty-ꜥ
imy-r hmw-nꜣrw n tmꜥ sšm hꜣb n [nꜣrw]^d nbw iwnw irr hꜣzwt psꜣtꜥ
ꜥst imy-r sꜣꜣwtꜣ sn-nfri mꜣ- [hrw] |ir n zꜣb ꜥ hꜣ(y)-dꜣhwtꜣ mꜣs n nbt pr
zꜣt-[dꜣhwtꜣ]*

An offering that the king gives and that Osiris the great god, the ruler of eternity, and Anubis who is on his mountain, the lord of the holy land give, that they may give /// invocation offerings of bread, beer, oxen, fowl, alabaster, clothing, incense, oil, all growing things, a thousand of every good and pure thing, smelling the sweet breath of the north wind /// [that his *ba* may be strong against his enemies] in the presence of the supervisor of the balance, the overseer of horn and hoof, the overseer of feather and scale, the overseer of the foreign lands of gold of Amun, the chief one of all precious stones, the overseer of fields of Amun, *hꜣsty-ꜥ*, overseer of priests of Atum, the one who follows the festival of all the gods of Heliopolis, the one who makes the praises of the great ennead, the overseer of seal-bearers, Senneferi, true of [voice, begotten of the official Ha(y)djehuty, born] of the lady of the house Sat[djehuty]

^aGap of 1.7 m. *šhm bꜣf hꜣfyw* is reconstructed from the similar phrase in [Ceiling text 7](#) below.

^bThe name of Amun has been hacked out and the areas subsequently restored twice in this text, using plaster with a much rougher surface, which was then painted yellow; there is, however, no clear evidence that the hieroglyphs were repainted. *nꜣrw* has been attacked twice in the subsequent titles and epithets; only once was it repaired in the same way.

^cFrom this point on the colour of the background changes from yellow to a reddish hue, probably caused by an intense fire in the tomb. See further [p. 99](#) above.

^dErasure and repair of ꜥꜥꜥ as above.



Fig. 115: Ceiling text 2 in normalised hieroglyphs with reconstructions where possible

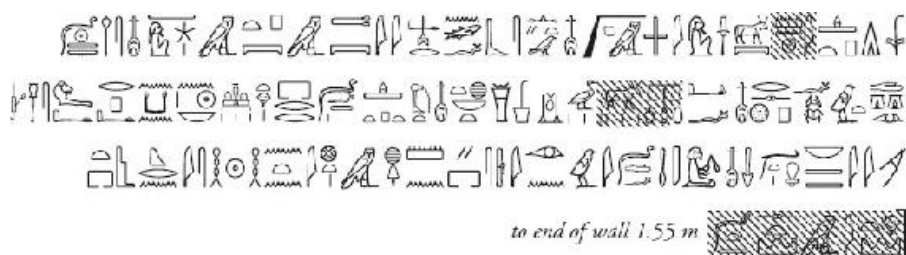


Fig. 116: Ceiling text 3 in normalised hieroglyphs with reconstructions where possible



Fig. 117: Ceiling text 4 in normalised hieroglyphs with reconstructions where possible

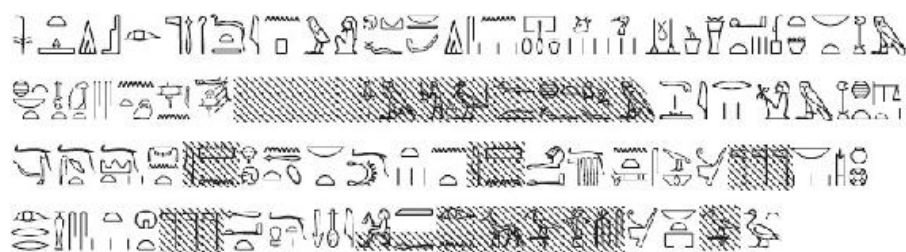


Fig. 118: Ceiling text 5 in normalised hieroglyphs with reconstructions where possible



Fig. 119: Ceiling text 6 in normalised hieroglyphs with reconstructions where possible



Fig. 120: Ceiling text 7 in normalised hieroglyphs with reconstructions where possible



Fig. 121: Ceiling text 8 in normalised hieroglyphs with reconstructions where possible

^eErasure of determinative 𓂏𓂏 but no repair.

^fThe gap between the end of *mš-hrw* and *mš n nbt pr* measures 14 cm. I am unsure whether there would have been room for a title (*zsb?*) for Haydjehuty.

Ceiling text 6: Front room south, middle (Fig. 119)

Parallels not yet noted.

*dd mdw t[mn]^a d?wi hrk hwyi^b hrw-k sht tw imi mi wr i imy-r sdxwty
sn-nfri mš-hrw shxi nfrk n pt rsyi diti hrk n pt mhyt imy-r hmuw-ntrw n
ntrw nbw [gap of 1.06 m] /// [imy-r hsw]wt [nwb]^c nt imn^d imy-r sdxwty
sn-nfri mš-hrw hd bsk (m)^e mskti diti hntf (m) mndi imy-r sdxwty
sn-nfri mš-hrw dšf imi hr shf sšd nf stf m bis imy-r pr n nswt imy-r
sdxwty sn-nfri mš-hrw tr n zsb hxy-dhwty mš-hrw*

Words spoken (by) [Amun: 'I shall] /// your face, I shall protect your limbs, ^f I shall transfigure you there (with?) me like a great one, O overseer of seal-bearers, Senneferi, true of voice. I shall remember your perfection to the southern sky (?) and I shall give your commands to the northern sky, the overseer of priests of all the gods, [/// the overseer of the gold lands] of Amun, the overseer of seal-bearers, Senneferi, true of voice. Your *ba* shall travel downstream (in) the *mskt* barque and I shall cause that he travel upstream (in) the *mndt* barque, the

overseer of seal-bearers, Senneferi, true of voice. He shall cross over with me and his *akh* shall appear in glory, since he has taken his place in the heavens, & the overseer of the king's house, the overseer of seal-bearers, Senneferi, true of voice, begotten of the official Haydjehuty, true of voice'.

^aGap of 12 cm, presumably from deliberate effacement; no repair seems to have been effected. There seems to be insufficient space for the obvious restoration *in imn*, so perhaps it was just *imn* with the *in* omitted. At the end of the gap are parts of two signs; the upper is definitely . The word it helps form presently evades me.

^bThis text makes use of the first person singular a great deal, as it reports the speech of a deity. As in the other ceiling texts (where the suffix *i* is not omitted), it is written with , but in the two biographical narratives (Walls 4 and 12)  or  is usually used. The latter signs are not employed at all in the ceiling texts, suggesting that it was inappropriate to use it in prayers and the like, where the human figures might have a negative magical effect, but acceptable for personal narrative.

^cThere are no traces of the hieroglyphs ,  or  but the restoration seems sure.

^dIt is not clear whether the damage to the divine name is deliberate or accidental, as it is only partial, although the initial divine name in this text has been erased.

^eI assume the preposition  is elided into the names of the two solar boats.

^fThis can be seen as the divine response to pleas (not in this tomb) for the god to protect one's limbs (TT106: Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen*, 167 (122.6)).

^gGraefe, *Untersuchungen zur Wortfamilie bj3*, 40–6.

Ceiling text 7: Front room south, east side (Fig. 120)

Parallels not yet noted.

[*hṭp di nswt (?)*] *///^a hṭ nbt nb mṣf [ntrw?^b] pwtj dṯf dṯ dṯšzp snw*
hṭp hr dṯw snb m hṭ nbt hr wdḥwḥfn imy-r [ḥwt] n [imn]^c imy-r
sdwty sn-nfri mṣ-hrw irf ḥprw prf tp ts šmsf ntr nb ntrw r dṣrw šḥt
imntt prtw nf hr ḥbw ntr pn hṭp m šḥf wṯf twt^d r fndf tpḥf tw
n ḥb twtf im m mṣ-hrw dltw nf ibf n mwtf ḥtyf n dṯf šm bsf m
ḥtywf m bḥ iry mḥt imy-r sdwty sn-nfri prf r bw mryf im sqbbf ibf
*m ḥwtf^e ddnf^f *///*^g tyt(i) m hṭp *///**

[An offering that the king gives ?///] everything, that he may present [the gods?] of the antiquity of his body for ever (?), & that he cause the receiving of *snw*-offerings, *hṭp*-offerings and *dṯw*-offerings united with everything upon his offering tables for the overseer of [fields] of [Amun], the overseer of seal-bearers, Senneferi, true of voice. He grew up ('made his forms') when he came forth upon earth, and he followed the god, the lord of the gods, to the magnificence of the horizon of the West ^h, that one go forth for him carrying the garlands of this god who sets in his horizon, his arms together with his nose, that he may breathe the breath of life, and that he shall come there as one who is true of voice. One shall give to him the *ib*-heart of his mother and his *ḥty*-heart of his body, and his *ba* shall be strong against his enemies in the presence of the supervisor of the balance, the overseer of seal-bearers, Senneferi. He shall go wherever he likes, and he shall cool his heart in his mansion, and 'holy' (?) and 'welcome' will be said to him.

^aGap of 0.4 m; there is possibly some evidence of repairs in it.

^bAll that is presently visible seems to be the bottom of some plural strokes, but, as the plaster has been repaired here, it is likely it was defaced in the Amarna period. 𓆎𓆎 was also hacked out in, for example, [Ceiling text 5](#) on [p. 153](#).

^cThese hieroglyphs were hacked out, and the gap later repaired; while the plaster was painted yellow, it is not immediately obvious if the text was repainted. I tentatively suggest that the title which was damaged was *imy-r ḥwt nt imn* as this can be written the most compactly of Senneferi's otherwise limited range of similar titles, although the missing feminine genitive might be problematic. See list of titles in [Table 1](#) on [p. 10](#) above and accompanying notes.

^dFollowing Sethe on Wb. Zettel 1005 who presumably regarded 𓆎 as a mistake for 𓆎, although an explanation of 𓆎 is less clear.

^eSethe suggested 𓆎 on Wb. Zettel 1003, presumably meaning 'stela'?

^fPart of a sign here, perhaps 𓆎?

^gI confess to not fully comprehending the content here.

^hFollowing Wb. V, 615 (10), but could it also be a play on the name of the Deir el-Bahari temple of Thutmose III?

5.8.2.2 Passage

Only two of the three original texts survive. [Ceiling text 8](#) is written horizontally, while that in the centre is vertical.

Ceiling text 8: Passage, south side (Fig. 121)

Only the first 2.36 m is preserved:^{[278](#)}

*ḥtp di nswt imn-r^c nswt tswy ḥwn ḥkr ntr w^c tr ntrw lti lltwsn mwt
mwwtšn^a nb taw sšm sw r fndw dif ḥ^b m t ḥnqt kw ḥpdw ḥt nbt nfrt
wḥt n k^z n iry p^ct ḥsty-^c mḥ-ib n nswt ḥt tswy imy-r sḏwty sn-nfri^b
[m^c-ḥrw ///]*

An offering that the king gives and that Amun-Re gives, the king of the two lands, the decorated youth, the unique god who made the gods, father of their fathers, and mother of their mothers, the lord of breath which follows him to the noses, that he may give a thousand of bread, beer, oxen, and fowl, and everything perfect and pure to the ka of the *iry p^ct ḥsty-^c* the trusted one of the king throughout the two lands, the overseer of seal-bearers, Senneferi, [true of voice ///]

c. 75
cm



Fig. 122: Ceiling text 1 in normalised hieroglyphs



Fig. 123: Ceiling text 9 in normalised hieroglyphs with reconstructions where possible



Fig. 124: Ceiling text 10 in normalised hieroglyphs

^aAssmann (*Sonnenhymnen*, 146) comments that this text contains one of the earliest references to the androgynous primaeval god.

^bNote the transposition of 𓆎 and 𓆏 .

Ceiling text 9: Passage, middle (Fig. 123; a detail is in [Colour pl. 35C](#))

This text stretches most of the length of the Passage, although punctuated with large gaps, many of which can be filled by reference to partially published material in TT96A.²⁷⁹

*hṭp di nswt rꜥ-hr-šbty bꜣ ʿnh hpr dsf ʿnh m mꜣt rꜥ nb dif irt hprw m
nfr-tm /// (37 cm gap) /// n mrwt hry-tp smrw ʿh imy-r ḥswt nbw nt
imn imy-r sḏwty sn-nfri mꜣ-hrw bꜣ tp tꜣ m hprw n bnw n imy-r šwt
nt imn imy-r sḏwty sn-nfri mꜣ-hrw prt tp tꜣ r mꜣ itn wꜣ dꜣwꜣ nw
ḥswty-tꜣwꜣ^a n imy-r hm(w)-ntr(w) n ntrw nbw imy-r sḏwty sn-nfr
mꜣ-hrw irt hprw^b m bꜣ ʿnhꜣ ih irf šbny hr mnw-f šꜣp-f šwt nt nhtwꜣf
sndmꜣf r qꜣh n mr[*f* tiwꜣt mn(w)]^c m ḥwtꜣf hr šꜣp dꜣwt tp tꜣ ḥt[*f*]
mn[*t*] n ḥꜣḥꜣns nb ʿnh hṭp-nf] stf swt ?? n m-ḥt [rnpwt imꜣhyw qꜣst nfrt
ty m hṭp n <name and titles>]^d*

An offering that the king gives and that Re-Horakhty gives, the living *ba*, who came into being by himself, and who lives on Maat daily, that he may cause that he may be manifest as Nefertum /// because of the chief of the *smrw* of the palace, the overseer of the foreign lands of gold of Amun, the overseer of seal-bearers Senneferi, true of voice, (that he may give) an inundation ^e upon the earth in forms of the *bnw* bird for the overseer of fields of Amun, the overseer of seal-bearers, Senneferi, true of voice, (and that he may give) a going forth on earth to see the sun disc when he opens up the two mountains of *ḥswty-tꜣwꜣ* for the overseer of priests of every god, the overseer of seal-bearers Sennefer, true of voice, (and he) may be manifest as a living *ba*: then he shall alight on his trees, and he shall take the shade of his sycamore fig trees, and sit at the corner of [his] tomb (lit. pyramid), [(with) his statues established] in his mansion/temple receiving what is given on earth, that [his] corpse be established [and not go astray from the coffin in which place he rests] after [years of provision and a perfect burial. Welcome! to <name and titles>]

^aThe *dꜣwꜣ nw ḥswty-tꜣwꜣ* are also mentioned in TT99 on two pillar texts in the Shrine (Text AS.1 on p. 146, Text BN.1 on p. 147). The term is found in the parallel text in TT96A, and also in TT83 (Urk. IV, 490 (8)).

^bAn excellent parallel for the remainder of this text that has survived is on a stela in TT110 (Davies, *Studies Griffith*, pl. 40 (7th–8th line), p. 289). Some reconstructions have been inserted in the copy of the text, but are not precise because of the variability of writing. The sequence of the formulae follows Barta Bitte nos 160, 161, 162, 153, 172, 163 (Barta, *Opferformel*, 100–2). The last phrase is also damaged in TT110.

^cThis reconstruction is placed in a gap of 25 cm.

^dGap of 0.7 m. Tentatively restored on the basis of the damaged text in TT10.

^eThe beginning of this section of text is paralleled in TT83 (Urk. IV, 490.6–8).

5.8.2.3 Shrine

There is only one area of text in the Shrine, running along the north

side of ceiling Area 7. The remaining areas were left blank.

Ceiling text 10: Shrine, north (Fig. 124; a detail is in Colour pl. 35E)

The orientation of this text is of particular interest, since it changes part of the way along.²⁸⁰ The whole offering formula is written vertically, but in two parts; the phrase *hṭp di nswt*, including the names and epithets of the deities, begins the text about a quarter of the distance between the Passage entrance and the niche, and the formula proceeds in a west–east direction towards the tomb entrance. The second part of the formula, beginning *disn*, starts adjacent to the phrase *hṭp di nswt*, and runs east–west towards the niche. This arrangement must be deliberate; the gods are addressed towards the entrance, to the world of the living, as in the Passage ceiling texts, but the offerings for Senneferi face the realm where the dead reside.²⁸¹ Amun-Re and Osiris are usually kept separate in formulae in ceiling texts, as has been seen in the Front room, but the dual orientation of this text accounts for this combination.

*hṭp di nswt imn-r^c nb nswt twy wsir hnty imntyw ntr ʕ hqʕ [dt]
<change of orientation> disn šb m pt usr m tʕ šzp snw pr m bšh hr
wdḥw n<t> nb ntrw ssnt tʕw ndm pr hntyw hṭpt dfw n wnn tp tʕ n kʕ
n iry pʕt hṭy-^c sdwty bity smr wʕty r n nswt ʕnhwy n bity imy-ib pw n
nb tʕwy imy-r sdwty sn-nfr mʕ-hrw*

An offering that the king gives and that Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands, and Osiris foremost of the westerners, the great god, the ruler of [eternity] give <change of orientation> that they cause excellence in heaven and strength on earth, receiving provisions which have come forth in the presence upon the offering table of the lord of the gods, breathing the sweet breath which has come forth before the offerings of food existing on earth for the *ka* of the *iry pʕt hṭy-^c*, seal bearer of the *bity*, sole companion, the mouth of the king of Upper Egypt and the ears of the king of Lower Egypt, this one ^a who is in the heart of the lord of the two lands, the overseer of seal-bearers, Sennefer, true of voice.

^aOr ‘for he is one who is in the heart of...’, depending on whether *pʕw* is the old demonstrative or the indicator of a nominal sentence.

5.8.3 Discussion and parallels

As a general rule, ceiling texts in Theban Tombs have received little study in the literature and a large number remain unpublished. Assmann has featured a number of them in his studies of solar hymns and funerary liturgies.²⁸²

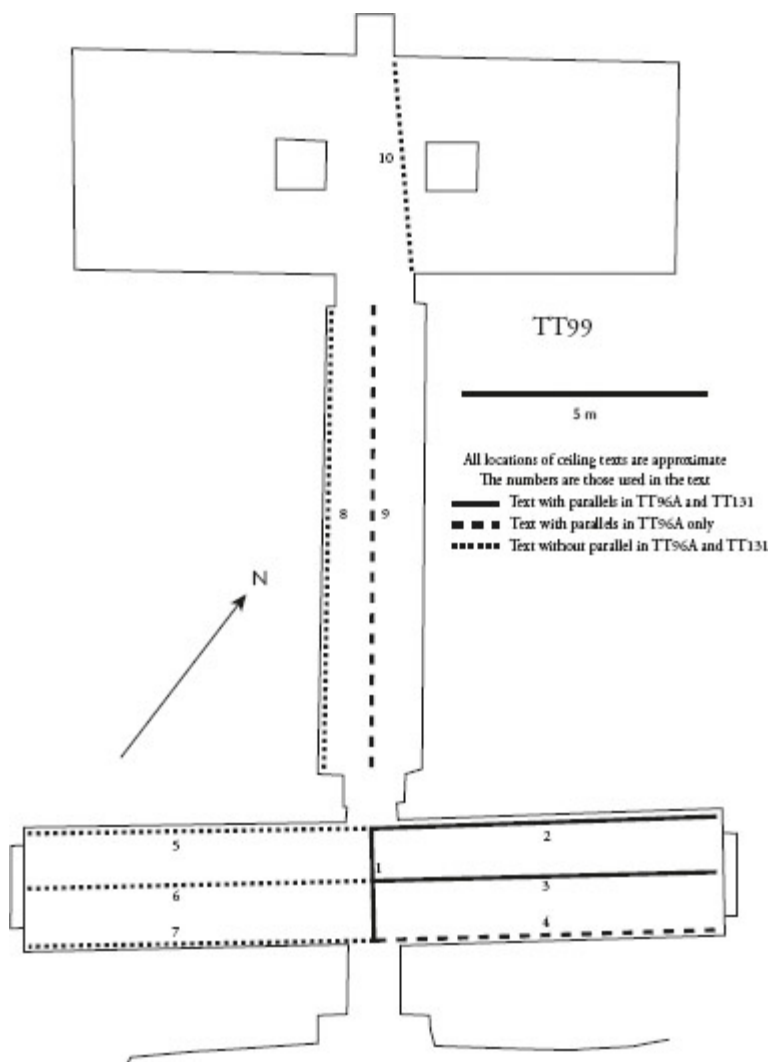


Fig. 125: Schematic diagram of TT99 with ceiling texts and parallels marked to TT96A and TT131

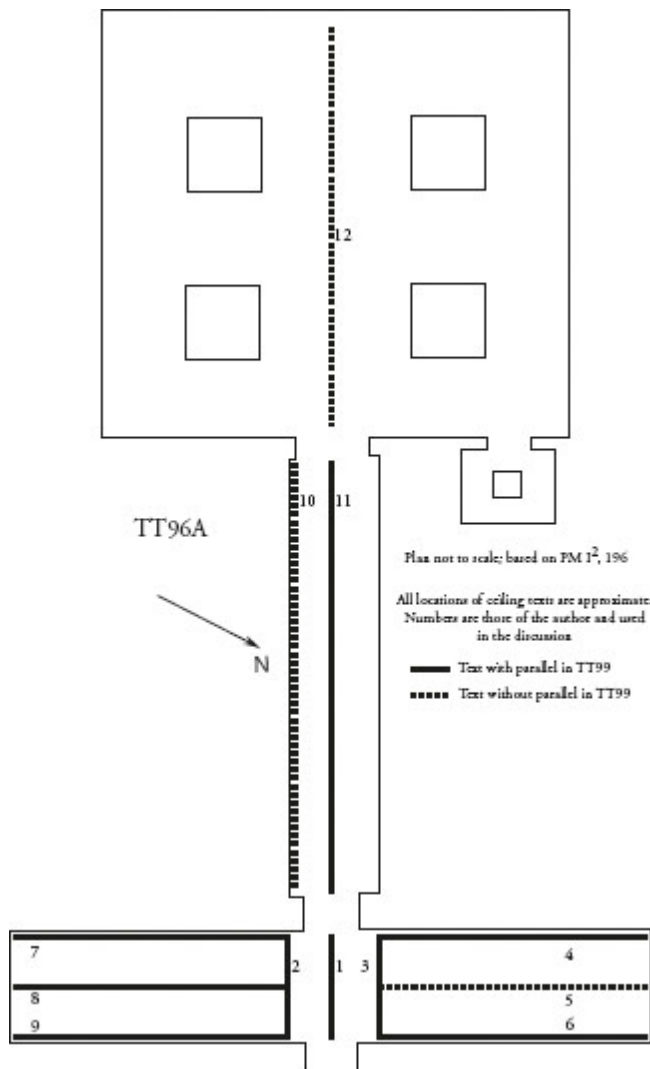


Fig. 126: Schematic diagram of TT96A with ceiling texts and parallels marked to TT99

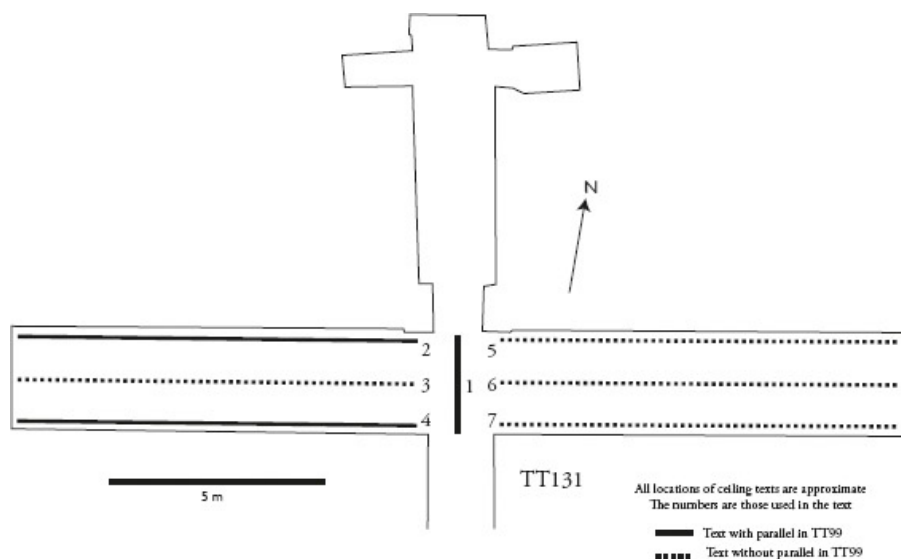


Fig. 127: Schematic diagram of TT131 with ceiling texts and parallels marked to TT99

As observed on p. 152 above, two parallels to the texts in TT99 in particular stand out, from the offering chapels of Sennefer (TT96A) and Useramun (TT131), particularly the former. The accompanying diagrams (Fig. 125 to Fig. 127) show the probable locations of the ceiling bands, coded as to their relationship to those in TT99 (only the ceiling bands bearing texts are shown); the matches are listed in Table 9.²⁸³

Table 9: Ceiling text layouts in TT99, TT96 and TT131

TT99	TT96A	TT131	Type of text
1	1	1	Nut text
2	9	2	Osiris offering formula
3	8	4	Amun offering formula
4	7		Re-Horakhty offering formula
9	11		Re-Horakhty offering formula

The Nut text regularly appears in this position in the front room of most tombs, and the central passage text is the same in both TT99 and T96A (it is absent from TT131 which has no passage). The texts in the

part of the front hall of TT99 to the north of the entrance correspond to those of the south of the front hall in TT96A, and partly to the west of the front hall in TT131. It is as if that area of ceiling has been flipped over.

Did Sennefer, the owner of TT96A, visit the adjacent older tomb of his namesake and cause some of the texts to be copied for use in his own chapel? Bavay has suggested that the design of TT96A may have been influenced by TT99.²⁸⁴ Perhaps the similarity of their names encouraged the link, even if they were not related; surely there is also a high probability that Sennefer worked at some time early in his career with Senneferi. Certainly there is at least one example of an unusual writing in both tombs (see note c., [Ceiling text 4](#) on [p. 153](#)).

Is the reason for the location of the texts in TT96A merely down to chance, or is the different orientation of the tomb partly responsible, as with the wall scenes in the tomb of Userhat (TT56)?²⁸⁵ Unlike the latter tomb, however, TT96A is orientated only 90 ° from the ideal alignment, and thus a simple explanation does not easily come to mind. This also does not explain the similar arrangement in TT131.

Another question is why the owner of TT96A should have copied only half of the TT99 texts. The other texts in the front hall seem to have little in common, and notably the central text in TT99 (6) is one beginning *dd mdw*, while that in TT96A (5) is a *hṯp di nswt* formula. In the Passage, TT99 (8) is a *hṯp di nswt* formula to Amun, and TT96A one to Osiris, and in the Rear room both texts are *hṯp di nswt* formulae, but invoking quite different sets of gods and very differently structured (TT99 (10), TT96A (12)). In the latter case, however, it does appear that there is a similarity in that there is only one text in the corresponding areas of each tomb.

These conclusions are very general; more formal study of the ceiling texts is needed, and more examples need to be collected and published from other monuments in order to take this further.

- ¹ In particular, Engelmann-von Carnap, *Struktur*, 93–186.
- ² In the earlier 18th dynasty, there are examples of both: TT81 and TT343 have no subordinate registers below the main one (Dziobek, *Ineni* and Guksch, *Benja*), while TT82 and TT86 do (Davies and Gardiner, *Amenemh̄t* and Davies, *Menkheperasonb*).
- ³ I have tried to acknowledge and attribute these as extensively as possible. Most have been made by Julie Dawson, to whom I am very grateful; she has saved me from more than a few errors.
- ⁴ The full reference for the chapel is PM I², 204–206, with a sketch plan on p. 196.
- ⁵ Davies, *Menkheperasonb*, pl. IX and XIXB.
- ⁶ The figure in *ibid.*, pl. IX has been used for comparison.
- ⁷ The Valley Festival has of course been much studied. The first encompassing study was Schott, *Schöne Fest*, in 1952. Subsequent studies include Wiebach, *SAK* 13 (1986), 263–291 on the relationship between the actors in the ritual; Budka, *Bestattungsbrauchum*, 479–486, concerning the archaeology and the relationship to the Assasif; and most recently, Seyfried, *Bemerkungen und Quellen*.
- ⁸ Specific collections of this category of scene will be found in Schott, *Schöne Fest*, 12–31, 97–101 and Engelmann-von Carnap, *Struktur*, 331–338 (IX).
- ⁹ For example, in TT86 (Davies, *Menkheperasonb*, pl. XVI).
- ¹⁰ TT112: Davies, *Menkheperasonb*, pl. XXIII; TT39: Davies, *Puyemr̄ II*, pl. LIV; TT343: Guksch, *Benja*, Taf. 6; TT86: Davies, *Menkheperasonb*, pl. XV–XVI.
- ¹¹ I would like to thank the two colleagues who, after seeing them in public lectures, have pointed me in the direction of attempting to understand these marks. Scott Bucking drew my attention to the marks in Esna, while Antonio J. Morales made me aware of the existence of *hederae* in Latin inscriptions.
- ¹² Sauneron and Jacquet, *Les ermitages chrétiens du désert d'Esna* I, 69–70, especially Fig. 35. Recent discussion in Bucking, *Practice Makes Perfect*, 24, Fig. 2.5; the scene in TT99 is illustrated in Fig. 2.4.
- ¹³ Wingo, *Latin punctuation in the Classical Age*, 122–127; these pages include several examples, but additional texts with these marks are included in Appendix II, pp 150–163.
- ¹⁴ Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, 304, 181, with an example copied in England from Anglo-Saxon times in pl. 11.
- ¹⁵ Behlmer, *Hallesche Beiträge zur Orientwissenschaft* 36 (2003), 11–27.
- ¹⁶ Beinlich-Seeber and Shedid, *Userhet*, Taf. 13; details in Wilkinson and Hill, *Egyptian Wall Paintings*, 102.
- ¹⁷ The apparent pale yellow shapes either side of this cloth appear to be discolouration of the plaster.
- ¹⁸ List in PM I², 465 (7c).
- ¹⁹ Davies, *Menkheperasonb*, pl. IX.
- ²⁰ The subject of this wall and the false door are discussed to varying extents in two articles by the present author, in Jiménez-Serrano and von Pilgrim (eds), *From the Delta to the Cataract*, 272–287, and in Angenot and Tiradritti (eds), *Artists and Painting*, forthcoming. Specific references are only given where extra material will be found in those articles.
- ²¹ Strudwick, in Angenot and Tiradritti (eds), *Artists and Painting*, forthcoming.
- ²² TT85: MMA photo T2579 (two figures of Anubis offered to by deceased and wife). There is a scene showing offerings before Anubis, with no figure of the tomb owner, in TT63: Dziobek and Abdel Raziq, *Sobekhotep*, 46–48, Taf. 8; the very damaged scene in TT64 appears to be almost identical (MMA photo T2814). Compare decoration

above the false door in the vaulted shrine of TT39: Davies, *Puyemrê* II, pl. XLVIII. I thank Catharine Roehrig for assistance with the MMA photos.

²³ Compare the incomplete selection in Hermann, *Stelen*, 27–29.

²⁴ *Stelen*, 27–29. Hermann thought that it was likely that a stela existed on the right wall of TT99 (= Wall 5; *Stelen*, 28 n. 90).

²⁵ I wish to thank Katherina Brandt for this observation and for helpful discussions and hints from her unpublished dissertation *Die Scheintüren und Entablaturen in den thebanischen Beamtengräber des neuen Reiches*, and for giving me an electronic copy of an earlier version of this work.

²⁶ I am extremely grateful to Mohamed el-Bialely for allowing me access to this material, and for permitting it to be removed to TT99.

²⁷ See Strudwick, in Angenot and Tiradritti (eds), *Artists and Painting*, forthcoming.

²⁸ Manniche, *City of the Dead*, 54, fig. 48.

²⁹ ASAE 5 (1904), 100.

³⁰ A black 18th dynasty coffin base of . This name, Iumama (similar to Ranke, PN I, 17 (12), although only given as Middle Kingdom) might have been the basis for Mond's 'Aufmama', the lower part of whose coffin was found in a shaft of TT89 (Mond, ASAE 6 (1905), 76).

³¹ See also N. Strudwick in Jiménez-Serrano and von Pilgrim (eds), *From the Delta to the Cataract*, 274–275.

³² See generally Engelmann-von Carnap, *Struktur*, 354–358; Kampp, *Thebanische Nekropole*, 51–53.

³³ A list of the most important examples with bibliography is given in Strudwick, in Jiménez-Serrano and von Pilgrim (eds), *From the Delta to the Cataract*, Table 22.1 (TT39, TT61/131, TT71, TT100, tomb C.3). In addition to those mentioned in that table, there were also examples in TT120, TT121, TT397 (from Brandt, *Die Scheintüren und Entablaturen*), as well as fragments of an intrusive example found in TT71 (Dorman, *The monuments of Senenmut*, 77, pl. 35a (14)). At the 2015 meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt, Peter Piccione gave a presentation on TT121 which included an unpublished reconstruction based on records in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. A fragment of a further granite false door of this date was also recovered from Karnak in close proximity to the C.3 door (Laroche and Traunecker, *Cahiers de Karnak* 6 (1973–1977), 171, fig. 3.). The two separate false doors of Suty and Hor (British Museum EA 826 and Cairo CG 34051: Baines and McNamara, in Hawass and Richards (eds), *The Archaeology and Art of Ancient Egypt*. I, 63–79) dating to the Amarna Period, are not considered further here, as their original provenance is unknown, and they are perhaps rather stelae within false door frames.

³⁴ For example, the free-standing granite false doors of Thutmose I at Deir el-Bahari (Louvre C.48: Roehrig et al. (eds), *Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh*, 156–157 (87); PM II², 361), and that of Thutmose III, presently at Medinet Habu but perhaps originally from his mortuary temple (cf. PM II², 461).

³⁵ Brandt, *Die Scheintüren und Entablaturen*. This thesis builds on the basic work of Hermann and has uncovered considerably more fragments of monolithic doors than realised before.

³⁶ Strudwick, in Jiménez-Serrano and von Pilgrim (eds), *From the Delta to the Cataract*, Table 22.1. From this admittedly small sample it is evident that there is no standard proportion in use for any door.

³⁷ Davies reconstructed the door of TT39 with the bottom of the text aligning with the dado (Davies, *Puyemrê* II, pl. XLVIII, LI). The painted or modelled false doors in TT343 (Guksch, *Benja*, Taf. 15), TT56 (Beinlich-Seeber and Shedid, *Userhet*, Taf. 8),

and TT295 (Hegazy and Tosi, *A Theban private tomb*, pl. 3) do not reach the ground, but align with or just below the dado.

³⁸ Several fragments in the reconstructions here are illustrated in Strudwick, in Jiménez-Serrano and von Pilgrim (eds), *From the Delta to the Cataract*, figs 22.1, 22.4, 22.5 and Strudwick, in Angenot and Tiradritti (eds), *Artists and Painting*, forthcoming. The reconstruction in both articles was rather preliminary and is superseded by Fig. 85.

³⁹ Both fragments are illustrated in Strudwick, in Jiménez-Serrano and von Pilgrim (eds), *From the Delta to the Cataract*, Fig. 224A–B.

⁴⁰ References to ‘Fig. 22’ in the remainder of this paragraph are to N. Strudwick in Jiménez-Serrano and von Pilgrim (eds), *From the Delta to the Cataract*.

⁴¹ *ibid.*, Fig. 22.4A; Strudwick, in Angenot and Tiradritti (eds), *Artists and Painting*, forthcoming.

⁴² N. Strudwick in Jiménez-Serrano and von Pilgrim (eds), *From the Delta to the Cataract*, Fig. 22.4A; Strudwick, in Angenot and Tiradritti (eds), *Artists and Painting*, forthcoming.

⁴³ See list of the main examples in N. Strudwick in Jiménez-Serrano and von Pilgrim (eds), *From the Delta to the Cataract*, 280–281.

⁴⁴ Dorman, *Monuments of Senenmut*, 94; *id.*, *Tombs of Senenmut*, 22.

⁴⁵ Davies, *Rekh-mi-rē*, 10 n. 37.

⁴⁶ Strudwick, in Jiménez-Serrano and von Pilgrim (eds), *From the Delta to the Cataract*, 286.

⁴⁷ For example, the Shabaka Stone in the British Museum (EA 498, Strudwick, *Masterpieces*, 260–261).

⁴⁸ SPAW 1906, 356–363. The hieroglyphic text later appeared in Urk. IV, 531–536 (173).

⁴⁹ Blumenthal et al., *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, 116–117; Wilson, in Pritchard, *ANET* 3, 243; Helck, *Verwaltung*, 350; Helck, *Materialien*, 873–874. cf. Radwan, *Die Darstellungen des regierenden Königs*, 33.

⁵⁰ Eichler, SAK 26 (1998), 215–228.

⁵¹ SPAW 1906, 358; this paper concentrates on our Wall 4.

⁵² Engelmann-von Carnap, *Struktur*, 245–253, 427–428; an excellent example is TT86, best illustrated in *ibid.*, Taf. 7.

⁵³ Urk. IV, 531–534 (173A). Translated in Blumenthal et al., *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, 116–117.

⁵⁴ SAK 26 (1998), 223–228.

⁵⁵ Dziobek in Assmann et al., *Thebanische Beamtennekropolen*, 138–139.

⁵⁶ Urk. IV, 349–355.

⁵⁷ Black appears to have a tendency to decay, seemingly often helped by fire in the tomb (cf. Davies, *Menkheperresonb*, 27). Decayed colours similar to these seem to be described in TT73 (Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, 1). However, the question will be considered in Part II whether it is decay or another factor.

⁵⁸ I thank Lisa Shekede for drawing this to my attention and for the following reference: Rickerby, *The Conservator* 15 (1991), 39–44.

⁵⁹ As summarised in Mayes, *The Great Belzoni*, 161. See Belzoni, *Narrative* (2nd edition), 181.

⁶⁰ Bruce, *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile*, 33. Bruce describes an actual encounter with these outlaws on pp 42–43, while an attack from these people on the valley population and a planned response by the Turks is mentioned on p. 45.

⁶¹ Several years after I first noticed this account of Bruce’s, the subject of the lawless nature of the Qurnawi was considered in more detail by Bouvier and Zaki, *Memnonia*

16 (2005), 151–174. Pp 167–168 mention this example from Bruce, and also an account by Denon, who witnessed such an attack on the tombs during the stay of the Napoleonic *savants* in Qurna.

⁶² See the selection in Engelmann-von Carnap, *Struktur*, 427 (V),

⁶³ Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, pl. I.

⁶⁴ *ibid.*, 3–6, pl. II–IV

⁶⁵ Säve-Söderbergh indicates the existence of a ‘dado register’, which I can only assume is a decorated dado. There is no evidence for this one way or the other here in TT99 (*Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, 5–6, pl. IV–V), although the limited traces elsewhere suggest that it was not decorated.

⁶⁶ The scene is noted in Radwan, *Die Darstellungen des regierenden Königs*, 33 as a unique example from its content.

⁶⁷ These texts will be found in Urk. IV, 534–536.

⁶⁸ Men carrying axes and bows in a slightly different position may be found in the tomb of Inyotef (TT155: Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, pl. XIIA).

⁶⁹ ‘Sellette’ in French: Rommelaere, *Les chevaux du nouvel empire Egyptien*, 96–97, Fig. 67, 104, Fig. 79.

⁷⁰ As in the horse and chariot in the tomb of Nebamun (BM EA 37982, Strudwick, *Masterpieces*, 177).

⁷¹ Pre-Amarna examples are summarised in Rommelaere, *Les chevaux du nouvel empire Egyptien*, 150–192; the present scene is noted on p. 154 (12). Rommelaere’s discussions in the rest of the volume on the gait and harnesses in use in similar examples should be consulted. See also Hofmann, *Fuhrwesen und Pferdehaltung im alten Ägypten*, 81–83 (this scene is not mentioned).

⁷² Davies, *Menkheperasonb*, pl. VII; Rommelaere, *Les chevaux du nouvel empire Egyptien*, 154 (11), with an excellent detail on pl. 1.

⁷³ TT100: Davies, *Rekh-mi-re’*, pl. XXIII; TT91: (Rommelaere, *Les chevaux du nouvel empire Egyptien*, 185 (47)). Pairs of horses have been depicted drawing chariots in the monument of Ahmose at Abydos (Harvey, *Egyptian Archaeology* 4 (1994), 4–5, and fig. at top left of p. 5).

⁷⁴ TT84: Rommelaere, *Les chevaux du nouvel empire Egyptien*, 155 (10b).

⁷⁵ Five horses are shown in layer depiction in TT123 but not in overlapping groups as here (Rommelaere, *Les chevaux du nouvel empire Egyptien*, 156 (13(a), with fig), following Davies, *BMMA* 27 Part II (1932), 57, fig. 8).

⁷⁶ The best-known representation of such figures is on a fragment from TT63, now in the British Museum (EA 37991: Dziobek and Abdel Raziq, *Sobekhotep*, Taf. 3c).

⁷⁷ Lozenge borders are considered in Cherpion, *Deux tombes de la XVIIIe dynastie à Deir el-Medina*, 28–30.

⁷⁸ The subject of this wall and the stela are discussed in Strudwick, in Angenot and Tiradritti (eds), *Artists and Painting*, forthcoming.

⁷⁹ Some of the group of tombs with false doors noted above in note 36 on p. 91 also possess stelae: TT343 (Guksch, *Benja*, Taf. 14), TT56 (Beinlich-Seeber and Shedid, *Userhet*, Taf. 9). Another well-published example is that in TT79 (Guksch, *Nacht-Min*, Taf. 34). Many other examples are mentioned in Hermann, *Stelen*, passim, with several illustrated in Taf. 1–12.

⁸⁰ It is possible that there is a very faint criss-cross pattern in a pale cream colour on this shape, but it may simply be the variability of the background colour. Julie Dawson considers the latter more likely.

⁸¹ Julie Dawson observes that the bodies of these two male and female pairs are painted, sculpted almost, in a thick white paste or paint layer, over which the details in other colours are added.

⁸² Davies, *Menkheperasonb*, 30–31, pl. XXXVI; Strudwick, in Angenot and Tiradritti (eds), *Artists and Painting*, forthcoming. Other illustrations of forts in private tombs seem to be restricted to one damaged example in TT40 (Davies, *Huy*, pl. IX, XL (2)), and to small depictions in the late Ramesside decoration of TT65 (Wreszinski, *Atlas I*, 224).

⁸³ See Badawy, *Le dessin architectural chez les anciens Egyptiens*, 150, within his overall discussion of military architecture on pp. 139–158.

⁸⁴ I would like to thank Anthony Spalinger for drawing this to my attention; see his article *JSSEA* 8 (1977–1978), 47–60.

⁸⁵ Donohue, in Lloyd (ed.), *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society*, 82–114, with a convenient collection of possible Ramesside parallels.

⁸⁶ Berlin 21140 Priese (ed.), *Ägyptisches Museum*, 128 (79); *Pharaonen und Fremde*, 283 (394), colour plate on p. 82.

⁸⁷ Davies and Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Paintings I*, pl. XLIII, visible in context in Dziobek and Abdel Raziq, *Sobekhotep*, pl. Taf. 20a.

⁸⁸ Davies, *Ancient Egyptian Paintings III*, 86–87.

⁸⁹ Epigraphic Survey, *The Battle Reliefs of Sety I*, pl. 6.

⁹⁰ For example, *ibid.*, pl. 23.

⁹¹ Badawy, *A History of Egyptian Architecture III*, 467, pl. 67. Badawy suggests that this could have been inspired by Syrian fortresses (p. 462).

⁹² *ibid.*, 457–462.

⁹³ Robert Mond clearly found some further fragments of this stela in his work in 1903: 'I found ... fragments of a limestone stela bearing his name and titles' (*ASAE* 5 (1904), 101–102). The current locations of these are unknown, it seems likely they were once stored in TT96 (above p. 91).

⁹⁴ See list in Hermann, *Stelen*, 27–29.

⁹⁵ At least in TT96A, PM I², 198 (9).

⁹⁶ Guksch, *Nacht-Min*, 46, Taf. 34.

⁹⁷ No time was available to make facsimile drawings of the stela fragments, and the quality of the photography, for which I bear responsibility, is lamentable as these images were only captured with an early digital camera.

⁹⁸ See examples in PM 2², 73.

⁹⁹ JE 59636: Lacau, *Mélanges Mariette*, 211–227, Pl. I. Hermann suggests that this may have originally come from Abydos, although I find this hard to believe (*Stelen*, 45, Taf. 5a).

¹⁰⁰ Some aspects of this stela are covered in Strudwick in Angenot and Tiradritti (eds), *Artists and Painting*, forthcoming.

¹⁰¹ Image in *ibid.*

¹⁰² Hermann, *Stelen*, 38, Abb. 6.

¹⁰³ *Stelen*, 39. The scene is illustrated neither by Hermann nor by Davies (*Menkheperasonb*, 33 (top); PM I², 83(11)). I wish to thank Catharine Roehrig for access to MMA photograph T. 3437 on which these comments are based, reproduced in Strudwick, in Angenot and Tiradritti (eds), *Artists and Painting*, forthcoming.

¹⁰⁴ Excavated in 2005 by the mission of the Université libre de Bruxelles under the direction of the late Roland Tefnin, north of the northern boundary wall of the courtyard of TT29. Context [540]; height 18.5 cm, width 20 cm; excavation number 296210; the object is registered by the SCA as R.48 and kept in the central storeroom of Luxor West Bank ('Carter magazine'). I would like to thank Laurent Bavay of the Université libre de Bruxelles for drawing this find to my attention, and for permitting me to publish images of this object here. See Strudwick, in Angenot and Tiradritti (eds), *Artists and Painting*, forthcoming.

- 105 This statement is based on a survey of the examples in the plates of Hermann, *Stelen*.
- 106 Laurent Bavay, personal communication. Again, I thank him for his assistance, exemplary co-operation and discussions.
- 107 No photographed, from Shaft F, layer 1.
- 108 *Stelen*, 39. This detail is almost impossible to see in MMA photograph T. 3437.
- 109 Hermann, *Stelen*, 38, Abb.6.
- 110 I am suggesting a simpler form of the tomb wall decoration seen in many tombs of this era, for example in TT82 (Davies and Gardiner, *Amenemhêt*, pl. XIV–XVI).
- 111 Dziobek, *Denkmäler des Vezirs User-Amun*, Taf. 12.
- 112 The stela text from TT99 in Hermann, *Stelen*, 47*–49* is in fact from lost tomb C.1 of Amenhotep (PM 12, 456). This erroneous reference was noted by Spalinger, *The Private Feast Lists of Ancient Egypt*, 64 (21). Could the original source of this confusion be the reference in Davies and Gardiner, *Amenemhêt*, 70, n.4 to ‘the high-priest Amenemhêt (no. 99)’?
- 113 Hermann, *Stelen*, 102–152; Urk. IV, 1515–1539; tombs with this text include TT88, TT79 and TT87. See Hermann, *Stelen*, 20*–24* and Virey, *Sept Tombeaux Thébaines*, 299–302 for TT88, and for the latter two, see Guksch, *Nacht-Min*, 46–49, Abb. 22 and 151–157, Taf. 34. Neither of the latter seems to have had a scene at the top.
- 114 Guksch, *Nacht-Min*, Taf. 34.
- 115 Guksch, *Nacht-Min*, Abb. 67, l. 31.
- 116 Hermann, *Stelen*, 21*.11; also Berlin 2074, *ibid.*, 50*.17.
- 117 General discussion of stelae in Theban tombs: Kampp, *Thebanisch Nekropole*, 53–55.
- 118 *Stelen*, 40.
- 119 Some examples: Useramun (Grenoble 19: Dziobek, *Denkmäler des Vezirs User-Amun*, 88–91, Taf. 12); Imanedjeh (Marseille 234, possibly from TT84: Beinlich-Seeber and Shedid, *Userhet*, 108, Taf. 46).
- 120 Davies, *Menkheperasonb*, pl. IX, XIXB.
- 121 See p. 86 above; TT79 is a tomb with two such scenes preserved to some extent (Guksch, *Nacht-Min*, Taf. 26, 33a).
- 122 Davies, *Menkheperasonb*, 11, pl. X; Engelmann-von Carnap, *Struktur*, Taf. 7.
- 123 Davies, *Menkheperasonb*, 10, pl. IX. Compare also the weighing of tribute gold in TT39 (Davies, *Puyemrê* I, pl. XXXV–XXXVI).
- 124 Inspecting and weighing are also shown in this location in TT100 (Davies, *Rekh-mi-rê*’, pl. XXXIII–XXXV).
- 125 Three figures in TT86 stand (Davies, *Menkheperasonb*, pl. VIII–X); in TT343 standing and seated figures are divided equally (Guksch, *Benja*, Taf. 8–10, 12).
- 126 For example: TT87 (Guksch, *Nacht-Min*, 41, Taf 5 (b)); TT29 (Perier-d’Ieteren, in Warmenbol and Angenot (eds), *Thèbes aux 101 portes*, 150, pl. 33a); TT85 (information from Heike Guksch); TT96A, TT86, TT100 and TT82 (personal examination); perhaps also TT131 (Dziobek, *Gräber des Vezirs User-Amun*, Taf. 20).
- 127 Guksch, *Benja*, Taf. 8.
- 128 One example will suffice, that of TT100 (Davies, *Rekh-mi-rê*’, pl. VIII).
- 129 Davies, *Menkheperasonb*, pl. XXV.
- 130 Note on the facsimile: unlike the painted scenes in this tomb, the damage is not outlined in this plate.
- 131 For example, Osiris is accompanied by Isis, and the mirrored scene shows Anubis and the West in TT87 (Guksch, *Nacht-Min*, Taf. 7); TT17 shows the deceased and wife before Anubis and Osiris (Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, 29, pl. XXVIII (7)); and TT97 shows the deceased probably worshipping Anubis

(unpublished, PM I², 203 (6)).

¹³² Virey, *Sept Tombeaux Thébaines*, fig. 6; Guksch, *Nacht-Min*, Taf. 40–41.

¹³³ Urk. IV, 537–538 (174 C).

¹³⁴ TT79: Guksch, *Nacht-Min*, 164–165, Taf. 40–41; TT85: MMA Photos T2600–2601, Strudwick, in Backes *et al.* (eds), *Ausgestattet mit den Schriften des Thot*, Fig. 14, Virey, *Sept Tombeaux Thébaines*, 263–265, fig. 6, and Urk. IV, 912–914 (270 G). Other tombs show burial equipment, but without the accompanying text which links TT99, 79, and 85. TT49, after the end of the Amarna period, exhibits a scene with a text which is a variation on the theme (Davies, *Neferhotep*, 44–45, pl. XXV; is it significant that this text is in coloured hieroglyphs as opposed to the monochrome ones used in most of TT49?). The help of Heike Heye with information from her forthcoming publication of TT85 is gratefully acknowledged, including allowing me to see photographs of the scenes; in addition she permits me to note (personal communication) that she suspected that there might originally have been a scene like this in TT87. See also Engelmann-von Carnap, *Struktur*, 264.

¹³⁵ A translation of the text based on the three texts is in Guksch, *Königsdienst*, 168 ((053)03); a version based on that in Urk. IV will be found in Wohlfarth, *Grabbeigaben im Flachbild*, 118.

¹³⁶ See p. 260 for actual Opening of the Mouth implements found in TT99, with further information in Strudwick, in Backes *et al.* (eds), *Ausgestattet mit den Schriften des Thot*, 213–238 and Bohleke and Strudwick, forthcoming.

¹³⁷ Guksch, *Nacht-Min*, Taf. 40. References to TT79 in this section henceforth indicate that plate.

¹³⁸ Jéquier, *Frises d'objets des sarcophages du Moyen Empire*, 157–191; see the analysis in Willems, *Chests of Life*, 209–228. Excellent examples: that of Djehutynakht from el-Bersha, now in Boston (Freed *et al.*, *The Secrets of Tomb 10A*, 108–122); that of Imeni from Thebes (Rummel in Polz (ed.), *Für die Ewigkeit geschaffen*, 81–90).

¹³⁹ This scene has been discussed by Wohlfarth, *Grabbeigaben im Flachbild*, 117–118, with Abb. 71 (our drawing). Wohlfarth's book enumerates and discusses the objects in this scene in more detail, and for the most part the reader is referred there for more information.

¹⁴⁰ The top of such a sceptre from the Middle Kingdom was found in Dra Abul Naga (Polz (ed.), *Für die Ewigkeit geschaffen*, Abb. 120), and a complete example in the Khashaba excavations by Ahmed Kamal at Meir (MMA 11.150.20b, <http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/546281>, accessed 5 April 2016).

¹⁴¹ There are some bows and arrows in the TT79 parallel scene (Guksch, *Nacht-Min*, Taf. 40).

¹⁴² As TT79, where the background is yellow: close-up in Guksch, *Nacht-Min*, Taf. 42b.

¹⁴³ Julie Dawson notes that the white of this chair cushion and of the linen signs to the right are thickly and carelessly applied.

¹⁴⁴ Compare the TT79 parallel already mentioned. See Wohlfarth, *Grabbeigaben im Flachbild*, 440–441; Otto, *Mundöffnungsritual* II, 22. See also Strudwick, in Backes *et al.* (eds), *Ausgestattet mit den Schriften des Thot*, 225, Fig. 15 and table on p. 238.

¹⁴⁵ A similar example in TT172 (MMA photo T3080).

¹⁴⁶ An actual Middle Kingdom example was found in the Khashaba excavations by Ahmed Kamal at Meir (MMA 11.150.20a, <http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/546280>, accessed 5 April 2016).

¹⁴⁷ The top of such a sceptre from the Middle Kingdom was found in Dra Abul Naga (Polz (ed.), *Für die Ewigkeit geschaffen*, Abb. 121).

¹⁴⁸ See Wohlfarth, *Grabbeigaben im Flachbild*, 176–177. Compare the example on

Wall 13 (p. 130)

¹⁴⁹ As an example, I thank Jenny Cashman (personal communication) for pointing out a possible connection between scribal palettes and BD spell 94.

¹⁵⁰ Urk. IV, 537 (174 B).

¹⁵¹ List PM I², 467 (18a). See Engelmann-von Carnap, *Struktur*, 261–263, 430–431.

¹⁵² Davies, *Rekh-mi-rē*, pl. LXXIII (3). A cattle scene may have appeared on the opposite wall in TT155 (Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, pl. XVI, p. 20–21).

¹⁵³ PM I², 237 (11).

¹⁵⁴ Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. XLIII.

¹⁵⁵ ‘Erwähnungen von Rindern des Amuntempels’, *Materialien*, 28, also p. 477. To the examples he gives, the following illustrations can be added: Ineni (TT81), Dziobek, *Ineni*, 36, Taf. 4 (Text 22); Userhat (TT56), Beinlich-Seeber and Shedid, *Userhet*, 44–46, Taf. 7, 28. See next note for Menkheperresoneb (TT86).

¹⁵⁶ Davies, *Menkheperresoneb*, 12–13, pl. XIII–XV.

¹⁵⁷ Urk. IV, 934 (D). Davies’ interpretation errs more on the side of safety.

¹⁵⁸ This damage is represented in the line drawing by a heavier than usual broken line around this area of plaster, and a heavier thickness to the outline of the coloured areas of  and .

¹⁵⁹ Davies, *Menkheperresoneb*, pl. XXXIX.

¹⁶⁰ Urk. IV, 452 (144A).

¹⁶¹ Davies, *Ken-Amūn*, pl. LVIID.

¹⁶² TT55: Davies, *Ramose*, pl. XXVIII (1); cf. Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, pl. LVII–LVIII (TT48, probably from a different relative location in the tomb).

¹⁶³ TT17 (Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, 30, pl. XXVIII (9–11)). TT82 (Davies and Gardiner, *Amenemhēt*, 44, pl. XXXI (centre right)).

¹⁶⁴ See the selection in Schott, *Schöne Fest*, 108–109.

¹⁶⁵ TT85 (Virey, *Sept Tombeaux Thébaines*, 261–262).

¹⁶⁶ Davies and Gardiner, *Amenemhēt*, 68–69, pl. XXIX (bottom right, upper).

¹⁶⁷ It has not been possible to represent this brush stroke in the drawing. Julie Dawson comments that there is a retouch, presumably a correction(?), in thick white paint with a broad brush around the left end of the lid.

¹⁶⁸ Illustrated by Bruyère, *Deir el Médineh (1934–1935)*, Pt. 3, fig. 39; cf. *ibid.*, p. 107 n.1. It would appear that the outlines of the figure in this photograph have been somewhat enhanced, since the original figure is not outlined at all, but composed only of the areas of colour. The scene will be found in Romano, *The Bes-image in Pharaonic Egypt* II pt 1, 211–213.

¹⁶⁹ The other examples are: vases with Bes heads in TT65 (Wreszinski, *Atlas* I, 224); Bes and lion capitals on the columns of an Osiris shrine from TT93 (Davies, *Ken-Amūn*, pl. XLIII); possibly the decoration on the outside of canopies or shrines in TT73 (Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, pl. IV, p. 5) and TT217 (Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs*, pl. XXXVII), the latter example shown under construction; and a dancer with a Bes tattoo in TT341 (Davies, *Seven Private Tombs*, pl. XXVIII).

¹⁷⁰ In TT48 there are two statues of Bes, with others of Taweret and lions (Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, pl. XXXVB, XXXVII, p. 40 with n. 5). To the left are four beds under canopies. There is a very similar outlined figure of Bes in TT20 (Baud, *Dessins*, 79, fig. 28), but no conclusions can be drawn from it as it is the only decoration in the front room of that tomb.

¹⁷¹ Altenmüller, *LÄ* I, 721. Examples of bed legs carved with figures of Bes are

known (Bruyère, *Deir el Médineh* (1934–1935), Pt 3, 98, fig. 32). Painted fragments showing Bes were found on a dado in a room identified as a bedroom in the palace at Malqata (Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* (3rd ed.), 167 (fig. 56) 167 (fig. 288)), and many in the sleeping quarters in houses at Deir el-Medina (Bruyère, *Deir el Médineh* (1934–1935), Pt 3, 257 (fig. 133), 259 (fig. 136), 330 (fig. 202)).

¹⁷² Säve-Söderbergh (*Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, 40 n. 5) makes a parallel with the presence of images of Bes in scenes of the divine birth of the ruler, citing Hatshepsut (Naville, *Deir el-Bahari* II, pl. LI) and Amenhotep III (Brunner, *Die Geburt des Gottkönigs*, Taf. 9).

¹⁷³ TT53: unpublished (PM I², 103 (8)); TT82 (Davies and Gardiner, *Amenemhêt*, pl. XXVI); TT140 (Baud, *Dessins*, 161–162, pl. XXV); TT260 (Nasr, *SAK* 20 (1993), Taf. 5).

¹⁷⁴ See lists PM III², 357, 907.

¹⁷⁵ Derchain, *SAK* 2 (1975), 55–74; this scene in TT140 is illustrated on p. 66.

¹⁷⁶ cf. Dasen, *Dwarfs in Ancient Egypt and Greece*, 71–73. Pages 75–76 also associate Bes with affording protection during sleep.

¹⁷⁷ Urk. IV, 528–531 (172). Translated in Blumenthal et al., *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, 115–116, in part by Hermann, *Stelen*, 131, and with discussion in Helck, *Verwaltung*, 348–350. Egyptian (auto)biographies are considered as a genre by Gnirs, in Loprieno (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 191–241, with early 18th dynasty texts considered on pp. 228–232.

¹⁷⁸ Some examples contemporary with TT99: Engelmann-von Carnap, *Struktur*, 339–342, 437–438 (XA). Several of these parallel scenes are unpublished, while for others (TT110 and TT241), only the texts are available.

¹⁷⁹ Compare the contemporary TT112 with the later TT74 (Davies, *Menkheperasonb*, pl. XXV and Brack and Brack, *Tjanuni*, Taf. 20b).

¹⁸⁰ Shorter, *JEA* 16 (1930), 56, pl. XVI (F).

¹⁸¹ Davies, in *Studies Griffith*, 290, PL. 43D.

¹⁸² See Engelmann-von Carnap, *Struktur*, 340, Abb. 223.

¹⁸³ Davies, in *Studies Griffith*, 290; Shorter, *JEA* 16 (1930), 55.

¹⁸⁴ Such as TT112 (Davies, *Menkheperasonb*, pl. XXV).

¹⁸⁵ Brack and Brack, *Tjanuni*, Taf. 20b.

¹⁸⁶ Scenes of carrying objects have been studied by Wohlfarth *Grabbeigaben im Flachbild*, 17–18, with Abb. 7 (our drawing). Reference should be made to her collections of comparanda; only the more interesting items will be considered here

¹⁸⁷ As in the procession in TT82 (Davies and Gardiner, *Amenemhêt*, pl. XI).

¹⁸⁸ Carrying tables is common; two examples are TT82 (Davies and Gardiner, *Amenemhêt*, pl. XI) and TT78 (Brack and Brack, *Haremheb*, Taf. 61b).

¹⁸⁹ There are traces of the black colour at the bottom left corner. The bands have been filled in the drawing to make the appearance of the box clearer.

¹⁹⁰ These are perhaps representations of a mixture of gold and faience bracelets (Patch, in Roehrig et al. (eds), *Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh*, 196 (110)).

¹⁹¹ There are a number of representations of such amulets in Theban Tombs: see list in Wohlfarth, *Grabbeigaben im Flachbild*, 202–203 (TT79, TT85, TT78, TT92, TT247); that of Senneferi seems to be the earliest. Although they are shown in object friezes on Middle Kingdom coffins (Jéquier, *Frises d'objets*, 53–55), such amulets of red stone seem to be a feature of elaborate non-royal burials of the New Kingdom. There are many uninscribed examples in Cairo (Reisner, *Amulets* I, CG 5448–5492, pl. II). A smaller number are inscribed (including some of the Cairo examples, and one from the burial of the Ramesside vizier Khay in the British Museum (EA 64843,

Bowers Museum of Cultural Art, *Egyptian Treasures from the British Museum*, 122–123)); the British Museum has one other uninscribed example (EA 3128: Taylor and Strudwick, *Mummies: Death and the Afterlife*, 96–97). Fewer still come from excavated contexts: two were found in an Apis burial at Saqqara (Louvre S3445 = AF2375, E78: Association Boulogne, *Des dieux, des tombeaux, un savant*, 93 (39)); one has been found in the tomb of Nefersekheru (TT296; Feucht, *Nefersecheru*, 141–142, Taf. XLI, LXVII), and one in that of Aperia at Saqqara (Zivie, *Découverte à Saqqara*, 134). Royal examples are known, but are made of other materials: faience, Thutmose IV (Carter and Newberry, *The Tomb of Tuthmosis IV*, 128–129 (CG 46469–46474)), pottery (perhaps not amulets but attachments to a stick: KV55 (Davis, *The Tomb of Queen Tiyi*, 30 (28)), and chalcedony, Tutankhamun (www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/tutankhamundiscovery.html, accessed 2 August 2013, Carter no. 256zzz, Cairo JE 61848). See also Andrews, *Amulets*, 84–85 and Petrie, *Amulets*, pl. XII (97a–d).

¹⁹² Similar item, red (damaged), in TT79 (Guksch, *Nacht-Min*, Taf. 40).

¹⁹³ Petrie, *Amulets*, 21 (77), pl. VI (77a–e).

¹⁹⁴ This writing for *idmy* linen goes back to the Old Kingdom (see Wohlfarth, *Grabbeigaben im Flachbild*, 176–177 and Scheele, *Die Stofflisten des Alten Reiches*, 13–16). See also the depiction in Sc. 9.1.b, above p. 120.

¹⁹⁵ The shape is that of Gardiner sign V 33 (𓄿) or V34 (𓄿). Guksch (*Nacht-Min*, 163–164) discusses its identity. It is not clear whether this represents a bag or a pot; in Text AE.2 on Pillar AE (below p. 144), this sign is clearly used as the determinative for *sti-hb* oil, and painted differently. Nina Davies considered that the example on Pillar AE was a bag (*Picture Writing*, 43, described ‘as if the red cloth was merely knotted with a long end, and here the lower part is a semi-circle, having a red centre with two green bands below and a blue outer band separated by white lines’). Examples of this item are also found in TT100 (Davies, *Rekh-mi-rē*, pl. XC) and TT61 (Dziobek, *Die Gräber des Vezirs User-Amun*, Taf. 62).

¹⁹⁶ Engelmann-von Carnap, *Struktur*, 229, Abb. 133. Examples include TT63 (Dziobek and Abdel Raziq, *Sobekhotep*, Taf. 23) or TT82 (Davies and Gardiner, *Amenemhēt*, pl. XI).

¹⁹⁷ TT99 is the only possible example quoted by Engelmann-von Carnap in this location (*Struktur*, 229, Abb. 133).

¹⁹⁸ Settgast, *Bestattungsdarstellungen*.

¹⁹⁹ The point at which this overrun occurs is marked in the drawing with a broken line.

²⁰⁰ Davies and Gardiner, *Amenemhēt*, pl. XVIII. The rest of the scene is also broadly paralleled in *ibid.*, pl. XXI, XXIIA, XXIII.

²⁰¹ North wall of passage: Dziobek, *Ineni*, Taf. 20–23, 56.

²⁰² See further Strudwick, *CRIPEL* 28 (2009–2010), 241–248.

²⁰³ Davies and Gardiner, *Amenemhēt*, pl. XXI–XXIIA.

²⁰⁴ TT81: Dziobek, *Ineni*, 75 (text 17e), Taf. 20–23; TT82: Davies and Gardiner, *Amenemhēt*, pl. XVIII and pl. XXI. Among other examples of this large list are TT61 (Dziobek, *Gräber des Vezirs User-Amun*, Taf. 60), lost tomb C.1 (Loret, *MMAF* 1, between pp. 24 and 25), and TT39 (Davies, *Puyemrē* II, pl. XLIX–L). The latter list is less extensive than the others, but has a number of additions, principally CT 607, clearly influenced by one in a chapel of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari (*ibid.*, 10–11; Stupko-Lubczyńska, *Etudes et Travaux* 26 (2013), 654–655, Fig. 1). These lists are not further referenced unless there is a very particular reason, and should also be consulted for the likely number of portions of each item in the list which are completely lost in TT99.

²⁰⁵ Barta, *Opferliste*, 78, 104–107, and examples on 162–163(j); presentation of items in early versions of these lists on pp 47–50 and 78–79.

²⁰⁶ Barta, *Opferliste*, 111–126.

²⁰⁷ cf. Spiegel, *MDAIK* 14 (1956), 190–207.

²⁰⁸ Barta does not specifically make this point; I compare, for example, the manner in which sculpture of the period looks both forwards and backwards (see Russmann, in Roehrig et al. (eds), *Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh*, 23–27).

²⁰⁹ Compare a selection of examples in TT100 (Davies, *Rekh-mi-rē*, pl. LXXIII (1), LXXV, LXXVII) and TT82 (Davies and Gardiner, *Amenemhêt*, pl. VII, XVIII, XXI).

²¹⁰ For example, in TT81 (Dziobek, *Ineni*, Taf. 22b). A figured ostrakon with a sketch of such a ritual was found in the 18th dynasty burial shaft of TT99 (objects 99.98.0389 and 99.98.0450, below p. 268). For a view of the offering ritual, largely from an Old Kingdom perspective, see Lapp, *Opferformel*, 153–192.

²¹¹ Davies and Gardiner, *Amenemhêt*, pl. XVIII–XXIII.

²¹² See Kampp, *Thebanische Nekropole*, 48–50 for lists of other tombs with niches, particularly those suitable for statues. Clearly such niches are very common. Two published examples of broadly similar dates are in TT61 (Dziobek, *Gräber des Vezirs User-Amun*, 16, 18–19) and TT87 (Guksch, *Nacht-Min*, 69, Taf. 13b).

²¹³ Both piles of offerings in this scene are structurally similar to the larger offerings on Wall 16.

²¹⁴ Another example of this sceptre with decoration shaped much like two *mnit* is seen in TT93 (Davies, *Ken-Amūn*, pl. LVIID), in a lunette with similar composition, although without any figures of the deceased; another is in TT63 (Dziobek and Abdel Raziq, *Sobekhoteḫ*, 46, Taf. 8, there called the Abydos fetish). Is this perhaps to be associated with the cloth seen around the neck of Anubis (such as in TT3, Zivie, *La tombe de Pached*, pl. 8), although this does not deal with the *mnit* shape? A fine example of an Anubis with a sceptre is found on a lintel from TT219 in Deir el-Medina (Bruyère, *Deir el Médineh (1933–1934)*, 123 fig. 53). *šn* rings and *wḏst* eyes are to be seen in TT104 (Shedid, *Grabmalereien*, 134, Taf. 38b).

²¹⁵ These various elements are common elements on stelae; compare Hermann, *Stelen*, 41–42.

²¹⁶ Unpublished, PM I², 104 (15); MMA photo T3239, Schott photo 8240.

²¹⁷ Dziobek, *Gräber des Vezirs User-Amun*, 33–35, Abb. 10, Taf. 64.

²¹⁸ MMA photo T2623.

²¹⁹ The titles of Senneferi are in Urk. IV, 541 (175d). The left-hand part of this text has suffered very badly from damage caused by the building of wasps' nests.

²²⁰ Schulman, *JARCE* 21 (1984), 169–196.

²²¹ Its origins lie at the latest in the Pyramid Texts. Two examples: Gardiner, *JEA* 36 (1950), 9–10; Otto, *Or* 7 (1938), 73–74; the TT99 text names both Thoth and Seth, without the former replacing the latter. See also Otto, *Mundöffnungsritual* II, 37–44 (Sz. 2–3). In tombs it is more commonly found with the second part of each offering to a deity represented by the hieroglyph $\equiv p\bar{l}r$, 'and the reverse'.

²²² Otto, *Mundöffnungsritual* II, 29–30. One other large isolated libation scene of which I am aware is in TT107, of which the only publication is *ibid* II, Abb. 10. That scene is also accompanied by a priest making food offerings.

²²³ Otto type 3, of which there are numerous 18th dynasty examples (*Mundöffnungsritual* II, 29–30).

²²⁴ Barta, *Opferliste*, 118–120.

²²⁵ Marks on the white background indicate that the white background was repainted in part once the bread was painted, to clarify the outline. There are very clear square marks around the bread at the far left and then there are clear brush

strokes following the shape of the outline of the loaves and extending into the areas below the green mat.

226 There is a form of coating (possibly beeswax?) over some elements of this scene, such as the mat and the cucumbers. The baskets of fruit seem to have the fruit actually modelled in the medium and thus protrude from the surface slightly.

227 The making of a *ḥtp di nswt* offering is of course commonplace. One scene without an offering list, nor much text, is in TT162 (Davies, *Scenes from some Theban Tombs*, pl. XVI).

228 The whole text is well paralleled in TT92, although the phrases are in a different order (unpublished, cf. PM I², 189 (17), especially Chicago OI photos 6148–6149). Another parallel will be found in TT95 (unpublished notes of Jan Assmann in Heidelberg). It is probably also to be found in the front room of TT109 (Virey, *Sept Tombeaux Thébaines*, 370).

229 TT127, PM I², 241–243 (14).

230 Gander, in Kothay (ed.), *Art and Society*, 266. A similarly-shaped alabaster example was found in the tomb of Tutankhamun (el-Khouli *et al.*, *Stone Vessels*, Fig. D (19–21)).

231 Common in the 18th dynasty (such as, TT343, Guksch, *Benja*, Taf. 7).

232 Similar vessels in TT100 (Davies, *Rekh-mi-rē*, pl. LIII–LIV); somewhat different shape with different decoration in TT61 (Dziobek, *Gräber des Vezirs User-Amun*, Taf. 63); in breccia and alabaster, TT93, Davies, *Ken-Amūn*, pl. XVIII, XX. Real example from the tomb of Tutankhamun, el-Khouli *et al.*, *Stone Vessels*, Fig. E (27, without stand).

233 Examples of actual pottery vessels imitating stone have been found in TT74 (Brack and Brack, *Tjanuni*, Taf. 14), TT79 (Guksch, *Nacht-Min*, 127–129, Taf. 48), or TT253 (Rose, in Strudwick, *Amenhotep*, 169–170). See also Gander, in Kothay (ed.), *Art and Society*, 265–271.

234 Dziobek, *Gräber des Vezirs User-Amun*, Taf. 4–5, 62–63; Davies and Gardiner, *Amenemhēt*, pl. XV–XVI. There are representations of alabaster and breccia bottles in TT93 (Davies, *Ken-Amūn*, pl. XVIII, XX).

235 This scene is included in examples in Barthelmeß, *Übergang ins Jenseits*, 94–96.

236 A priest is shown presenting such a sceptre to a mummy in TT17 (Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, pl. XXVI top); however the proximity of the sceptre to the mouth of the mummy precludes this being a parallel to TT99.

237 *Mundöffnungsritual* II, 73–78 and 102–103.

238 Davies, *Rekh-mi-rē*, pl. CVII and CVI.

239 Davies, *Menkheperasonb*, pl. XXVIII–XXIX.

240 Otto, *Mundöffnungsritual* II, 20–21, with episode 36 on p. 96–97. Some examples are in TT100 (Davies, *Rekh-mi-rē*, pl. CVI), TT82 (Davies and Gardiner, *Amenemhēt*, pl. XVII), and probably TT17 (Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, pl. XXVI).

241 Perhaps cloth as in TT260 (Nasr, SAK 20 (1993), Taf. 10 (lower)).

242 There are some similarities to a text in TT46 (image in Kawai, in D’Auria (ed.), *Offerings to the discerning eye*, Fig. 3).

243 Urk. IV, 543–544 (176). Most reconstructions in [] are Sethe’s. Translation in Blumenthal *et al.*, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, 121.

244 Dziobek, *Gräber des Vezirs User-Amun*, 29, Taf. 4, 62. The deceased is shown sitting, and before him are two larger female figures, and behind them four smaller females in two sub-registers; each woman is bearing a brazier, a vessel or a bag of offerings.

245 Urk. IV, 538 (D.1); both sections of text on this pillar are reproduced in Dziobek, *Gräber des Vezirs User-Amun*, 30. The present section is translated in Hartwig, *Tomb*

painting and identity, 11. The equivalent to this scene in TT61 is destroyed except for the very end of the name; there is another example in TT345 (LD III, 9 (b)) with a similar text. Both of the latter are on main tomb walls rather than pillars.

²⁴⁶ Urk. IV, 539 (D.2). Similar text in TT61 (Dziobek, *Gräber des Veziers User-Amun*, 29–31, Taf. 62) with further discussion.

²⁴⁷ This text (PM I², 86 (1)) is unpublished, and my copy is from personal inspection; it also exists in the Davies Notebooks in Oxford. See also Graefe, GM 33 (1979), 13–15; an image of this will be found in Kawai, in D'Auria (ed.), *Offerings to the discerning eye*, Fig. 5.

²⁴⁸ One example of a list in three rows of seven elements has been located, in TT82, although in the context of an Opening of the Mouth scene rather than a tomb offering ritual (Davies and Gardiner, *Amenemhêt*, pl. XVII).

²⁴⁹ Julie Dawson notes that the white block dividers have been painted in as well, but none of the other colours. The green blocks and border lines are over the top of the white dividers. The border is unfinished, except for the green, and that is very heavily eroded.

²⁵⁰ Urk. IV, 539–540 (175a).

²⁵¹ Urk. IV, 540 (175b).

²⁵² A pillar text in TT46 begins similarly (*prt m ts*) but diverges after the word *itn* (unpublished, Davies notebooks; cf. PM I², 87 (Pillar Dc)), as does one in TT73 (also *prt m ts*; Bouriant, RT 11 (1889), 158 (e), cf. PM I², 150 (Pillar Da)). The similar expression *hst r ts* is found in the burial rites of Amenemhat (TT82: Davies and Gardiner, *Amenemhêt*, 53, pl. XI). This scene type develops into the fuller hymn to the sun seen in many tombs on the entrance jambs.

²⁵³ These are in Urk. IV, 542 (175m).

²⁵⁴ TT39: Davies, *Puyemrê* II, pl. LIII, upper right; a similar scene with different text on pl. LIV. The other examples are listed and the Basa text discussed by Assmann, *Basa*, 68–71; the present text is the ‘heute unauffindbar’ example mentioned on p. 68 in TT99 from the Wb. records (actually Wb. Zettel 999). Assmann’s comments on the Basa/ Puyemre text should be consulted and are not repeated here. Assmann further translates and discusses the TT39 and TT55 texts in *Ägyptische Totenliturgien* II, 341–342. Some other contemporary examples of similar scenes will also be found in Engelmann-von Carnap, *Struktur*, 434 (VII 1).

²⁵⁵ Further examples are given in Schott, *Schöne Fest*, 110–111.

²⁵⁶ Davies, *Ken-Amün*, pl. LVIB, p. 49. This text is on one of the side walls of the shrine of that tomb.

²⁵⁷ See further Strudwick, in Angenot and Tiradritti (eds), *Artists and Painting*, forthcoming.

²⁵⁸ Attempts have been made to parallel each pattern in Fořtová-Šámalová and Vilimková, *Egyptian Ornament*, referred to below as just *Egyptian Ornament*. Due to the stylised nature of those illustrations, however, the parallels are not always perfect.

²⁵⁹ This pattern with variants is perhaps the most common in Theban tombs: TT87 (Guksch, *Nacht-Min*, Taf. 6); TT82 (Davies and Gardiner, *Amenemhêt*, pl. XXXII (A)); C.3 (Bavay, *BSFE* 177–178 (2010), Fig. 5–11); TT96B (Eggebrecht (ed.), *Sennefer*, Abb. 42); TT74 (Brack and Brack, *Tjanuni*, Taf. 13b); TT78 (Brack and Brack, *Haremheb*, Taf. 6a); similar design, TT61 (Dziobek, *Die Gräber des Veziers User-Amun*, Taf. 2d); TT63 (Dziobek and Abdel Raziq, *Sobekhotep*, Taf. 15b); TT80 (Shedid, *Grabmalereien*, Taf. 4d); TT181 (Davies, *Two Sculptors*, pl. XXX (C and G)); similar, TT52 (Davies, *Nakht*, pl. XXVI).

²⁶⁰ Also TT81 (Dziobek, *Ineni*, Taf. 28); a similar pattern is in TT82 (Davies and

Gardiner, *Amenemhêt*, pl. XXXII (E)).

261 The pattern is similar in design to ones in TT82 and TT87 but with different colouration (Davies and Gardiner, *Amenemhêt*, pl. XXXII (C right); Guksch, *Nacht-Min*, Taf. 6).

262 TT82 (Davies and Gardiner, *Amenemhêt*, pl. XXXII (G)); TT71 (Dorman, *The tombs of Senenmut*, pl. 28b); TT52 (Davies, *Nakht*, pl. XXVI).

263 Similar design, TT181 (Davies, *Two Sculptors*, pl. XXX (B)).

264 TT82 (Davies and Gardiner, *Amenemhêt*, pl. XXXII (B)); C.3 (Bavay, *BSFE* 177–178 (2010), Fig. 10); similar, TT52 (Davies, *Nakht*, pl. XXVI).

265 Similar designs, TT21 (Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. XX); TT61 (Dziobek, *Gräber des Vezirs User-Amun*, Taf. 2c); TT71 (Dorman, *The tombs of Senenmut*, pl. 28c); TT87 (Guksch, *Nacht-Min*, Taf. 5e); TT181 (Davies, *Two Sculptors*, pl. XXX (F)).

266 Their reference is to Jéquier, *Décoration égyptienne*, pl. VIII, 15 and pl. XIV, 26.

267 See Galán, in Frood and McDonald, *Decorum and experience*, 123–124 for a consideration of the symbolism and meaning of the structure and colouration of these text bands.

268 TT96A is the principal unpublished source, for which I was fortunate to be able to consult the notebooks of Jan Assmann in Heidelberg. Subsequently it has been possible to visit the chapel and check the text locations, although the darkness of the tomb and the dirt on the walls and ceilings prevented detailed checks on the texts themselves. Some extracts from the ceiling texts (mainly titles) are found in Urk. IV, 1427–1432, and others are in Sethe's copies in the Wb. Zetteln, but Sethe does not indicate the location of the texts.

269 For example, TT96A: unpublished, Wb. Zettel 1831; TT82: Davies and Gardiner, *Amenemhêt*, pl. XXX (A), p. 43 (A); TT131: Dziobek, *Gräber des Vezirs User-Amun*, Taf. 98, id., *Denkmäler des Vezirs User-Amun*, 80 (Trennstreifen Mitte (no *dd mdw*), also Südflügel mittlerer Trennstreifen, p. 74); TT87: Guksch, *Nacht-Min*, 54; TT85: Virey, *Sept Tombeaux Thébaines*, 256, compared with recent copies of Heike Guksch. The text is also noted on the ceiling of the decorated burial chamber of TT11 (Galán, in Frood and McDonald, *Decorum and experience*, 120, Fig. 4c).

270 Taylor, *Death and the Afterlife*, 215–216.

271 cf. Davies and Gardiner, *Amenemhêt*, 43 n. 1.

272 For example, Raven, *OMRO* 62 (1981), 18.

273 Dziobek, *Gräber des Vezirs User-Amun*, Taf. 98 (Südflügel, westlicher Textstreifen); id., *Denkmäler des Vezirs User-Amun*, 69–71.

274 Dziobek, *Gräber des Vezirs User-Amun*, Taf. 98 (Südflügel, östlicher Textstreifen); id., *Denkmäler des Vezirs User-Amun*, 78–80.

275 See Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen*, 144 (105); transliteration and translation also in Wb. Zetteln 1838–1839.

276 Unpublished, from Wb. Zettel 371.

277 The titles are published in Urk. IV, 541 (175e).

278 The titles were published by Sethe (Urk. IV, 542 (175i)), and the first part is transliterated and translated in Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen*, 145–146 (108b).

279 The three sets of titles in this text were published by Sethe (Urk. IV, 541–542 (175f–h)), and the beginning is translated in Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen*, 145 (108a). Unpublished sources for TT96A are the Assmann notebooks and Wb. Zetteln 1865–1867.

280 The titles in this text were published by Sethe (Urk. IV, 540–541 (175c)).

281 This is the only such variation within one column known to me in a private tomb.

282 Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen*; id., *Ägyptische Totenliturgien II*, particularly pp 347–

377. None of the second group seem to parallel the TT99 texts.

²⁸³ The source for TT96A is the notebooks of Jan Assmann in Heidelberg. The TT131 material comes from Dziobek, Gräber des Vezirs User-Amun and id., Denkmäler des Vezirs User-Amun.

²⁸⁴ BSFE 177–178 (2010), 41.

²⁸⁵ Beinlich-Seeber and Shedid, Userhet, 32–38.

The decorative programme, painting styles and colours

Nigel Strudwick

6.1 The decorative programme of the Chapel

The very damaged and thus incomplete nature of the decoration of TT99 makes an overall assessment of the decorative programme difficult. Add to this the remarkable variability of the shape and arrangement of the larger Theban tombs of the 18th dynasty, and it is not easy to characterise fully the functions of the different parts of the Chapel. **Fig. 78 on p. 85** summarises the tomb scenes that have survived by location. The conventional terms ‘Front room’, ‘Passage’ and ‘Shrine’ or ‘Rear room’ are used for the three parts of the offering chapel.

Trying to systematise the composition of Theban tomb decoration into overarching schemes has been particularly resistant to scholarly investigation. Between 1999 and 2004, two similar but different ways of dividing the scenes were published. The first, that of Engelmann-von Carnap, divided the scene types of tombs of the earlier half of the 18th dynasty such as TT99 into 26 different categories.¹ These categories can mostly be related easily to the scenes. The scenes from TT99 as in **Fig. 78 on p. 85** fit well into her categories as follows (* indicates a scene not recognised in TT99 by Engelmann-von Carnap):

- II, III: Transport of mummy to the tomb/Opening of the Mouth,
Wall 13, 16
- V: Tomb owner before king, Wall 3, 4
- VI 1: Bringing of tribute, Wall 1
- VI 2: Manufacture and presentation of goods, Wall 6
- VI 3: Presentation of cattle, Wall 9
- VI 4: Presentation of funerary equipment, Wall 9

VII 1: Women with sistrum and *menit* before deceased, Pillar BW*

VII 2: Men with bouquet, possibly Pillar AW*

VIII: Deceased receives oils etc, Pillar AE

IX: Deceased offers to gods (deities not shown), Wall 1

XA: Deceased before Osiris, Wall 13*, 17

XB: Deceased before gods on stela, architrave, statue niche, Wall 7, 15*

XII: False door, Wall 2*

XIII: Deceased visiting or leaving the tomb, possibly Pillars AS* and BN*

XIV: Biography, Wall 12

Using tombs principally from the reigns of Thutmose IV and Amenhotep III, Hartwig divided the decoration into a series of eleven ‘icons’ or motifs, in an attempt to obtain a broader characterisation of how the tomb functioned.² These are not that different from Engelmann-von Carnap’s major categories, although the following list is shorter due to the lack of sub-types:

Royal kiosk: Walls 3 and 4

Registration: Wall 6, possibly 1

Offering table: Wall 14, 16 if not more

Worshipping Osiris: Wall 13, 17

Funerary rites: possibly Wall 13

In both systems, the main omissions within TT99 are those of fishing/fowling/hunting and banqueting, although the decoration of two major walls is completely lost (Walls 10 and 18) and significant parts of other areas are missing. The reasoning behind the appearance or non-appearance of a particular scene in a chapel is presently impossible to resolve.³ In some ways, the safest approach is to restrict detailed analysis to the consideration of how an individual tomb works as a unit, and exercise caution when making excessively detailed theories to fit a whole range of tombs.⁴

Thus, very simply, the Front room of TT99 presents a combination of the major achievements of the tomb owner and his relationship to the king (especially the Lebanon trip) together with certain ritual scenes which form part of the ‘Beautiful Festival of the Valley’. In addition, two of the principal offering/commemorative cult locations are there (the false door and stela). The poorly preserved scenes in the Passage encompass for certain only the receipt of funerary equipment, which could be viewed as transitional between the subject-matter of the front hall and that of the Shrine at the rear. The latter room has the central focus on the provision and preservation of the cult of the

deceased on the whole west wall, together with scenes where he is shown with the paramount deities of the tomb, Osiris and Anubis; however, it also includes a summary of his achievements in the biography, and (probably) his funeral scene, the latter of which is most often found earlier in the chapel.

In broad terms the Chapel does conform to the ‘standard’ 18th dynasty pattern, found in tombs of the reigns of Hatshepsut/Thutmose III/early Amenhotep II, of the front room containing more scenes relating to the life, personality and achievements of the deceased, and the Shrine exhibiting decoration which pertains to the provisioning and eternal well-being of the deceased, with the Passage acting almost as a transition between them.⁵

6.2 Painting styles

The subject of painting styles in Theban tombs is in its infancy, although much important work has been done on TT56,⁶ TT80 and TT104⁷ and TT92,⁸ particularly as it relates closely to the vexed issue of how many craftsmen worked in a tomb. There is insufficient space here to consider the subject fully, but I draw the reader’s attention to comments I made at the Montepulciano Colloquium in 2008, partially repeated here.⁹

In that paper I concentrated on examining the common hieroglyphic groups *iry p^t* and *hsty-^c*, and on the hieroglyphs  and . The signs forming *iry p^t* and *hsty-^c* bear varying levels of detail in the signs: for example, the whiskers and muzzle of , as well as the paws, are sometimes carefully painted in white and red, but in other cases the red is minimal and the white missing. Likewise the thickness of the blue mane of the same hieroglyph is quite variable. There are many subtle differences in colour, although this could also be attributable to preservation or different batches of paint. Note that generally it would seem (on the basis of admittedly very few examples) that the painting in the Rear room of the tomb (Walls 12–18 and pillars) uses thicker outlines to figures and objects than in the Front room and Passage (Walls 1–9).

As for  and , there are some differences in the colouration of different examples, even within the same text, as well as the shaping of the individual signs and the amount of detail of plumage. Particularly noticeable is the difference between the left- and right-facing examples from Pillar AE ([Colour pl. 31A](#)); do these indicate that each half was done by a different artist, or does it reflect how the same man worked in different orientations?¹⁰ Again, the signs in the Rear room seem less delicately drawn than those in the outer

chamber; compare, for example, the thinness of the drawing of the hieroglyphs on Walls 4 and 9 with those on Wall 16.

In particular, the hieroglyphs from Pillar BN are crude in comparison with the work in the rest of the tomb ([Colour pl. 33B](#)). Perhaps this scene was not quite unfinished (unlikely), or perhaps it was the work of an inferior/apprentice craftsman; or was it finished in hurry? There is a comparable level of crudity in the painting of the Bes figure on Wall 12, which may of course be unfinished ([Colour pl. 22B](#)).

As I stated in Montepulciano, it is tempting to see three broad levels of painting ability in these limited examples: a master, a competent artist, and an apprentice. However, these broad divisions could conceal the work in the tomb of a large number of individuals, as suggested for TT92 by Bryan, and it must always be remembered that change of orientation might make an artist work differently. Beinlich-Seeber and Shedid have tentatively identified the work of three to five artists in the tombs they studied. To some extent this must be governed obviously the means of the tomb owner, but more prosaically, also by the size of the Chapel, and TT99 certainly had more space to accommodate a larger group of workmen than the others.

6.3 Colour

6.3.1 Notes on method

In the course of work on the study and publication of Theban Tombs during the 1980s, I examined the best ways in which the wonderful colours of these monuments could be recorded. An article published in 1991 outlined the methods used and the advantages and disadvantages,¹¹ and the techniques were further published, along with the actual colour data itself, in the final publication of TT294, TT253 and TT254.¹² I do not propose to repeat that detail here, but rather present a brief summary of what was done in TT99 (without excessive references to the two above publications).

The colours of the tomb of Senneferi were recorded in the field, as far as possible after conservation, using a Minolta CR-221 colourimeter. These data were transferred to a Filemaker Pro database, to which were added the location of each reading, the subject-matter, and the colours in simple English as perceived by the author. The colourimeter records the data in a number of different notations, but its base system is the CIE Yxy notation. This numerical-only system lends itself to calculations and the production of various diagrams, including the *Chromaticity Diagrams* to be shown below, but

is not a visual system, and for that reason the data were also converted to the well-known Munsell notation, so the approximate colouration of the original can be viewed by consultation with a publication such as the *Munsell Book of Color*;¹³ see further below for computer visualisation.

The almost infinite number of possible Munsell visual colour combinations is a practical disadvantage, and for the purpose of analysis it was decided to reduce that unmanageable range to the 267 National Bureau of Standards (NBS) colour names as proposed in the 1970s by Kelly and Judd.¹⁴ While this is still far beyond the basic range of colours used by the ancient Egyptians,¹⁵ it does have the advantage of bringing a further measure of objectivity to the very subjective issue of colour perception.

The following discussions all assume some knowledge on the part of the reader of the issues concerned with the perception, recording and documentation of colour as outlined in the references already given. The element which cannot be stressed enough is the level of subjectivity, as, above all else, colour is constrained by an individual's response to various stimuli. These include primarily not only the colouration of the sample in question but also the material and surface texture of that sample, to which have to be added the variability of the light source and of course the individual response of the observer him/herself. If the tendency of different individuals to refer to the same colouration by different verbal terms is further added, we have a recipe for complete confusion! For this reason, the colourimeter has its own light source and sensor, to eliminate some of the variability.

A total of 643 readings were made, and although I have tried to eliminate those of dubious quality, the possibility of a few such remain in the data. The Yxy system is that primarily used here. However, to enable some comparison with real-world colour, these readings have been converted to Munsell readings;¹⁶ to reduce the infinite Munsell range to a more manageable set of terms, the above-mentioned 237 NBS colours have been applied. With such a large number of readings, and the ready availability of the Internet, it seems wasteful to devote many pages to the presentation of largely numeric data. Instead, interested parties are encouraged to download the full dataset from the web site.¹⁷

6.3.2 Colour in Egyptology since 1996

Research does not stand still, and so I will briefly review what has happened in the study of colour since the publication of the report on TT294, TT253 and TT254 in 1996. Although much work continues to take place in the Theban necropolis, relatively few final publications

of tombs have appeared. Chief among them are those of TT87 and TT79, TT32, TT148 and TT69,¹⁸ with briefer reports on other tombs such as TT44, TT409 and TT176.¹⁹

A review of these publications does not show any real advance in the scientific presentation of the colour of monuments, and it seems that my suggestions have been taken on by none. Colours are still described as ‘red’, ‘blue’ and so on; the major advance is the greater accessibility of at least a limited number of colour photographs, although the objectivity of these is always open to question. Ockinga’s work on TT148 does include a chapter with notes on colour, including some detail of the hieroglyphs.²⁰ It is much more surprising to me that the whole tomb of Menna was documented with a range of advanced scientific instruments,²¹ and yet the publication of the decoration does not include any of the scientific data of the colours which were evidently examined closely, nor does it indicate from where they might be obtained.²²

Several conferences and colloquia have been dedicated to research on colour and painting, notably one at the British Museum in 1998,²³ and another at Montepulciano in 2008.²⁴ The latter is still to appear in print, but the publication of the former contained many important articles on aspects of the chemistry, language and symbolism of colour; the volume contains an article by the present author, which builds on the two publications on the theory and practice of colour documentation referred to above.²⁵ Another important publication, dealing with objects rather than wall paintings, is the proceedings of a conference held in Cambridge in 2007.²⁶

Although I am unqualified to comment in any detail, the most momentous shift in colour science and technology in the past 25 years has been the development of digital technologies that have enabled the recording, analysis and visualisation of colour in ways which could hardly have been imagined in the 1980s. The movement of colour science can be partially charted by reference to the standard textbook on the subject noted in my 1991 article, Billmeyer and Salzman’s *Principles of Color Technology*; not only is the publication now in its third edition, but it is now fully in colour with extensive digital sections.²⁷

Modern software and hardware permits the visualisation of some of the different standardised colours very easily, in a way which was not available to the ordinary user when this research was originally undertaken. An example will be seen of this further below.

6.3.3 Visualisation

One inevitable problem of the capture of data in numeric format is

that, while it permits graphic and statistical manipulation of information, it is not easy for the human eye to appreciate it. It is possible to try and use colour chips, such as Munsell, but this requires an approximation between the (potentially almost infinite) reading derived from the measuring instrument and the nearest actual chip(s); furthermore, the process of making such approximations is subject to the variability of light and subjectivity of the observer. When the colours of the Khokha tombs were studied there was no real alternative available for Egyptologists; however, progress in computer and software technology now permits a visualisation that can provide an idea of the colour of the original. These images are of course created on a computer screen, which in itself raises important issues of colour calibration, the reflectance of the medium and the light source itself; also the extent to which a computer can ever truly represent the original nature of the coloured surface is highly questionable. Furthermore, the transfer of such images to the print medium introduces further complexities. Nonetheless, given that such software can create colours that may be viewed together under the same conditions, it seems to offer the best chance yet to visualise the differences and similarities between different colour samples.

The software selected for this research was Patchtool, already referred to above for its abilities to convert between different colour notations.²⁸ The readings one wishes to visualise (or convert) are loaded into the program; a variety of input data formats are possible. I have used the CGATS format,²⁹ exported from the database containing the colour readings. The software then produces an on-screen mosaic of ‘patches’ or samples, each representing a line of colour data input. I term this mosaic a ‘patch diagram’ (examples on [Colour pl. 48A](#) to [Colour pl. 48D](#)). Within the software, each patch can be interrogated to find out the identity of the sample, which allows for rogue readings to be identified and subjected to further examination ([Colour pl. 48A](#)). The data can then be exported in a different format, or a graphic can be generated in a variety of formats to permit the visualisation of the range of colours inherent in the set of data being studied (examples on [Colour pl. 48B](#) to [Colour pl. 48D](#)).

Clearly in a publication such as the present one, in which the number of colour illustrations that can be included is limited, it is only possible to give the reader an idea of the potential of this software. Thus [Colour pl. 48B](#) presents all measurements which have been verbally categorised by the author as ‘blue’ in some way. Patch diagrams of the ten colours in [Table 10 on p. 166](#) are stored on the TT99 web site along with an example of a CGATS file.³⁰

6.3.4 The colours of TT99

The number of analyses of the colours of TT99 given here is extremely restricted in the interests of space, and should be considered as no more than a sample to demonstrate the possibilities.

6.3.4.1 The colour palette

The first summary of the colours presented here, admittedly highly subjective, presents the main group in a very simplified form of the verbal description given to them at the time of recording. This simplified group encompasses all the main hues seen in Egyptian painting of the 18th dynasty, with the possible exception of orange.³¹ For each of these colours the minimum and maximum Munsell versions of the readings are given there; the principal Munsell hues are given in the order R-YR-Y-GY-G-BG-B-PB-P-RP and Neutral (**Table 10 on p. 166**).

Other approaches were tried in the characterisation of the colours of the Khokha tombs.³² That of comparing colours to the terms in Baines' article in *American Anthropologist* seems to me to be very similar to the table above so I shall not refine it further.

Thus the only other general approach is to attempt to refine the maximal 267 NBS colours down to a more manageable number. Of this possible number of colours, 44 of them are found in the palette of TT99 (**Table 12 on p. 166**).

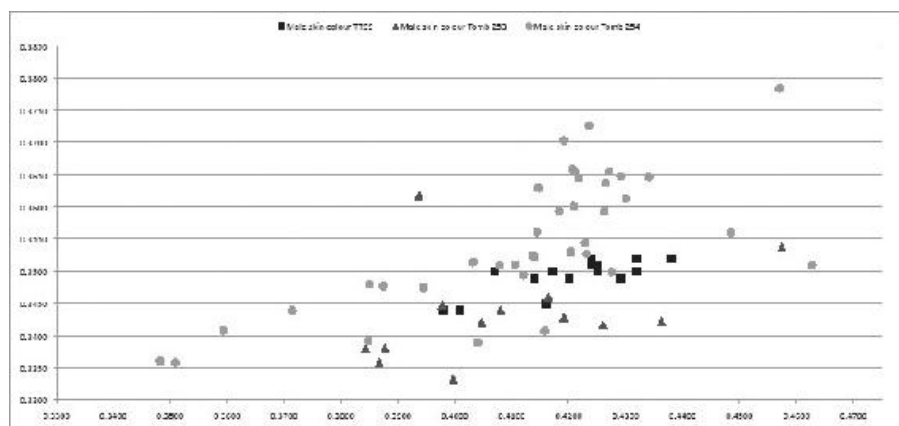


Fig. 128: Chromaticity diagram showing the male skin colour in TT99, TT253 and TT254. The horizontal axis represents the x value and the vertical axis the y value in the Yxy colour space

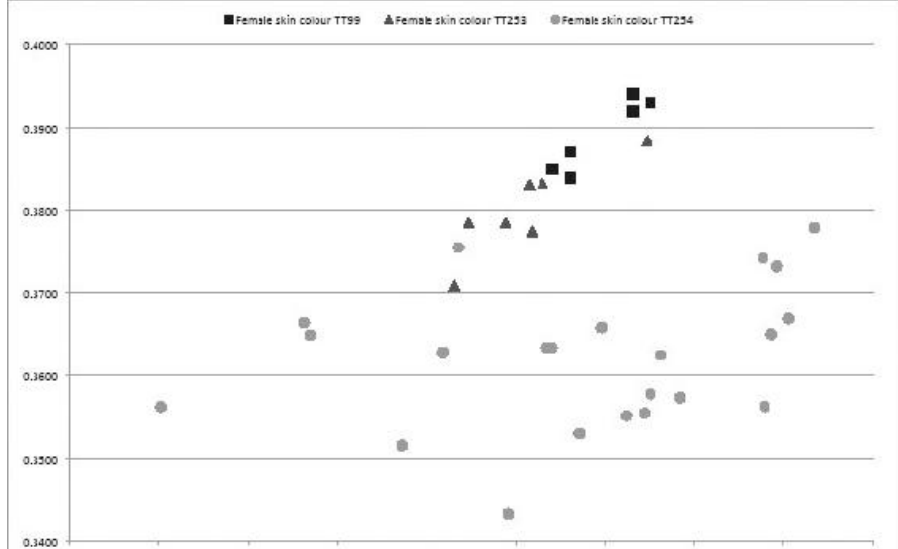


Fig. 129: Chromaticity diagram showing the female skin colour in TT99, TT253 and TT254. The horizontal axis represents the x value and the vertical axis the y value in the Yxy colour space

Table 10: Munsell ranges for ten colours in TT99

<i>Colour</i>	<i>Number of samples</i>	<i>Minimum and Maximum Munsell reading</i>
Black	30	1.1YR 2.8/1.1 1.2BG 0.3/3.2
Blue	124	2.0YR 7.3/2.0 4.6PB 5.0/4.6
Brown	5	3.4YR 6.2/3.4 3.4YR 6.2/3.4
Green	82	2.2YR 5.6/2.2 0.6B 5.3/0.6
Grey	13	1.3YR 7.4/1.3 1.3YR 7.4/1.3
Pink	28	2.8YR 6.5/2.8 2.6BG 0.3/3.2
Red	108	4.4R 4.5/4.4 2.0Y 4.8/2.0
Red-brown	34	5.2R 4.4/5.2 6.3YR 5.2/6.3
White	102	1.7YR 8.1/1.7 3.8Y 6.4/3.8
Yellow	110	6.9R 5.0/6.9 3.3N 0.0/0.0
<i>Total</i>	<i>636</i>	

Table 11: Last element of NBS colour names in Table 12

<i>Last element of NBS colour name</i>	<i>Examples</i>	<i>% of total</i>
blue	14	2.2%
brown	277	43.1%
gray	115	17.9%
green and olive	64	10.0%
orange	29	4.5%
pink	92	14.3%
red	28	4.4%
white	1	0.2%
yellow	23	3.6%

Table 12: NBS colour names for colours in TT99

<i>NBS colour name</i>	<i>Examples</i>	<i>% of total</i>
bluish gray	10	1.6%
brownish gray	21	3.3%
brownish	13	2.0%
orange		
dark bluish	1	0.2%
gray		
dark grayish	4	0.6%
yellow		
dark greenish	3	0.5%
gray		
dark olive	1	0.2%
brown		
dark orange	2	0.3%
yellow		
grayish blue	8	1.2%
grayish green	3	0.5%
grayish olive	2	0.3%
grayish olive	1	0.2%
green		
grayish red	27	4.2%
grayish reddish	4	0.6%
brown		
grayish reddish	1	0.2%
orange		
grayish yellow	17	2.6%
grayish yellow	2	0.3%
green		
grayish	52	8.1%
yellowish pink		
greenish gray	25	3.9%
light brown	148	23.0%
light brownish	11	1.7%
gray		
light grayish	35	5.4%

olive		
light grayish reddish brown	8	1.2%
light greenish blue	1	0.2%
light greenish gray	1	0.2%
light olive brown	46	7.2%
light olive gray	25	3.9%
Light yellowish brown	1	0.2%
moderate blue	1	0.2%
moderate brown	37	5.8%
moderate olive brown	16	2.5%
moderate orange	15	2.3%
moderate red	1	0.2%
moderate yellowish pink	32	5.0%
olive gray	7	1.1%
pale blue	4	0.6%
pale green	9	1.4%
pale yellowish pink	9	1.4%
pinkish gray	2	0.3%
strong brown	12	1.9%
strong yellowish brown	3	0.5%
very dark bluish green	12	1.9%
yellowish gray	9	1.4%
yellowish white	1	0.2%

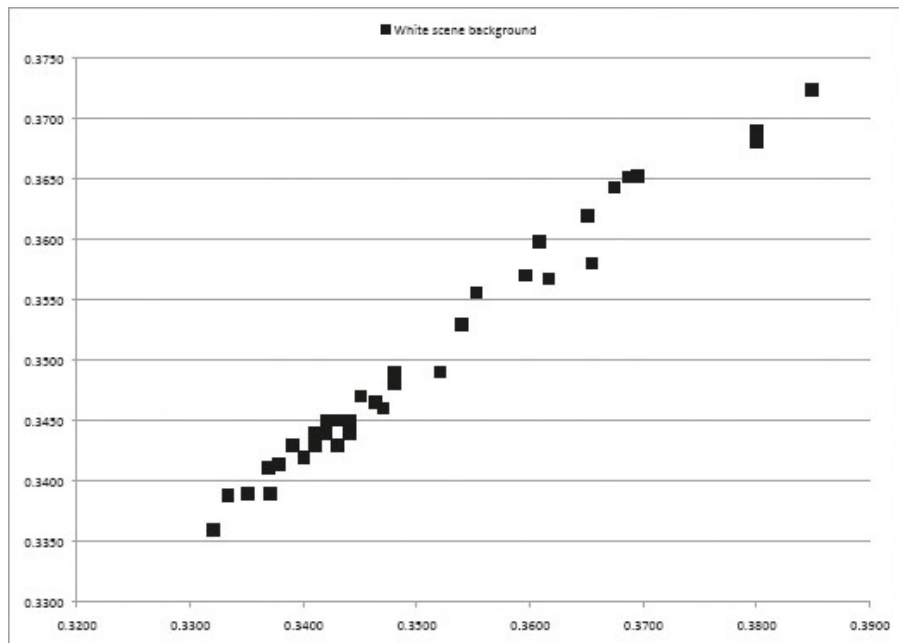


Fig. 130: Chromaticity diagram showing the range of TT99 for 'White scene background colour' The horizontal axis represents the x value and the vertical axis the y value in the Xxy colour space

This table still contains far too many colours to be of any real use. Thus, as done in Khokha,³³ the last element of each name was taken: thus 'dark orange yellow' is reduced to 'yellow'. 'Olive' and 'green' were merged into the latter, resulting in [Table 11 on p. 166](#).

The usefulness of this is still somewhat debatable, as a range of verbally assessed colours are encompassed within one of the above nine colours: for 'brown' includes the recorder's verbal assessments of what turns out after visualisation to be almost every colour of the standard Egyptian palette! See also the patch diagram for 'light brown' in [Colour pl. 48D](#).

6.3.4.2 Sample analysis: male and female skin colours

We are on firmer methodological and practical ground by undertaking sample analyses of individual elements of the composition. With the Khokha tombs, I pioneered in Egyptology the use of the *chromaticity diagram* to express in a two-dimensional graph how a colour or colours vary over a monument, or indeed more than one. For those tombs I looked at the male and female skin colours, and I will begin there in TT99. There are more examples of male than female colours in TT99, primarily due to the better preservation of figures of the tomb owner. [Fig. 128](#) and [Fig. 129](#) show how the male and female colours of tombs TT99, TT253 and TT254 cluster together, and the extent to

which they vary. Thus the male skin colour of TT99 seems to vary less than is the case in the other tombs, which might offer pointers to how many batches of colour were mixed to create the decoration, and perhaps reflect on the craftsmen themselves. One is not here comparing very similar tombs, being in different areas of the necropolis, but this is an argument for collecting data more broadly so that the individual palettes in local areas can be compared.

6.3.4.3 Sample analysis: scene background colours

The original colour of the backgrounds of the walls of TT99 is basically of a white to off-white colour. This, in the form of either a wash or the simple colour of the final prepared plaster surface, is the predominant background colour throughout the 18th dynasty. Discolouration, for whatever reason, has affected the backgrounds, giving rise to considerable variability, which has more to do with location in the tomb and susceptibility to external factors than the original colours used. This variability is evident in the chromaticity diagram in [Fig. 130](#) and also in the patch diagram in [Colour pl. 48C](#).³⁴ In the latter, arranged in the order of scenes in the tomb, the higher preponderance of yellow colour in the samples to the left indicate more discolouration in the outer areas of the tomb, and the yellow samples at the right reflect the backgrounds on the unpainted surfaces of the unfinished pillars in the Rear room.

The other type of painted backgrounds in TT99 are two in number: the red to pink colour used for Wall 7 in imitation of hard stone, and the yellow background colour to the ceiling texts. Three readings were taken of each, and they are remarkably similar.³⁵

I do not present further such analyses; instead, interested parties are urged to download the data and study them further.

6.3.4.4 Hieroglyphs

In the Khokha tombs published by the Cambridge Theban Tombs Project, there were relatively few painted hieroglyphs. However, in TT99 there are both polychrome and monochrome signs. Polychrome signs were probably to be found on all long walls of the Front room, with the possible exception of those around the false door, although damage precludes complete clarity. The texts in the Passage were perhaps also completely polychrome, while the Rear room mixes the two styles. Monochrome signs are certain on the ceilings, Walls 2, 12, 13, 14 and 17, and possible on some of the pillars, although they may be unfinished.

The polychrome hieroglyphs are typical of the highest quality examples of the Thutmoside period, even allowing for the damage suffered by many of them. Nina Davies clearly would have agreed

with this opinion, since she included five of them in *Picture Writing in Ancient Egypt*.³⁶ Due to the reasonable preservation of the hieroglyphs, and the poor survival of most of the other painting, just in excess of 50% of the colour readings made in the tomb come from hieroglyphs. As already discussed, it was not possible to take readings of every sign, but verbal assessments were made of as many signs as possible, with references to the reading numbers where it was possible to use the colourimeter.

Most contemporary Theban tombs exhibit a mix of coloured and polychrome hieroglyphs, in varying combinations. Of the monochrome hieroglyphs in the Rear room or Shrine, those on Walls 12 (**Colour pl. 29C**) and 17 (**Colour pl. 30B**) were probably intended to be blue although they are now grey. Such hieroglyphs are found in a variety of texts in contemporary tombs: the larger offering lists tend to be monochrome,³⁷ while longer texts and scene captions vary.³⁸ Other texts in TT99, on Pillars AS, AW and BW, are perhaps the remains of preliminary drawings for polychromy which was never applied.

A separate dataset of the colours on the hieroglyphs is available on the TT99 web site.³⁹

¹ Engelmann-von Carnap, *Struktur*, 205–376, with sources on pp 423–441. Another important study is Shedid, *Grabmalerien*, 98–107.

² Hartwig, *Tomb painting and identity*, 53–120; list of tombs on p. 201.

³ Compare Staring's discussion of this issue in Old Kingdom mastabas in Strudwick and Strudwick (eds), *Old Kingdom, new perspectives*, 256–269.

⁴ Two important such examples are Kamrin, *The cosmos of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hasan*, and Laboury, in Tefnin (ed.), *La peinture égyptienne ancienne: un monde de signes à préserver*, 49–81.

⁵ This conventional view is perhaps best expressed in more popular publications, such as Manniche, *City of the Dead*, 29–63, Kampp-Seyfried, in Schulz and Seidel, *Egypt. The world of the Pharaohs*, 249–263, and Strudwick and Strudwick, *Thebes in Egypt*, 139–166.

⁶ Beinlich-Seeber and Shedid, *Userhat*, 139–142.

⁷ Shedid, *Grabmalerien*, 88–90.

⁸ Bryan, in Davies (ed.), *Colour and Painting*, 63–72.

⁹ Strudwick, in Angenot and Tiradritti (eds), *Artists and Painting*, forthcoming. A relevant selection of coloured examples of the signs discussed here are reproduced there as Figs 13 and 14.

¹⁰ See my comments, Strudwick, *JARCE*, 27 (1990), 93–94.

¹¹ *JEA* 77 (1991), 43–56.

¹² Strudwick, *Amenhotep*, 93–97, with colour data in Appendix 3 on pp 195–201.

¹³ The most commonly-used edition in the study of tomb-paintings has been the *Glossy Finish Collection*. See presently <http://www.pantone.com/pages/products/product.aspx?pid=1344&ca=92> (accessed 12 June 2014).

¹⁴ Kelly and Judd, *Color. Universal Language and Dictionary of Names*. The Munsell

colour space is mapped into these colours via the charts on pp 16–31.

¹⁵ For example, Baines, *American Anthropologist* 87 (1985), 282–297, in particular p. 287.

¹⁶ The conversions to Munsell given here are not those internally generated by the CR-221, but rather were produced with the Patchtool software program created by the Babelcolor Company (http://www.babelcolor.com/main_level/PatchTool_features.htm, accessed 18 June 2014).

¹⁷ <http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/tt99/>, accessed 1 January 2016.

¹⁸ Respectively, Guksch, *Nacht-Min*; Kákosy et al., *The Mortuary Monument of Djehutymes (TT32)*; Ockinga, *The tomb of Amenemope (TT148)* I; Hartwig (ed.), *The tomb chapel of Menna (TT69)* and Mahmoud Maher-Taha, *Le tombeau de Menna*.

¹⁹ Respectively, El Saady, *The tomb of Amenemhab*; Negm, *The tomb of Simut called Kyky*; Calcoen, *TT176. The tomb chapel of Userhat*.

²⁰ Ockinga, *The tomb of Amenemope (TT148)* I, 138–149.

²¹ Hartwig (ed.), *The tomb chapel of Menna*, 93–161.

²² cf. my review in *JARCE* 50 (2014), 240–242.

²³ Davies (ed.), *Colour and Painting*.

²⁴ Angenot and Tiradritti (eds), *Artists and Painting*, forthcoming.

²⁵ Strudwick, in Davies (ed.), *Colour and Painting*, 126–140.

²⁶ Dawson, Rozeik and Wright (eds), *Decorated surfaces on ancient Egyptian objects*.

²⁷ Berns, (ed.), *Billmeyer and Saltzman's Principles of Color Technology*.

²⁸ See n. 16 on p. 163 above.

²⁹ See http://www.colorwiki.com/wiki/CGATS.17_Text_File_Format, accessed 29 November 2014.

³⁰ <http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/tt99/colour.html>, accessed 14 July 2014.

³¹ Compare the similar set of readings presented for TT294, TT253 and TT254 in Strudwick, *Amenhotep*, 94, Table 5.1.

³² Strudwick, *Amenhotep*, 93–94.

³³ Strudwick, *Amenhotep*, 95, Table 5.3.

³⁴ Data readings used for both figures: sample numbers 496, 508, 512, 513, 553, 554, 448, 449, 423, 413, 434, 435, 474, 1, 2, 35, 36, 69, 70, 71, 95, 106, 107, 133, 134, 573, 574, 149, 194, 231, 256, 267, 293, 294, 295, 332, 337, 340, 577, 371, 372, 397, 398. The NBS colour names encountered are dark grayish yellow, grayish yellow, grayish yellowish pink, light brown, light grayish reddish brown, moderate yellowish pink, pale yellowish pink, pinkish gray, yellowish gray, yellowish white.

³⁵ Respectively, 489, 490, 491; light brown, greyish red; and 589, 637, 645; light brown, moderate orange.

³⁶ Pl. I, 1; Pl. VIII, 2, 10; Pl. IX, 4; Pl. X, 14.

³⁷ Such as in TT81 (Dziobek, *Ineni*, Taf. 20–23).

³⁸ Thus the text over the head of the seated figures in the above wall in TT81 is also monochrome, as is another in Taf. 27a. Some of the longer texts (unpublished in colour) in TT85 are also monochrome, such as that which has some parallels with Wall 17 of TT99 (above p. 142).

³⁹ <http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/tt99/> (accessed 1 January 2016).

Papyri und Leichentuch aus Shaft I

Irmtraut Munro

with conservation reports by Bridget Leach and Julie Dawson

7.1 Papyri

7.1.1 Beschreibung und Befund

Papyrusfunde aus Graboberbau und Hofbereich

Von den gemischten Papyrusfunden, die vor der Grabungskampagne 1998 gefunden und 2000 konserviert und unter Glas gebracht wurden, kann ein Fragment (99.93.0388, [Fig. 132](#)) als Totenbuch-Fragment identifiziert werden: Es handelt sich um ein hieratisch geschriebenes Fragment von Tb 57 (Z. 5–6 nach Lepsius, pTurin 1791) und dürfte aus ptolemäischer Zeit stammen. Zugehörig dazu, aber nicht einem bestimmten Tb zuzuordnen ist Fragment 99.93.0472 ([Fig. 133](#)). Auch Vignetten-Fragmente in Stichzeichnung, Nr. 99.95.0416 ([Fig. 131](#)) und 99.97.0556 ([Fig. 134](#)), die einen sitzenden Osiris wiedergegeben haben dürften, könnten Teil dieses Manuskripts sein.

Papyrusfunde aus den unterirdischen Bestattungskammern, Raum 2 und 3

Insgesamt sind 429 Fragmente gefunden und konserviert worden, davon 52 Fragmente ohne jegliche Tintenspuren und sieben Fragmente nur mit Linien oder Teilen von Einzel-Hieroglyphen versehen. Elf Randstücke zeigen keinen Text, so daß für eine Auswertung des Materials 359 Fragmente übrigbleiben.¹ Von diesem mit Text od. Illustrationen versehenen Material wiederum ließen sich 158 Fragmente identifizieren, zuordnen und sogar teilweise placieren.

Bereits im Bericht über die Konservierung und Montage hat die

damit betraute Konservatorin wegen der unterschiedlichen äußerlichen Beschaffenheit der Fragmente die Vermutung aufgestellt, daß es sich bei ihnen um getrennte Manuskripte handeln könnte.² Diese Vermutung hat sich erhärtet: Die Auswertung des Materials läßt sogar den Schluß zu, daß es sich um insgesamt drei Rollen gehandelt haben muß, die alle drei für *sn-nfr* und nicht für einen im Familiengrab mitbestatteten Angehörigen hergestellt worden sind. Bei allen drei Manuskripten sind Titel u. Name erhalten. Ein weiteres Argument ist das unterschiedliche Layout aller drei Manuskripte, ein drittes ist eine bei allen drei Dokumenten deutlich abweichende Handschrift. Dazu kommen unterschiedliche Maße und das Vorkommen von gleichen Sprüchen (Tb 85, Tb 100, Tb 125B und 125C) in zwei unterschiedlichen Dokumenten. Eine Doppelbelegung von Sprüchen ist zwar nicht ungewöhnlich, aber es ist kein einziges Beispiel für eine Doppelbelegung von Tb 125B bekannt.

7.1.2 Statistik

Die Fragmente der 1. Rolle stammen hauptsächlich aus Raum 2 und 3, hier aus Schicht 1–4. Die Fragmente der 2. Rolle stammen ausschließlich aus Raum 3, Schicht 1–4, aber massiert aus Schicht 3 u. 4.

Die Fragmente der 3. Rolle stammen ebenfalls nur aus Raum 3, hier massiert aus Schicht 1 u. 3.

1. Rolle

Maße:

Mindestlänge: [270 cm]³

Gesamthöhe: [33–34 cm]

Schriftspiegel, incl. Horizontalzeile: [27,5 cm]

Breite der Horizontalzeile: 1,5 cm

Zeilenbreite: 1,3–1,5 cm

Zeilenbreite bei Tb 125B: 1,8 cm



Fig. 131: Papyrus Fragment 99.95.0416



Fig. 132: Papyrus Fragment 99.93.0388

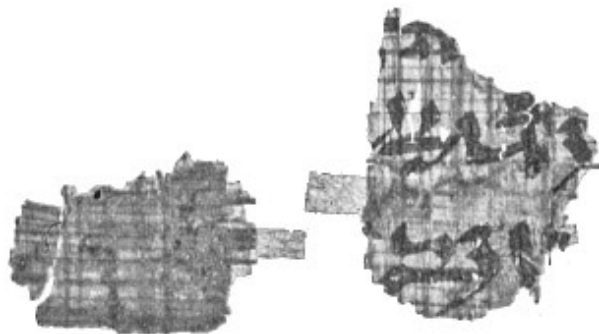
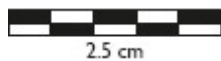


Fig. 133: Papyrus Fragment 99.93.0472

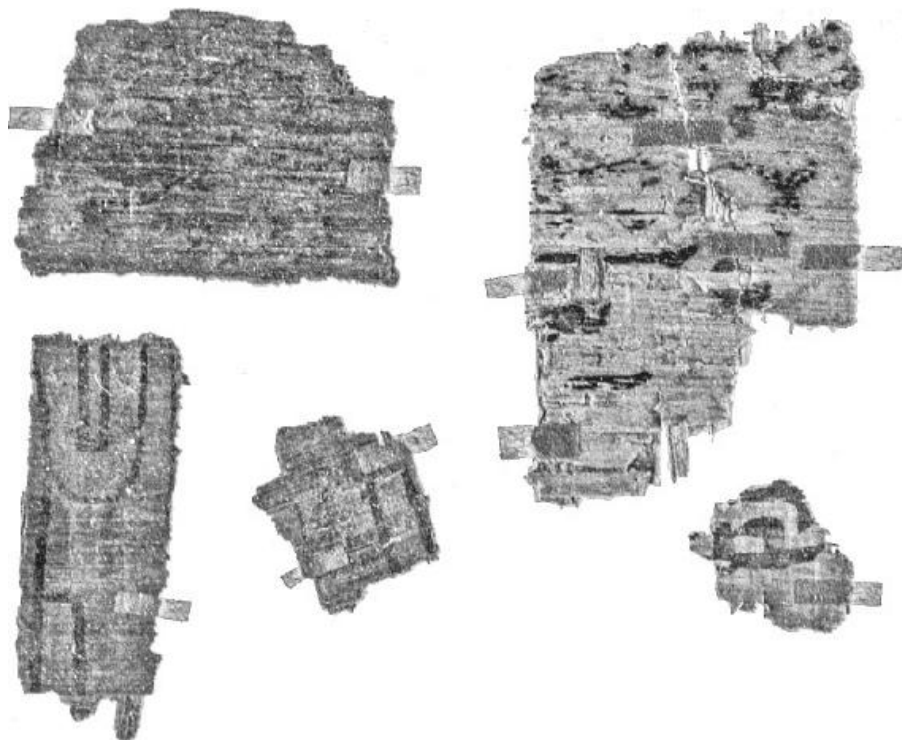


Fig. 134: Papyrus Fragment 99.97.0556



Fig. 135: Umschrift von Tb 80, Rolle 1

Zeilenbreite bei einem nicht identifizierten zugehörigen Fragment: 0,7–0,8 cm

Formaler Aufbau, graphische Anordnung und Farben für den Text

Das Schriftfeld ist oben und unten⁴ durch rote Doppellinien begrenzt. Darunter befindet sich eine durchgehende Horizontalzeile zur Aufnahme der Spruchtitel.⁵

Die Sprüche sind durch rote Doppellinien voneinander abgegrenzt, ebenfalls die Vignetten.⁶ Bei Tb 125B ist jede Anrufung mit roter Doppellinie voneinander abgegrenzt, die Horizontalzeile mit schwarz konturiertem dunkelgrünem schmalen Streifen oben und unten gerahmt. Die seitlichen Türen⁷ sind ebenfalls durch zwei schmale, grün ausgefüllte und schwarz konturierte Streifen kenntlich gemacht. Tb 125B mit seinen Anrufungen erscheint in Blockanordnung, ebenfalls Tb 99B.⁸

Mit schwarzer Rußtinte wurde der fortlaufende Spruchtext geschrieben, rote Farbe zeigen die Spruchtitel, die Nachschriften (Tb 86 u. 99B), die *mdw* Zeichen bei *dd mdw in*,⁹ die Interjektionen *i*, *kii dd* bei den Varianten von Tb 17 und von *dd rn=i* beim Fragenkatalog von Tb 99B. Weiße Farbe ist beim Text von Tb 100 erhalten.

Vorkommen von Titeln, Namen und Prädikationen

Titel des Tb-Besitzers: *imi-r3 sdzwti* (𐤇𐤍𐤓𐤃𐤔𐤕𐤌) bei Tb 80 (Fig. 135), 82, 83,

Name des Tb-Besitzers: *sm-nfr* () bei jeder Namensnennung, ohne Determinierung des Namens bei Tb 83, mit Determinierung A 52 bei Tb x und Tb 82, mit A 50 bei Tb 80 und 86. Die Prädikation *msr brw* ist mit Aa 11 + P 8 geschrieben, ein einziges Mal (bei Tb 86) mit U 5 + D 36 + P 8. Der Tb-Besitzer wird an keiner Stelle als *Wsr* bezeichnet.

Der Name und Titel der Mutter des Tb-Besitzers ist bei Tb 83 genannt:

*nbt-pr zst-dhwti*¹⁰ (                          ) eine zweite Namensnennung der Mutter bei Tb 85 ist zerstört.

Charakterisierung der Schrift

Der Papyrus ist mit sehr ebenmäßigen, steilen Kursivhieroglyphen und retrograd geschrieben.¹¹

Spruchvorkommen und Sequenz

Insgesamt sind 16 Sprüche erhalten, davon sechs Sprüche mit gesicherter Sequenz:

Tb 124-80 [V]-83 [V]-84 [V]-85 V-82 [V] [-] 77-86 [-] 87 [V] ///
Tb 1 V – Tb x /// Tb 17 /// Tb 99B V (?) /// Tb 100 /// Tb 125B V
[-]125C /// Tb 149.¹²

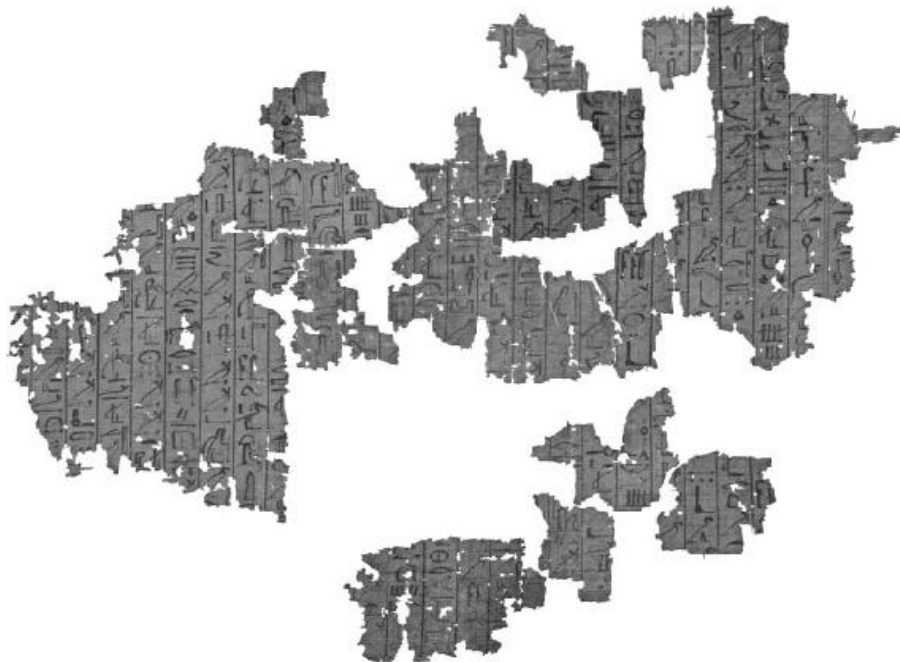


Fig. 136: Tb 124, Rolle 1

Vignetten

Von den 16 erhaltenen Tb waren bei neun Sprüchen Vignetten zumindest angelegt,¹³ davon sind bei fünf Sprüchen Illustrationen fragmentarisch erhalten.

V Tb 1 (Colour pl. 38A)

Erhalten sind nur Teile des Vignettenbandes unterhalb der Horizontalzeile. Links ein Schrein mit der Bahre des Verstorbenen, rechts und links flankiert von Isis und Nephthys. Der Schrein steht auf einer Barke, diese auf einem [Schlitten]. Zwei rote Kühe¹⁴ und mindestens zwei männliche Figuren ziehen den Sarkophag. Vor den Kühen ist ein Opferträger zu erschließen, der ein weiß bemaltes Gefäß in einem Tragegurt hält. Vorneweg schreiten drei männliche Figuren in kurzem Schurz, gestaffelt wiedergegeben, und geben als musikbegleitende Gruppe mit den Händen den Takt an.¹⁵ Als Beischrift zu dieser Gruppe ist zu lesen: *šspt dḥn*.¹⁶ Die Körper dieser Gruppe sind rot ausgemalt mit weißem Schurz, die Perücken schwarz, die Körper der Ziehenden sind nur rot konturiert.

V Tb 85 (Fig. 137, Colour pl. 38B)

Auf einer doppelten Standlinie steht ein rot konturierter Widder nach rechts. Das Fell ist mit roten Punkten angedeutet, Gehörn und Hufe zeigen grau-schwarze Farbreste.

V Tb 87

Nur die Reste einer schwarz konturierten und mit schwarzen Punkten versehenen Schlange, [deren Schwanz eine ganze Kolumne einnimmt]¹⁷ erhalten.

V Tb 99B

Nur Reste eines Bootes mit Resten einer Beischrift sind erhalten.

V Tb 125B

Einer der 42 hockenden Beisitzer des Totengerichts mit schwarzer Perücke und Bart erhalten.

2. Rolle (Fig. 138)

Maße

Mindestlänge: [145 cm]¹⁸

Gesamthöhe: nicht zu erschließen¹⁹

Zeilenbreite: 1,3–1,5 cm

Formaler Aufbau, graphische Anordnung und Farben für den Text

Das Schriftfeld ist oben und unten durch schwarze Doppellinien ohne Horizontalzeile abgegrenzt. Weitere Informationen läßt das begrenzte

Material nicht zu. Der Text von Tb 125B ist fortlaufend geschrieben, mit der rubrizierten Anrufung als einziger graphischer Absetzung.²⁰ Mit schwarzer Rußtinte wurde der laufende Spruchtext geschrieben, rote Tinte für Spruchtitel (Tb 125A), Nachschriften (Tb 100) und die Interjektion *i* bei Tb 125B verwendet.



Fig. 137: Tb 85, Rolle 1. [For the vignette, see also *Colour pl. 38B* (Ed.)]

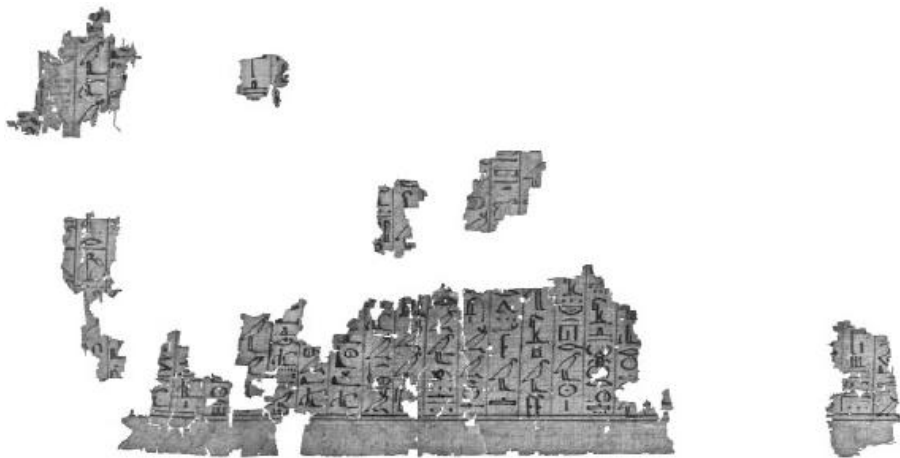


Fig. 138: Tb 125, Rolle 2

Titel, Namen, Prädikationen

im̄i-r3 ḥmaw-nṯr n mnw n [] bei Tb 144²¹

im̄i-r3 pswt ḥnnt bei Tb 144

mḥ ? ib ?[] bei Tb 144

Name

sn-nfr (↕↕) bei Tb 144

Der Name erscheint hier ohne Determinierung.

Bei jeder Titel- u. Namensnennung ist der Verstorbene als *sn-nfr* (↕↕) bezeichnet.

Die Prädikation *m̄r hrw* ist mit Aa 11 + D 36 + P 8 geschrieben.

Charakterisierung der Schrift

Die sehr akkuraten Kursivhieroglyphen mit kräftigem Strich unterscheiden sich deutlich von der Schrift der 1. Rolle. Die spezifischen Merkmale der zeitgenössischen Handschriften sind aber auch hier vorhanden.²² Alle Texte verlaufen retrograd.²³

Spruchvorkommen und Sequenz

Sieben Sprüche sind erhalten, keiner in gesicherter Sequenz:

Tb 100 /// Tb 125A [-] 125B [-] 125C /// Tb 136A /// Tb 141/142
/// Tb 144

Vignetten

Es ist keine Vignette erhalten.

3. Rolle (Fig. 139)

Maße

Mindestlänge: [143 cm]²⁴

Gesamthöhe: [27,5 cm]

Schriftspiegel: [21 cm]

Zeilenbreite: 1,1–1,2 cm

Breite des rosa Randstreifens: 0,8 cm

Breite des Sternenfrieses: 1 cm

Formaler Aufbau, graphische Anordnung und Farben für den Text

Die 3. Rolle ist oben und unten durch einen rot konturierten, rosa ausgefüllten Streifen gerahmt. Darüber (am oberen Rand) und darunter (am unteren Rand) befindet sich ein schwarzer Sternenfries²⁵ mit einer schwarzen Linie als unterem Abschluß.²⁶ Eine schwarze Linie unter einer Vignette grenzt die Vignette gegen das Schriftfeld ab. Vor dem einzigen erhaltenen Beginn eines Spruches (Tb 182) dient eine dreifache rote Linie als Abgrenzung. Dies muß aber nicht das übliche graphische Abgrenzungsmuster gewesen sein.

Rubra wurden neben der üblichen Rußtinte für den laufenden Text für hervorhebenswerte Textpassagen benutzt.

Namen, Titel und Prädikationen

Ein unteres Randstück mit rosa ausgefülltem Streifen und Sternenfries zeigt den Namen des Tb-Besitzers *sn-nfr*. Bei einem nicht sicher zuzuordnenden Fragment ist der Titel *im-ri sds wti n nswt* erhalten. Bei zwei weiteren Fragmenten werden die [Namen] mit A 51 bzw. A 52 determiniert. Die Prädikation *ms hrw* wird in beiden Fällen mit Aa 11 + P 8 geschrieben.

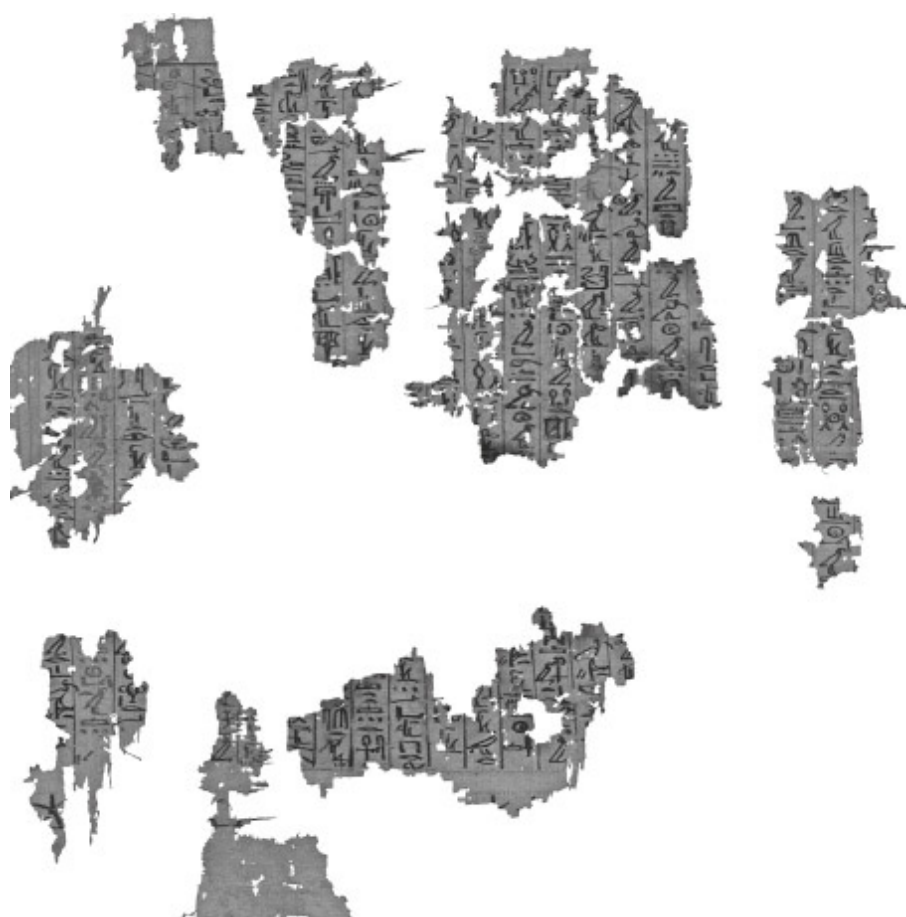


Fig. 139: Tb 182, Rolle 3

Charakterisierung der Schrift

Die Handschrift der 3. Rolle ist deutlich kleiner und weniger akkurat. Die Kursivhieroglyphen werden am unteren Rand zudem noch verkleinert und gedrängt geschrieben. Der Text verläuft retrograd.

Spruchvorkommen und Sequenz

Erhalten sind vier Tb-Sprüche und einige nicht identifizierte Texte, kein Spruch in gesicherter Sequenz: /// Tb 85 /// Tb 151 V (?) /// Tb 153 /// Tb 182 [V]²⁷

Vignetten

V Tb 182 (Fig. 139)

Auf einer Standlinie sind Reste von menschlichen Beinen erhalten.

V Tb 151

Die Reste von drei zweifellos zusammengehörigen Vignetten-Fragmenten zeigen den unteren Teil von V Tb 151: Links der stehende

anubisköpfige Duamutef, nach rechts gerichtet, vor ihm Qebehenuief. Beide Horussöhne sind in weißer Mumien gewandung mit schwarzer Perücke und sind namentlich bezeichnet. Vor ihnen [ein schreinartiges Podest], auf dem ein nach rechts gelagerter [Anubis] fragmentarisch erhalten ist. Rechts, antithetisch symmetrisch zu Duamutef und Qebehenuief die beiden anderen Horussöhne, von denen nur die weiß bemalte Beinpartie erhalten ist.

7.2 Leichentuch

7.2.1 Beschreibung

Colour pl. 39 und Colour pl. 40

Drei große Fragmente zusammen mit einer ganzen Anzahl von kleinen Fragmenten fanden sich in zerknittertem Erhaltungszustand in der Grabkammer.²⁸ Drei Fragmente passen direkt aneinander an, so daß dadurch Schlußfolgerungen bezüglich des Layout und der Maße möglich sind. Der Konservierungsbericht erwähnt außerdem bei allen drei großen Fragmenten eine vertikale Falte.²⁹

Maße

Höhe von Fragment 1 + 2 + 3 zusammen: 80 cm

Breite von Fragment 1 + 2 + 3: 70 cm

Höhe der horizontalen Register-Abgrenzung: 1,5 cm

Höhe des oberen Registers von Fragment 1: 43 cm

erhaltene Mindestbreite von Fragment 1 + 2 + 3 (oberes Register): 127 cm

rekonstruierte Mindestbreite von Fragment 1 + 2 + 3 (oberes Register): 236 cm³⁰

rekonstruierte Mindestbreite von Fragment 1 + 2 + 3 (unteres Register): 222 cm³¹

Höhe der Vignette (Fragment 1 + 3): 6 cm

Höhe von Fragment 4: 38 cm

Breite von Fragment 4: 81 cm

Schriftspiegel bei Fragment 4: 37,5 cm

rekonstruierte Mindestbreite von Fragment 4 (Tb 17 + Tb 18)³²: 340 cm oder 170 cm bei möglicher Aufteilung in zwei Registern

Zeilenbreiten: 1,5; 1,7–2 cm

Formaler Aufbau, graphische Anordnung und Farben für den Text

Der Konservierungsbericht erwähnt gelbe Farbspuren am unteren Rand eines der Fragmente³³ (Fragment 4). Vielleicht kann man daraus auf den üblichen gelb-roten Randstreifen schließen. Fragmente 1 + 2 + 3 zeigen den Text in zwei Registern, getrennt von einem breiten

durchgehenden Abgrenzungstreifen. Darunter befindet sich, einer durchgehenden Horizontalzeile vergleichbar, eine durchgehende Zeile, die die Zählung der Stätten von Tb 149 aufnimmt. Die Spruch-Anfänge sind immer jeweils am Anfang einer Zeile placiert. Im oberen Register von Fragment 1 gibt es keine besondere Markierung zwischen den Spruch-Einheiten, im unteren Register sind zwischen den Texteinheiten der einzelnen Stätten vertikale Doppellinien gezogen.³⁴ Die einzige erhaltene Vignettenrahmung zeigt eine untere Doppellinie als Abgrenzung zum Text. Dem Befund von zwei Fragmenten von Tb 42 nach zu schließen muß die sogenannte Gliedervergottung nicht in einem fortlaufenden Text, sondern tabellarisch kopiert worden sein³⁵

Der allgemeine Spruchtext ist mit schwarzer Rußtinte geschrieben, rote Tinte für Spruchtitel, einleitendes *dd mduw in* oder *dd=f* verwendet, ebenso ist der Haupttext in Tb 17 in schwarz, dagegen die Glossen, Glossen-Einleitungsformeln und Varianten rubriziert. Außerdem erscheint Rubrum bei der Zählung der Stätten von Tb 149.

Vorkommen von Titeln und Namen, Prädikationen

Titel des Besitzers

imi-r3 sdawti (𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎠) Tb 26, 28, 30A

imi-r3 sdawtiw (𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎠𐎠) Tb 27 (Ende)

imi-r3 hyst nbw nt imn imi-r3 sdawti Tb 27

imi r3 sdawti whm nswt Tb 43

whm nswt mriaw nb tawi imi-r3 sdawti Tb 17, Z. 17

Name

sn-nfr (𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎠) passim, Determinativ A 51 bei z.B. Tb 27, 43, 30A, 149, 6. *ist* oder einem Fragment von Tb 42, mit A 52 determiniert bei Tb 17, Z. 13 u. 17, Tb 26, 28, Tb 149, 3., 4. u. 7. iA.t, 33.

Die Prädikation *ms hrw* mit Aa 11 + P 8 (Tb 28, 27, 30A). mit Aa 11 + D 36 + P 8 + G 43 bei Tb 33, mit Aa 11 + D 36 + P 8 bei Tb 149, 3. iA.t, mit U 4 + D 36 + G 43 + A 2 bei Tb 43 und einem Fragment von Tb 42. An keiner Stelle steht vor Titel und Namen die Prädikation *wsir*.

Titel und Name des Vaters

ss z3-dhwti 36 (𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎠𐎠) in Tb 17, Z. 13

[*dhwti*]-*hst* ([] 𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎠) 37 in Tb 43

Prädikat *ms hrw* geschrieben mit Aa 11 + P 8 bei Tb 43, mit Aa 11 + D 36 + P 8 geschrieben bei Tb 17, Z. 13.

Titel und Name der Mutter

nbt-pr z3t-dhwti 38 (𐎢𐎠𐎢𐎠𐎠𐎠) Tb 31, Tb 43, Tb 26 Ende

Prädikation *ms t hrw* geschrieben mit Aa 11 + X 1 + P 8 bei Tb 26

Charakterisierung der Schrift

Die verwendeten Kursivhieroglyphen in retrogradem Textverlauf sind von einem routinierten Schreiber ausgeführt worden, der sehr sorgfältig, gleichmäßig und mit viel Liebe zum Detail gearbeitet hat.³⁹ Dennoch sind in den kursivhieroglyphischen Text ab und an hieratische Zeichen eingestreut: E 23 bei Fragment 4, Z. 30,⁴⁰ E 34 bei Fragment 1, Z. 6, 7 u. 10, F 40 bei Fragment 2, Z. 8 und Fragment 4, Z. 8, G 26 bei Fragment 4, Z. 13, G 39 bei Fragment 1, Z. 27, G 40 bei Fragment 4, Z. 3, G 41 bei Fragment 4, Z. 38, G 47 bei Fragment 2, Z. 11. *nbt-hwt* ist ungewöhnlicherweise bei Fragment 4, Z. 24 ineinander geschrieben worden⁴¹ ebenso wie *bwt* bei Fragment 4, Z. 25⁴² oder die Schreibung *wf3* bei einem Fragment von Tb 42. Der Schreiber des Leichentuchs ist identisch mit dem Schreiber der 2. Tb-Rolle.

7.2.2 Spruchvorkommen, Sequenz und stemmatische Einordnung

Auf den Fragmenten 1 + 2 + 3, oberes Register, sind sechs Tb in gesicherter Sequenz erhalten: /// Tb 25-26-28-27-43-30A///. Nicht unmittelbar anzuschließen sind sieben Tb auf Fragmenten: Tb 22-23, Tb 31-33-[34], Tb 42 und Tb 68.

Das untere Register enthält Tb 149: Reste der 2. *ist* -3. [V]-4.- 5. [V]-7.⁴³ [V]-6.///. Weitere kleine Fragmente zeigen Textteile der 2., 7. und 13.-14. *ist*.

Fragment 4 nimmt in 48 Z. Tb 17, Z. 77-109 (nach Zeilenzählung Naville) ein⁴⁴ und den Anfang von Tb 18.

Analog zu den Sequenzen der etwa zeitgenössischen Textzeugen⁴⁵ und aufgrund der erhaltenen Tb-Teilsequenzen ist für das obere Register folgende Sequenz zu rekonstruieren:

/// Tb 22-23 [-24]-25-26-28-27-43-30A [-] 31-33-[34] /// 42 [-14]-68 ///.

Das auf dem Leichentuch belegte Tb 17, Z. 77-109 nach Zeilenzählung Naville⁴⁶ war Gegenstand einer Teiluntersuchung von U. Rößler-Köhler auf der Basis ihrer Gesamtuntersuchung über Kapitel 17.⁴⁷ Danach ist der Text auf L. *sn-nfr* in dem Stemma der Textzeugen⁴⁸ zwischen g und d anzusetzen. Der Text zeigt keinerlei Gemeinsamkeiten mit dem Traditionsstrang k, sondern eher eine engere Verwandtschaft mit der Vorlage von L. T III (?). Vorlage m ist mit Sicherheit später als das L. *sn-nfr* entstanden.

Erwähnenswert ist eine unübliche Schreibung für Seth⁴⁹ in Tb 17, Z. 15: 

Vignetten

Bei den Fragmenten 1-3 ist bei Tb 149, 3. Stätte die Umrandung und der untere Teil einer Vignette erhalten, das Symbol der Stätte ist zerstört. Zumindest bei der 5. und 6. Stätte (über dem Text der 7.

Stätte) kann ebenfalls auf Vignettenfelder geschlossen werden.

7.3 Bewertung des Gesamtbefundes

Durch die Tatsache, daß alle drei Tb-Rollen mit den Titeln und/oder zumindest dem Namen des Tb-Besitzers versehen worden sind, besteht kein Zweifel, daß sie für ihn selbst und nicht für einen mitbestatteten Angehörigen gefertigt wurden. Alle drei Papyri und das Leichentuch müssen als direkte Auftragsarbeit gelten, zu gleichmäßig ist der Schriftduktus zwischen Titeln/Namen und den fortlaufenden Spruchtexten. Wirklich bemerkenswert und bisher singulär ist die Anzahl der Tb: mit drei Rollen,⁵⁰ die sich jeweils in der Handschrift und in der formalen Gestaltung unterscheiden, und einem zusätzlichen Leichentuch nimmt der Befund aus TT99 einen ganz besonderen Stellenwert ein. Zwar sind auch andere Individuen mit mehreren Tb-Dokumenten in ihrer Grabausstattung bekannt, z.B. der *imỉ-r3 mšꜥ* Nacht aus dem Ende der 18. Dyn., der sowohl ein Tb aus Leder als auch eines auf Papyrus besitzt.⁵¹ Diese aber scheinen sich zu ergänzen. Auch der Architekt #a besitzt einen eigenen Tb-Papyrus⁵² und genießt daneben weitgehende Erwähnung in der Tb-Rolle seiner Ehefrau.⁵³ Als bestes Parallelbeispiel ist aber der Befund aus der Bestattung der Hat-nefret, der Mutter des Sen-en-Mut, heranzuziehen, der sowohl ein Leichentuch,⁵⁴ eine Lederhandschrift mit Tb-Spruch 100⁵⁵ als auch eine umfangreiche hieratisch geschriebene Papyrusrolle⁵⁶ mitgegeben worden ist. Während das Leder-Manuskript mit Tb 100 und der zugehörigen Vignette als Amulett-Papyrus erklärt werden kann,⁵⁷ bedarf das Vorhandensein eines Leichentuches mit CT/Tb-Texten und einer zusätzlichen Tb-Rolle einer besonderen Begründung. Da Leichentücher mit Tb-Texten vornehmlich in der frühen 18. Dyn. Verwendung fanden,⁵⁸ könnte man die Regierungszeit T III/AII, die Periode der 18. Dyn., in der spätestens großflächige Leinentücher als Trägermaterial für Tb-Texte mitgegeben wurden, als Übergangszeit zur ausschließlichen Verwendung von Papyrus als Trägermaterial von Tb-Sprüchen definieren. Einzelne (vermögende) Personen, wie Hat-nefret oder Sen-nefer mochten vielleicht noch nicht auf das traditionelle Leichentuch verzichten und haben sich mit beidem ausgestattet.

Um so mehr hervorzuheben ist das Vorhandensein von gleich drei Tb-Rollen und einem Leichentuch in TT99, zumal wenn man bedenkt, daß bis auf wenige Ausnahmen eine Tb-Rolle bei der Bestattung alternativ zu einer aufwendigen Grab-Dekoration mit Tb-Texten oder -Vignetten genügt.⁵⁹

Die Papyri und das Leichentuch müssen in derselben Werkstatt

hergestellt worden sein, eine Schlußfolgerung, die die Identität des Schreibers der 2. Rolle mit der des Leichentuchs erlaubt.

7.4 The provenances of the Shaft I fragments

Nigel Strudwick

Table 13: Distribution of papyrus and shroud fragments

<i>Area of Shaft I</i>	<i>Number of fragments</i>	
<i>Papyrus</i>	<i>Shroud</i>	
Corridor	1	
Room 2	110	
Room 3	326	8 (fragments and groups of fragments), mostly at back of chamber
Staircase shaft	1	

7.5 Conservation of the papyri of Senneferi

Bridget Leach

During the 1999 season conservation work was undertaken on fragments of papyri excavated in the burial chambers of Senneferi in 1998. Conservation of this material continued during 2000, together with a small number of fragments found in the shafts within the tomb chapel and the Courtyard of the site before the 1998 season. The papyri from the burial chambers consisted of about 500 fragments that had been placed in plastic boxes after excavation for safe housing until they could be treated.

The fragments were curled up or twisted, and in a fragile and brittle condition that made it difficult to handle or study them. The aim of conservation treatment was to flatten the fragments out and repair them so that they could be safely mounted for photography and study.

7.5.1 Method

During conservation a basic method was followed, this comprised of 'relaxing' the fragments to allow them to lie flat, lightly cleaning and repairing them prior to mounting. In order to relax the papyri, individual pieces were placed inside a humidification tray, made up of a layer of damp blotting paper with a layer of Gore-tex® (a membrane of polytetrafluoroethylene on a fabric backing) on top. The fragments were placed on the Gore-tex layer inside the tray, which was then

covered with polythene. Gore-tex allows only water vapour to pass through it, consequently the humidification of the fragments was very gentle. After approximately 15 minutes the papyrus was flexible enough to be uncurled and gradually flattened out, and – if not too fragile – cleaned by removing dirt or deposits with tweezers or a very soft brush. At this stage any distorted pieces could be manipulated back into their original shape or re-aligned. Each fragment was repaired by applying small tabs of pre-cut pieces of long-fibred, strong Japanese paper (Usomino Hakusen in this case) across the fractures and weak areas of the material. The adhesive used to apply these repairs was methyl cellulose (Culminal MC 2000, 4% in water). The fragments were then dried between an interleaving layer of Bondina (a fine 100% polyester fabric that does not adhere to the papyrus, but acts as a support while it is damp) and layers of dry blotting paper under a piece of board or glass and light weight. After approximately 24 hours the fragments were dry and strong enough to be picked up with tweezers to determine if any joins could be made between them. Using the fibre pattern of the papyrus itself,⁶⁰ it was possible to make several joins.

The papyri were then mounted on trays inside a box made from acid-free card. Each tray consisted of a layer of acid-free board on which lay a sheet of good quality paper to which the fragments were attached with tabs. Soft tissue was then laid over the fragments to protect the surface of the papyri, over which was placed another sheet of paper. All these layers were cut to the size of the box to hold the contents firmly in position. There was no text on the versos of any of the pieces so this method, with recto only visible, was suitable and each ‘tray’ could be photographed in turn. The miscellaneous small finds of papyri found before the 1998 season in the shafts within the tomb chapel and the Courtyard were mounted between glass.

7.5.2 Observations made during conservation

As the work progressed on the numerous funerary fragments from Senneferi’s burial chamber it became clear that the appearance of some fragments were different from the majority. Most fragments could be identified with Senneferi as his name appears on the manuscript. This papyrus is well manufactured, has wide columns with finely executed hieroglyphs and delicately coloured vignettes, the outlines being drawn in red ink and then coloured with what appeared to be pale red and yellow ochres with some use of white. In contrast, the anomalous fragments were much lighter in colour, the writing was smaller and they generally appeared to be in a worse state of repair. No name could be positively identified on this group. The

greater proportion of these fragments was found in Room 3, layer 3 (at a depth of 25–50 cm), where over half the material belonged to this type, whereas in the other contexts the latter material made up less than a quarter of the fragments, with the majority of the material derived from the Book of the Dead of Senneferi.

Several other observations about the general condition of the fragments and context were made during conservation work. It was found that the fragments from the context of Room 3 were in a slightly more degraded condition than those from Room 2 and that some quite large fragments from the top of Senneferi's Book of the Dead were among those found in Room 2, but none were found from the bottom of the roll until conservation started on the contents of Room 3. It was also noted that many of the fragments appeared to have been torn, as opposed to fractured. Fractures in ancient papyri are usually caused by the general brittleness of the material once it is no longer as flexible as it was when first rolled. It can also be the result of insect activity, which causes areas of loss that make the papyrus weaker and more susceptible to subsequent fracturing. However these fractures tend to present reasonably clean breaks rather than the type found in some other of the fragments, where the fibres were pulled and twisted along the break and presented very uneven edges with straggling fibres, as opposed to the clean break described above.

During conservation work it was a surprise to find five small fragments written with hieroglyphs in white, or white over red ink.⁶¹ The white ink on one fragment was extremely faint.⁶² Papyrus with text written in this way is exceedingly unusual and there are few examples known to the author: one is the Papyrus of Henutmehyt from the 19th dynasty,⁶³ which also has white ink written over red, and the other can be seen on a papyrus from the Roman period that is written in Demotic (British Museum Papyrus EA 76638) where a small amount of text is written in white ink alone. The white writing on the Papyrus of Henutmehyt has been identified as steatite (magnesium silicate)⁶⁴ and the later Roman papyrus as gypsum (calcium sulphate).⁶⁵

The general nature of the find in TT99 can shed light on other fragmentary funerary papyri such as those belonging to Huy in the British Museum. The fragments from this latter funerary papyrus, from the late 18th or early 19th dynasty,⁶⁶ were the contents of 'false' rolls collected in Egypt by James Burton, Egyptologist and traveller, in the early 19th century. The rolls were sold to the British Museum in 1836.⁶⁷ Three were unrolled and the fragments separated in the

conservation studio in the 1990s. The majority of the fragments belonged to the Book of the Dead of Huy but there were fragments from two other documents inside. It is easy to imagine that a find of papyri such as the fragments found in Senneferi's tomb might have provided the type of material that was pasted together and sold as rolls to collectors and travellers such as Burton.

7.6 Conservation of the shroud of Senneferi

*Julie Dawson*⁶⁸

The shroud is inscribed in hieratic in red and black ink. There are traces of yellow pigment on the lower border. The linen is in a highly fragile state. The fibres are brittle and friable, especially in areas where there is dark staining (probably from the products of body decomposition). There are a few small patches where the fibres are carbonised, and there has also been a considerable amount of insect attack. The pieces were very crumpled when excavated, making it impossible to read the text or to determine the true size of the fragments. It was clear however that there was an original vertical fold, vestiges of which could be found on all three large fragments. There was a great deal of loose dirt and many loose fibres trapped in the creases.

One large fragment (99.98.0612) has a very evident original fold down its centre (which was preserved so far as possible during the conservation treatment). The textile is particularly badly deteriorated to either side of this fold with many holes. The linen is generally dark with areas of staining and the fibres are brittle and friable. There was loose dirt in the folds and many small, crushed fragments of fabric. The red and black text is well preserved, but in places very difficult to see on the dark textile.

The aims of the treatment were to relax and open out the fragments and construct a mounting system which would help ensure their long-term preservation and allow future study and photography without excessive disturbance of the textiles.

A humidity tent was constructed for each piece of linen, which was supported within the tent on a layer of archival support fabric. As the humidity was raised and the fibres began to relax, the creases were gradually eased out and the weave aligned and held in position with weights. The fibres were too frail to allow complete removal of the creases and in some of the heavily stained areas at the edges were too friable to be unfolded at all. The original crease down the length of each of the large pieces was left in place. A few small repairs were

made to loose fragments at the edges of the textiles with tiny Japanese tissue strips attached with 2% or 4% Methocel AC4 (methyl cellulose) in de-ionised water. Brittle, powdering fibres were consolidated with 2% Klucel (hydroxy propyl cellulose) in alcohol, applied from a small brush.

The large fragments (the biggest is approximately 86 × 40 cm) were supported on archival-quality fabric-covered boards. The collections of very frail small fragments were laid in folders constructed from the same boards and fabrics, but with very fine nylon net windows over the top of the pieces, through which they can be studied without disturbance. A system of boxes was constructed from Correx (twin-walled corrugated polypropylene) for the storage of the textiles.

¹ Die Randstücke konnten lediglich bei der Errechnung der Länge eines Manuskripts ausgewertet werden.

² Leach, Conservation of papyrus, Cambridge Theban Mission Report 1999 u. 2000 (<http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/tt99/report99/papyrus.html>, <http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/tt99/report00/papyrus.html>, accessed 10/1/2014); unten § 7.1.

³ Aufgrund der dieser Rolle zugeordneten Fragmente erschlossen.

⁴ Entgegen dem Bericht der Konservatorin (s. Anm. 2) sind zwei untere Randstücke mit roter Doppellinie erhalten.

⁵ Munro, *Untersuchungen*, 202. Zusätzlich zu den hier aufgeführten Dokumenten mit Horizontalzeile sind noch folgende Textzeugen zu nennen: pPrivatsammlung Süddeutschland + pKikugawa + pVerkaufskatalog Cahn, Jean-David Cahn AG, Katalog 17 Tiere und Mischwesen V, Dezember 2005, Basel, Nr. 8 mit Abb., pMoskau I, 1b, 40 + pMoskau I, 1b, 134 + pMoskau I, 1b 154 + pMoskau I, 1b, 313 + pSt. Petersburg 18586.

⁶ Ausnahmen bildet die rechte Seitenbegrenzung der Vignetten in schwarzer Kolumnenziehung bei V Tb 85, [V82] u. [V80].

⁷ 1 Fragment erhalten.

⁸ Munro, *Untersuchungen*, 203f., bei Tb 99B nur durch die auf gleicher Höhe befindlichen Rubra erschlossen.

⁹ Einmal das *d*-Zeichen + *mdw*-Zeichen in Rubrum (Tb 84), keinerlei Rubrizierung bei Tb 124.

¹⁰ Ranke, PN I, 295,5.

¹¹ Munro, *Untersuchungen*, 193 ff.

¹² Die erschlossenen Sequenzen aufgrund der in der 18. Dynastie häufig festgestellten Abfolge, vgl. Munro, *Untersuchungen*, 153f. u. 218f.

¹³ Bei Tb 80, 82, 83 u. 84.

¹⁴ Nur die Köpfe sind erhalten.

¹⁵ Dieses Element als Teil von V Tb 1 ist bisher singulär.

¹⁶ Wb. V, 484 „Chor der Taktangeber“.

¹⁷ Vgl. Lapp, *The Papyrus of Nu*, pl. 31.

¹⁸ Aufgrund der dieser Rolle zugeordneten Fragmente erschlossen.

¹⁹ Nur untere und obere Randstücke erhalten.

- 20 Munro, *Untersuchungen*, 203 f.
- 21 [Editor's note: is this the title *imy-r ḥmw-ntrw n mnw gbtjw* found on statue EA 48 (above p. 22 and p. 13)?]
- 22 Munro, *Untersuchungen*, 193 ff.
- 23 Niwiński, *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri of the 11th and 10th Centuries B.C.*, 13.
- 24 Erschlossen durch Zusammenrechnen der Maße der unteren Randstücke.
- 25 Zur Rahmung der Tb-Papyri der 18. Dyn., speziell der Rahmung mit Sternenfriesen vgl. Munro, *Untersuchungen*, 199.
- 26 Man darf also davon ausgehen, daß alle Fragmente mit dergleichen Rahmung und mit derselben Handschrift zu einer Rolle gehört haben müssen.
- 27 Von Tb 182 sind insgesamt 14 Fragmente erhalten, mehrere davon sogar direkt aneinander anschließend.
- 28 Lt. Bericht von Dawson, Conservation of textiles and other objects, Cambridge Theban Mission Report 1999 (<http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/tr99/report99/textile.html>, accessed 10/1/2014).
- 29 Dies könnte darauf hindeuten, daß das Leichentuch den Körper nicht umhüllt hat, sondern zusammengelegt beigegeben worden ist.
- 30 Errechnet aufgrund der als Fragmente erhaltenen Tb und der vermutlichen Sequenz.
- 31 Dieses Maß ist für das gesamte Tb 149 berechnet: von Tb 149 ist je ein kleines Fragment der 2. Stätte und der 14. Stätte erhalten.
- 32 Da Tb 17 von Z. 77–109 (Ende) und der Beginn von Tb 18 erhalten sind, kann man wohl auf die komplette Kopie beider Tb schließen, entweder in einem oder in zwei Registern.
- 33 Dawson, Conservation of textiles and other objects, Cambridge Theban Mission Report 1999; unten, § 7.6.
- 34 Einmal, bei der 5. Stätte, überflüssigerweise 2 Z. vor Ende der Texteinheit.
- 35 Munro, *Untersuchungen*, 168f.
- 36 Ranke, PN I, 285,6; ob fehlerhaft kopiert wegen des Mutternamens?
- 37 Ranke, PN I, 408,14.
- 38 Ranke, PN I, 295,5.
- 39 Man beachte die Innenzeichnungen, z.B. Fragment 4, Tb 17, Z. 16, 21, 24, 25, Fragment 1, Z. 16, 17, 20, Fragment 2, Z. 29.
- 40 Im Gegensatz zu Z. 42.
- 41 Im Gegensatz zu der üblichen Schreibung, siehe Z. 34 od. 35.
- 42 Siehe aber Fragment 4, Z. 21.
- 43 Dem Text nach zu schließen, die Zählung darüber bezeichnet die 6. *ḥst*!
- 44 Dies entspricht etwa einem Drittel des Gesamtumfangs von Tb 17.
- 45 pLondonBM EA 10477, pParis Louvre N. 3074, pParis Louvre E. 11085, pMes-em-ner, zusammengestellt bei Lapp, *The papyrus of Nu*, 36, § 40, zusätzlich pHat-nefret (unpubliziert).
- 46 Naville, *Das Ägyptische Totenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie*, 1. Bd., Taf. XXIII–XXVI.
- 47 Rösler-Köhler, *Kapitel 17 des Ägyptischen Totenbuches*.
- 48 *ibid.*, zwischen p. 124 u. 125.
- 49 Vgl. die gängigen Schreibungen bei LGG VI, 691.
- 50 Es handelt sich hier nicht um Rollen, die für ein einziges Manuskript aneinandergeklebt wurden, vgl. Niwiński, *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri*, 18 oder um Rollen eines einzigen Tb-Besitzers mit mehreren Rollen unterschiedlichen Layouts, die aber in der Spruch-Abfolge unmittelbar

aneinanderschließen, Papyri eines Ankh-ef-en-Khonsu aus der 26. Dyn.: pKairo JE 95710 (Tb 31–70), pKairo JE 95717 (Tb 71–102), pKairo JE 95862 (Tb 103–128), pKairo JE 95708 (Tb 128–134), pKairo JE 95857 (Tb 134–142), pKairo JE 95868 (Tb 144–146), pKairo JE 95867 (Tb 146–161).

⁵¹ pLondonBM EA 10471 u. pLondonBM EA 10473.

⁵² pTurin 8438, Schiaparelli, *La Tomba intatta dell'architetto "Cha" nella necropole di Tebe*, 34–65.

⁵³ pParis BN (Luynes B).

⁵⁴ L. Kairo JE 66218, Munro, *Die Totenbuch-Handschriften der 18. Dynastie im Ägyptischen Museum Cairo*, 27–29, s/w-Taf. 10.

⁵⁵ Inv. Nr. unbekannt, unpubliziert, Photo Tb-Archiv Bonn.

⁵⁶ pKairo TN 25/1/55/6.

⁵⁷ Munro, *Ein Ritualbuch für Goldamulette und Totenbuch des Monthem-hat*, 49f.

⁵⁸ Munro, *Die Totenbuch-Handschriften der 18. Dynastie im Ägyptischen Museum Cairo*, 1–48.

⁵⁹ Niwiński, *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri*, 30ff.

⁶⁰ Leach and Tait, in Nicholson and Shaw, (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, 249.

⁶¹ Three from Room 3, layer 2, one from layer 3 and the fifth from layer 4.

⁶² That from Room 3, layer 4.

⁶³ Taylor, (ed.), *Journey through the afterlife*, 47.

⁶⁴ Daniels, CA1998/21 Analysis of white pigment on a papyrus. Internal British Museum Conservation Research Group Report, 1998.

⁶⁵ Ntanos and Ambers, DCDS AR2004/43 Identification of white writing on papyrus AES 76638. Internal British Museum Scientific Research Group Report, 2004.

⁶⁶ Taylor (ed.), *Journey through the afterlife*, 310.

⁶⁷ Quirke, *Owners of Funerary Papyri in the British Museum*, 7.

⁶⁸ This text has been adapted from the original reports, available as <http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/tt99/report99/textile.html> and <http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/tt99/report00/conserv.html> (accessed 18 May 2016).

The coffins from Shaft I

John H. Taylor

A number of small fragments of wooden coffins were recovered from Shaft I. Differences in scale, type of wood, decorative programmes and surface treatment indicate that the surviving pieces represent the remains of at least four anthropoid coffins. All of them were broadly similar in design and can be recognised as examples of coffins of the ‘black’ type which was characteristic of the period from the middle of the 18th dynasty to the early 19th dynasty. Hence it is likely that all of the fragments derive from the first phase of use of TT99, and inscriptional evidence confirms that at least one of the coffins belonged to Senneferi himself.

8.1 18th dynasty coffin types in the Theban necropolis

In the early part of the 18th dynasty (up to the reign of Thutmose III) three types of coffins were in use in non-royal burials at Thebes: rectangular coffins with a flat or vaulted lid; *rishi* coffins, anthropoid in shape, often hollowed out of tree trunks and distinguished by the feathered patterning of their decoration; and another anthropoid type, more usually constructed from wooden planks, the exterior adorned with bands (often inscribed), and sometimes with figures of gods or funerary scenes, executed in polychrome on a white background.¹

The reign of Thutmose III marked a change. Rectangular coffins were henceforth provided only as outermost containers in burial assemblages, *rishi* coffins ceased to be produced, and the ‘white’ anthropoid type was replaced by a coffin similar in general design but with a black background. In the years which followed, this became the predominant style of anthropoid coffin, and is attested not only at Thebes, but as far afield as the Memphite necropolis and at Nubian sites such as Soleb and Qustul.² Therefore it would not be surprising

to find that Senneferi and his family were provided with coffins of this type.

The earliest dated example of this 'black' style at Thebes is the coffin of Hatnefer, mother of Hatshepsut's chief steward Senenmut, who was buried in a small tomb at Sheikh Abdel Qurna in or about year 7 of Thutmose III.³ Hatnefer's husband Ramose, who had probably died earlier, was re-interred alongside her apparently at the same time and was provided with a new anthropoid coffin. This was of the traditional 'white' type, suggesting that at this period the transition between the two colour schemes was in progress and that the 'black' type was still relatively new.⁴ Another early example of the black type is the coffin of Bakamun ('Baki'), found in the tomb of Neferkhuit, which probably dates to the reign of Thutmose III.⁵ A further specimen, Hildesheim 6330,⁶ was made for an official of Thutmose I, but in view of its relatively 'advanced' style (when compared, for example, with the coffin of Hatnefer) it has been suggested that its owner, Amenemopet, outlived the king he served and probably died in the reign of Thutmose III.⁷

The anthropoid black coffins typically comprise a lid and a case, the latter usually deeper than the lid, with walls often positioned at an angle to the flat base. The two parts were constructed from separate pieces of wood, joined together using wooden dowels and cramps, and in the decoration as well as in the modelling considerable care was taken to follow a prescribed pattern. The coffin was an image of the deceased as a transfigured spirit or *sah*, cocooned in wrappings, with the head exposed. The contours of the body were modelled, and the arms and the hands were sometimes represented, crossed on the breast. A striped headdress appeared on the lid and often on the case as well, emphasising that the entire coffin was a representation of the deceased. A *wesekh* collar with falcon-head terminals was depicted on the upper part of the breast, and below this either a vulture or the kneeling goddess Nut was usually represented, with wings outspread in a gesture of protection. The remainder of the coffin lid was typically divided into rectangular compartments by a central vertical band of inscription (usually containing an invocation to Nut) and four pairs of lateral bands, also inscribed with addresses to gods and usually located at points below the shoulders, on the lower breast, above the knees and at the ankles. The spaces defined by these bands were either left empty or were occupied by images of gods or divine emblems. On many coffins a single line of inscription ran along the outer edge on each side of the lid, interrupted by the eight lateral bands of text, which continue from the lid, dividing the two long sides

of the coffin case into rectilinear compartments. These spaces on the sides were usually occupied by standing figures of the four Sons of Horus, two forms of Anubis, differentiated by the epithets *imy-wt* and *hnty sh-ntr*, and (on later examples) figures of Thoth, which were associated with spell 161 of the Book of the Dead. *Wedjat* eyes also appeared, sometimes as a pair on the proper left side (a legacy of a tradition stretching back to the late Old Kingdom), sometimes singly, one on each side of the case. Isis and Nephthys were depicted at the foot and head, respectively, although on some coffins the base of the foot carried *djed* and *tjt* signs. The interior surfaces were generally undecorated, but in some instances images of deities or even inscriptions occurred.

The treatment of the surface of the black coffins varied. On some examples the inscriptions and images on the exterior were executed as follows: a base layer of linen was attached to the wood at the spots to be decorated; white plaster was then applied over the textile, and on this surface the inscriptions and designs were modelled in relief and completed with an overlay of gold leaf on the plaster substrate. A glutinous black

‘varnish’ was put on to the blank surfaces around the gilded designs; it is certain that this varnish was sometimes added after the gilding had been applied, since in some places it overran the edges of the gilded features.⁸ This varnish has been the subject of some analytical studies. Gas Chromatography/ Mass Spectrometry (GC/MS) on samples from wooden coffins and statuettes and a canopic chest, all of New Kingdom date, has shown that the black coating could be composed of bitumen, heated pistacia pitch or unheated pinaceae resin, sometimes mixed with other ingredients.⁹

On other coffins the gilding and black varnish were replaced by yellow and black paint (no doubt a cost-saving device), and here the designs were not executed in relief but were simply painted on to the surface. However, on some coffins, elements of the collar were coloured in red, green, blue and white as well as yellow, and these colours were sometimes also used more sparingly on other features of the design, such as figures of deities.¹⁰ On these coffins the skin of the face, and the hands, if depicted, was sometimes also painted red. This is probably a manifestation of the standard artistic convention used by Egyptian painters for denoting the male gender, but red pigment is also common on the thickness of the lid and case of these coffins and here the colouring may have had a protective symbolism.¹¹ A yellow varnish made from pistacia has also been detected overlaying the black coating on some coffins of this type.¹²

Several coffins of the 'black' type can be dated to the reigns of particular kings, and within this chronological framework an evolutionary pattern can be traced. The fundamental observation which can be made is that of a general trend from relative simplicity towards increased complexity of design, with a progressive tendency to fill the available spaces with texts and images.¹³ Early examples of the 'black' type, such as those of Hatnefer and Baki, are rather sparsely decorated, the spaces between the inscribed bands on the lid being left empty, while the divine figures on the sides are small in scale and unaccompanied by inscriptions. Coffins from the reign of Amenhotep III and later have a markedly greater density of text and image; the lid compartments are more frequently occupied by figures of gods and other emblems, while the deities on the sides of the case are drawn at a larger scale and are often accompanied by multiple columns of inscription, leaving little or no empty space. These later coffins can also be distinguished by the more frequent inclusion of the representation of the crossed hands of the deceased, by having a figure of Nut on the breast (in place of the older vulture motif) and by the representation of the male 'duplex' wig in place of the formal, striped tripartite headdress.¹⁴

In some burials the mummy of the deceased was placed in a single coffin of the 'black' type, while persons of higher status were provided with two or three anthropoid coffins, sometimes enclosed within a rectangular wooden case which might also be decorated in the 'black' style.¹⁵ In some of these ensembles the black-and-gold or black-and-yellow colouring was reserved for the outer anthropoid coffin, while the innermost cases, although conventional in their iconography, were partly or entirely covered with gold or silver: for example those of Maiherpri, Yuia and Tjuiu, and Kha and Meryt.¹⁶

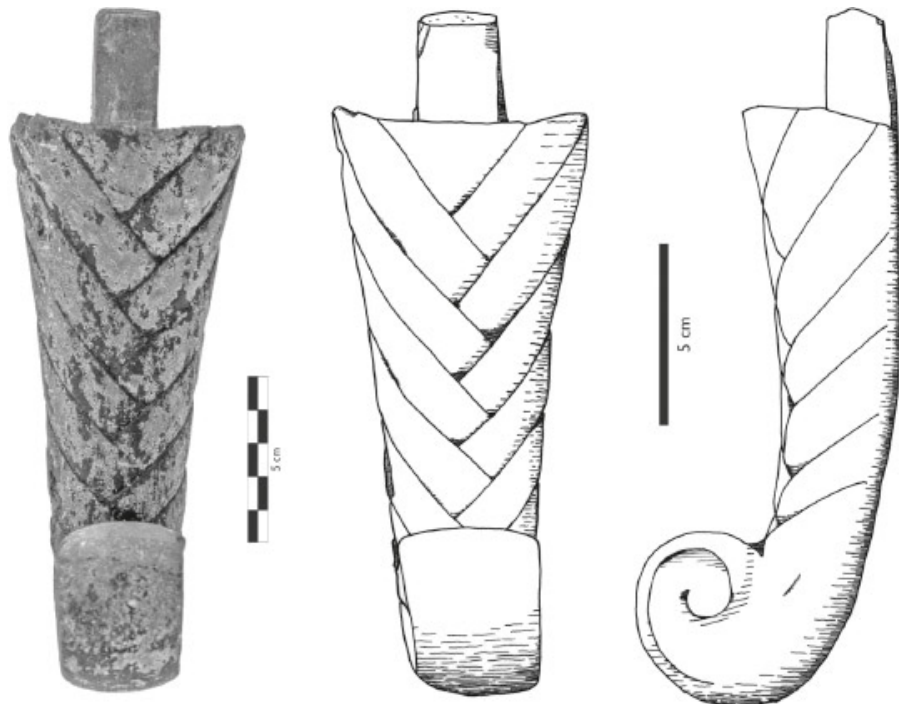


Fig. 140: Carved wooden beard made to be attached to the face of a coffin (99.98.0686)

8.2 Coffin fragments from Shaft I

The majority of the diagnostic coffin fragments which were found in Shaft I are small (rarely exceeding 30 cm in length) and very few joins between them can be identified. The coffins appear to have been thoroughly smashed, though whether this damage occurred in ancient times or during 19th century plundering is difficult to determine (p. 77). Since in most cases it has not proved possible to attribute the pieces to specific coffins, in the following descriptions the fragments have been grouped according to the type of wood of which they are made and the manner in which the surfaces have been treated. It is however certain that among these fragments are parts of one or more coffins which belonged to Senneferi himself. One fragment bears his name and three have his principal title (99.98.0370, 99.98.0519a,b,d). Inscriptional evidence for the identity of the owners of the other coffins is lacking, though the general homogeneity of style suggests that some of them belonged to close contemporaries of Senneferi and perhaps to members of his immediate family.

Two wooden beards for attaching to coffins were recovered from Room 3 in Shaft I (99.98.0686, Fig. 140; 99.98.0639, Colour pl. 46B). They differ in size, and whereas one has a design of plaited hair

carved into the wood, the other was decorated on a substrate of textile and plaster. It is impossible to determine whether these beards belonged to the burial assemblages of two different males or were attached to outer and inner coffins of a single set. Beards are rarely attested on coffins of the 'black' type of the 18th–19th dynasties, but a few examples are known, demonstrating that the coffins from Shaft I were not without parallel in this respect. Examples include the inner coffin of Maiherpri (Cairo CG 24004, entirely gilded but conforming to the 'black' type in its iconography);¹⁷ the coffin of Setau from Deir el-Medina, (Warsaw 138983);¹⁸ and the upper part of the lid of the coffin of the overseer of builders of Amun, Amenhotep (Eton College Myers Museum 1876).¹⁹



Fig. 141: Part of the contoured edge of a coffin lid or case (99.98.0464)

8.2.1 Black-varnished coffins of reddish-coloured wood

Several fragments, including those with Senneferi's name and titles, are made from a hard, dense, finely-grained wood of a reddish colour. It appears that this type of wood was used in the construction of at least two coffins (and perhaps more) which were deposited in TT99, since the pieces which have been recovered include parts of wigs decorated in differing styles. Because of the small size of the fragments it is not possible to attempt any reconstruction of individual coffins, and hence what follows is a general description of the main characteristics of the surviving pieces.

Construction: Constructional details are mostly lost but the wood has been carefully shaped and the components were joined together

securely using very accurately carved cylindrical wooden dowels. A deliberate effort was made to use the wood economically and without waste, since small pieces were carefully cut to shape to fill gaps. Similar constructional techniques have been observed on the coffin of Mesre, Louvre N 2573, a particularly fine specimen of the 'black' type of the 18th dynasty. This coffin was also made from a large number of pieces (approximately 80), skilfully shaped and secured by means of dowels, a constructional process which must have demanded a large expenditure of time and care.²⁰

Shape: Surviving fragments of a face, ears and portions of wigs show that the coffins from Shaft I were anthropoid in form (99.98.0436, [Colour pl. 46C](#)). Most of the other pieces are too small to preserve any body shape, the main exceptions being fragments which show the characteristic sculptural modelling of the projecting part of the coffin lid which covered the feet (99.98.0370, 99.98.0663a). A fragment of curved shape, into which three dowels have been inserted, may represent part of the contoured edge of a coffin lid or case (99.98.0464, [Fig. 141](#)). In the Thutmoside period, anthropoid coffins sometimes included representations of the crossed arms modelled in the round (as attested by those of Hatnefer and Maiherpri), but these were as yet by no means a standard feature, and only appeared with regularity after the Amarna period.²¹ Although a few carved wooden coffin hands were found in TT99, none were recovered from Shaft I and on stylistic grounds they appear to belong to burials of the 21st or 22nd dynasty. Hence there is no certainty that the 18th dynasty coffins from this tomb were provided with hands.

Surface treatment: On some fragments, inscriptions and frame-lines are preserved in raised relief; on others, they are incised into the wood. Both techniques occur together on one piece (99.98.0663b), and hence fragments cannot be attributed to different coffins on this basis. Black 'varnish' is present on all the pieces. Its composition has not been determined by analysis, but similar coatings on other coffins of this type have been identified (above, [p. 182](#)).²² The method of applying this black coating varied: on some of the pieces from Shaft I the 'varnish' is in direct contact with the wood, while on others it was applied over a substrate of linen or of yellow plaster. A white plaster is present within some of the incised inscriptions and also occurs as a substrate for inscriptional frame-lines and decorative motifs (e.g. 99.98.0408, [Fig. 142](#)). This white layer probably acted as a base for the application of gold leaf, as mentioned above ([p. 182](#)): traces of gilding survive on a few such pieces (99.98.0593 and 99.98.0655, not illustrated, 99.98.0667 ([Colour pl. 46D](#))), and many tiny loose

fragments of gold leaf were recovered from the excavated fills (p. 289). On this last-mentioned fragment an area of white plaster formed the base of an unidentified decorative motif and had incised details carved into it. The use of a 'préparation blanche' to create decoration in raised relief which was then gilded has also been noted on the surface of the coffin of Mesre, and on that example there was also a base layer of linen.²³ On some of the fragments from TT99, textile (probably linen) is visible, acting as a support for the black 'varnish' which was applied to the surface, but no textile has been identified beneath the inscribed and decorated areas. The plaster on the TT99 pieces might also have served as a base for coloured fillings in the inscriptions, though no remains of pigments survive to confirm this possibility. On one fragment there are traces of designs drawn in red on a yellow-coated plaster which overlies the black varnish (99.98.0681, Fig. 143). These coffin fragments otherwise have no traces of paint, nor is there any evidence for a layer of painted decoration beneath the gilded surface, such as has been detected on the coffin of Mesre and perhaps on that of Henutwedjebu in Washington University Gallery of Art, St Louis.²⁴

Decorative programme: Several fragments of coffin lids preserve remains of striped headdresses or wigs. On one coffin the wig had stripes in raised relief, originally gilded on a white plaster substrate, and these lines alternated with incuse stripes filled with black varnish applied directly to the wood. Two fragments of this wig also incorporate the upper parts of the ears, which were white-plastered and hence probably originally gilded (Colour pl. 46C). Another wig is represented by a fragment with a plain black surface, consisting of 'varnish' on a white plaster substrate; in this case there are no stripes. This piece also includes part of the proper right ear (99.98.0668, not illustrated). Two inlaid eyes, one possible wooden socket for such inlays and one stone eye found in Shaft I may have belonged to these coffins or to those described below, under 'B' (99.98.0308, 99.98.0636, 99.98.0637, (Fig. 151); the second inlaid eye (99.98.0508), perhaps the pair of the other, is not illustrated)

One would expect that each of the anthropoid coffins would be adorned with a *wesekh* collar, but no traces of these attributes can be recognised. Because of the small size of the remaining fragments, the decorative programmes of the body-fields cannot be reconstructed, but the small traces of decoration that survive are consistent with the exterior designs attested for other 18th dynasty coffins of the 'black' type. One small piece has a design which appears to show wing feathers, drawn in red (99.98.0681, Fig. 143), perhaps from a figure

of Nut or a vulture depicted on the breast. The remains of hieroglyphic inscriptions within vertical frame-lines are preserved only as single lines, rather than as 'blocks' of text, and this perhaps indicates a sparse arrangement with one central line of inscription on the lid and only eight lateral bands running across the lid and down the sides of the case, as seen on many well-preserved coffins of this type. In a few instances the signs and frame-lines are in raised relief, overlaid with white plaster and probably originally gilded (99.98.0370, 99.98.0663a, 99.98.0519b + 99.98.0574) (**Fig. 142**). In others the signs are in sunk relief filled with black varnish (99.98.0519b,d, **Fig. 146**, **Fig. 147**), over which white plaster was applied perhaps as a base for pigment (99.98.0408, **Fig. 142**). Little of the content of the inscriptions can be deduced. Besides parts of the name and title of Senneferi, only single isolated hieroglyphic signs survive, making reconstruction difficult. However,  might come either from the word *imshy* or from the name of the god Hapy, and if so this piece might derive from the side of the case, where the four Sons of Horus are regularly invoked (**Fig. 142**, 99.98.0465b).²⁵ An isolated  hieroglyph might be from the Nut formula (in which the goddess places herself 'over' the deceased), often inscribed in the centre of the lid, while  could come from the same or a similar text, in which the words 'without enemies' or 'imperishable stars' often occur (**Fig. 142**, 99.98.0408 and 99.98.0663a).²⁶ The spaces adjacent to these few surviving inscriptions are for the most part empty, but on two or more fragments there are traces of carved detail, perhaps an indication that small figures of deities occupied the intervening spaces (e.g. 99.98.0465b, **Fig. 142**). Another fragment has an arrangement of straight and curved lines, evidently part of some image which cannot be identified (**Colour pl. 46D**, 99.98.0667). The surviving traces of the decorative schemes on these coffins are suggestive of the rather sparse style of decoration which was characteristic of the earlier examples of the 'black' type, as mentioned above.

The varying scale of the diagnostic features which can be recognised among the fragments considered here indicates that the tomb contained larger as well as smaller coffins. The scale of the fragments mentioned above (**p. 185**), which preserve parts of the two ears as well as the striped wig, suggests that they came from the outer coffin of a set. One of the few fragments which has a legible inscription bears the name of Senneferi in raised relief with a double border (**Fig. 144**, 99.98.0370). On two other pieces (99.98.0519b and 99.98.0519d, **Fig. 146**, **Fig. 147**) the name is missing but Senneferi's distinctive title *imy-r sḏwty* is legible, and so these probably also

belonged to his burial ensemble (as did 99.98.0519a, [Fig. 145](#)). The decoration on these latter pieces is executed in sunk relief with single borders. The differing techniques of the three fragments perhaps indicate that they represent parts of outer and inner coffins respectively. The carving of the name and title in relief indicates that Senneferi's coffins were made specifically for him, and that, unlike numerous other examples of the 'black' type, they were not prefabricated with spaces left blank in the inscriptions for the name of the eventual owner to be added in paint.²⁷



Fig. 142: Coffin fragments bearing traces of inscriptions in sunk and raised relief. From top: 99.98.0408, 99.98.0465b, 99.98.0663a and 99.98.0519c (which joins 99.98.0574, not illustrated)



Fig. 143: Coffin fragment with traces of designs drawn in red on a yellow-coated plaster overlying black varnish (99.98.0681).

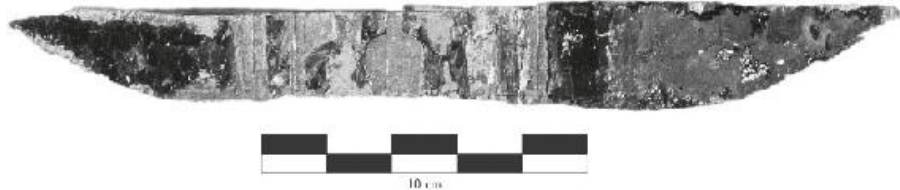


Fig. 144: Coffin fragment with part of the name of Senneferi (99.98.0370)



Fig. 145: Coffin fragment with Senneferi's title *imy-r sḏwty* (99.98.0519a)



Fig. 146: Coffin fragment with Senneferi's title *imy-r sḏwty* (99.98.0519b)



Fig. 147: Coffin fragment with Senneferi's title *imy-r sḏwty* (99.98.0519d)

8.2.2 Black-varnished and painted coffin(s) of reddish-coloured wood
Other fragments of the same fine-grained reddish wood described

above can be distinguished from the specimens just mentioned by a different surface treatment. Black varnish was applied directly to the wooden surfaces, but the texts, instead of being in relief, were simply painted in yellow and coated with a yellow varnish. The variable proportions of the wig fragments (below) suggest that the pieces which were treated in this way derive from more than one coffin.

Several fragments of wig have broad yellow parallel stripes painted over the black-varnished ground – an example is shown in [Fig. 148](#), with a yellow stripe about 1cm wide and black stripe about 2 cm wide.²⁸ On other pieces the yellow stripes are c. 1.7 cm and the black stripes about 4 cm wide, indicating that they belonged to a larger coffin. On several of these fragments the black coating is applied over a pink plaster. Another fragment, possibly part of a wig, has very narrow yellow stripes (2mm) alternating with broad black ones (1.4 cm), the proportions perhaps indicating a coffin of smaller size than those just mentioned (99.98.0504). Perhaps to one of these coffins belongs the lower right part of a face carved from hard reddish wood (99.98.0679a, [Fig. 149](#)); it is flat at the back and is very finely sculpted, with mouth, lips, chin and cheekbones carefully modelled. At the right side of the chin are traces of black varnish and yellow paint, evidence that this face does not belong with the coffins of Category A, discussed above.

The only other diagnostic piece on which this type of wood and this surface treatment occur together is a section of the shaped foot, with the end of a central inscription, written between frame-lines in yellow paint and coated with orange-yellow varnish (99.98.0407 + 99.98.0634a, [Fig. 150](#)). An *ankh*-sign is the only part of the text which is recognisable. A few small fragments preserve further traces of text with frame-lines in yellow paint, but none of the inscriptions are legible. There are no clear traces of painted figures which might have occupied the spaces between the texts.

8.2.3 A painted coffin of a light wood

Eleven small diagnostic fragments can be attributed to an anthropoid coffin which is distinguished from the others mentioned above by its material and the technique of its decoration. The wood is light in colour and coarse in texture, with a more open grain than that of the other specimens described above. Visual inspection suggests that this coffin was made from a timber native to Egypt, such as *Ficus sycomorus*, but this cannot be confirmed without microscopic examination. The decoration is of the same general type as that on the coffins already described, with inscriptions on a black background, but no black ‘varnish’ has been used. All the surviving decoration has been

executed in paint; there is no raised or sunk relief and no trace of gold leaf. The background colour consists of black paint and the texts and figures are in yellow. Red has also been used for the edges of the stripes on the wig and for the thickness of the coffin's edge at the point where the lid and case meet (99.98.0346a). Yellow varnish is visible on some of the fragments; since fragments which are attributable to the case have no varnish, it may have been applied selectively, perhaps only on the lid.



Fig. 148: Fragment of coffin wig with black and yellow stripes (unnumbered)



Fig. 149: Lower right side of a carved wooden face from a coffin (99.98.0679a)

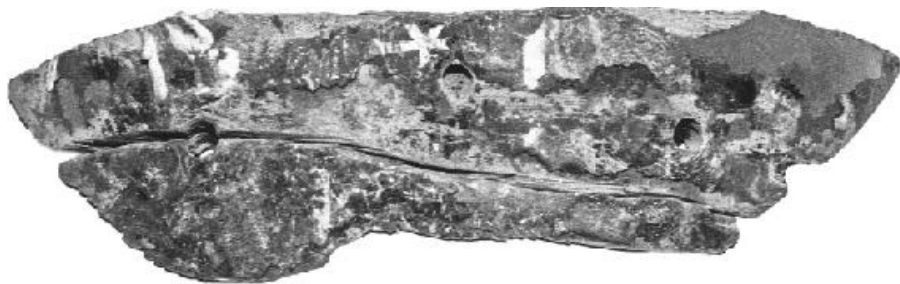


Fig. 150: Section of foot of coffin, with end of a central inscription between frame-lines in yellow paint and coated with orange-yellow varnish (99.98.0407 + 99.98.0634a)

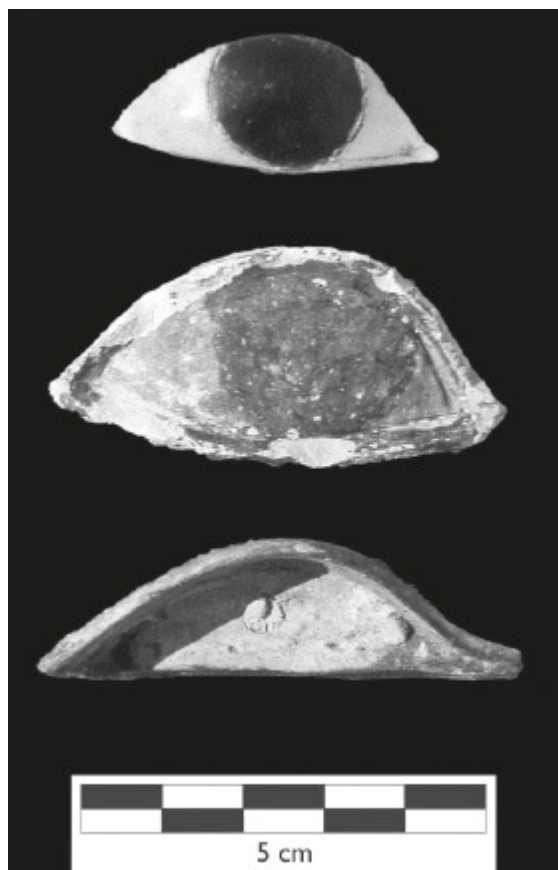


Fig. 151: Elements of eyes from coffins (from top, 99.98.0308, 99.98.0636, 99.98.0637)



Fig. 152: Pair of coffin ears (99.98.0615 (left), 99.98.0652 (right))

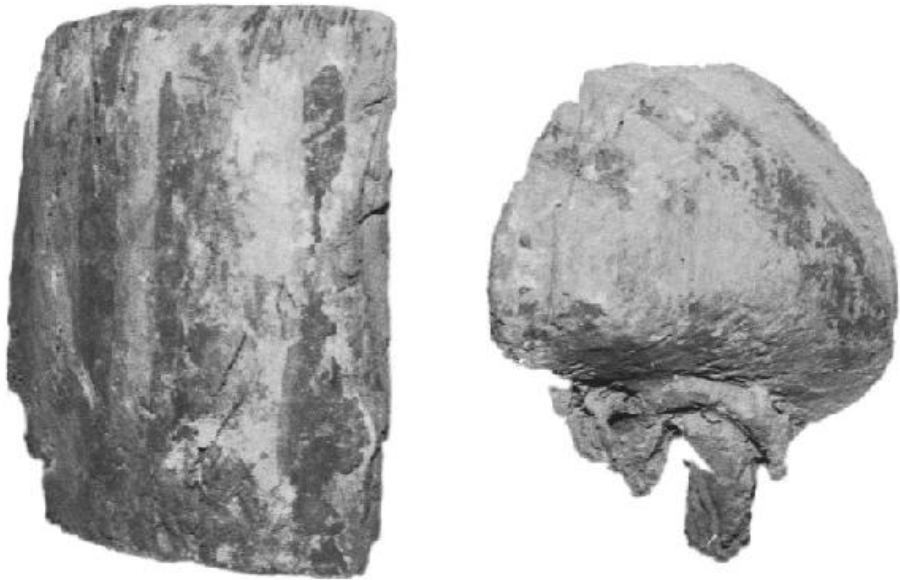


Fig. 153: Fragment of coffin wig and part of left ear (99.98.0379c (right)), and another fragment of wig (believed 99.98.0344a (left))



Fig. 154: Fragment of side of a coffin case with depiction of a false door and part of a column of text (unnumbered)

Pieces of the wig show stripes in yellow and black, with red borders. One fragment of the wig also includes the left ear, which is painted yellow (99.98.0379c, [Fig. 153](#), right). The few recognisable traces of decoration indicate that the exterior was painted in the manner typical of 18th dynasty 'black' coffins, with a central inscription on the lid and lateral inscriptions dividing the sides of the case into compartments, in which figures of deities and other divine emblems were represented. Fragments attributable to the case of this coffin have yellow-painted texts and parts of figures of deities. On one is part of a vertical inscription, *ty*, probably part of the name of Imsety, one of the Sons of Horus; in the space to the left of this

inscription is part of a false door which perhaps supported one or two large *wedjat* eyes (Fig. 154).²⁹ The orientation of the inscription shows that this piece belonged to the proper right side of the coffin case. Another fragment shows another part of a similar false door, perhaps from the opposite side of the coffin.

The relatively coarse nature of the wood, and the absence of black varnish, gilding and relief carving suggest that this coffin was of inferior quality to those of Senneferi. The presence of images within the framework of text-bands seems to reflect the evolving tendency towards a denser filling of the painted surfaces. It is therefore possible that this coffin was deposited in Shaft I some years later than the burial of Senneferi, though too little survives of the coffin's decoration to provide an accurate date for this occurrence.

Other small fragments from Shaft I may point to the existence of further coffins besides those described above. For example, a pair of ears, separately carved from wood, and painted yellow (over black), provide evidence of at least one anthropoid coffin which differed in constructional details from those already mentioned (on which the ears were carved from the same pieces of wood of which the wigs were formed; 99.98.0615, 99.98.0652, Fig. 152).

8.2.4 Conclusion

The fragments from Shaft I attest that at least four separate coffins were originally placed in the burial chamber. The differing scale of the carved and painted elements which survive indicates that at least one individual was provided with an assemblage comprising larger and smaller anthropoid coffins. As the principal occupant of the tomb, Senneferi would be the most likely candidate for this mark of high status, but proof is lacking. The relatively simple decoration of the coffins to which black 'varnish' had been applied points to a date before the reign of Amenhotep III, and hence these coffins can with confidence be attributed to Senneferi himself or to members of his immediate family, who may be conjectured to have died either in the later years of the reign of Thutmose III or in that of Amenhotep II (see § 2.1.4 above). One would expect Senneferi's wife to be buried alongside him, and hence some of these coffin fragments can be tentatively attributed to her. The more densely crowded surfaces of the coffin made of lighter wood suggest a later date. How much later it is impossible to tell, but it is conceivable that the occupant of this coffin might have been a descendant of Senneferi – perhaps a son, daughter or grandchild.

¹ Niwiński, *LÄ V*, 434–437; id., *21st Dynasty Coffins from Thebes*, 8–12; Smith, *MDAIK* 48 (1992), 197–198; Barwik, *Etudes et Travaux* 18 (1999), 7–33; Miniaci, *Rishi Coffins*.

² For general discussions of the ‘black’ coffins, see Niwiński, *LÄ V*, 436–438; Polz, in Assmann, *Amenemope*, 264–267; van Walsem, *Djedmonthuiufankh*, 28–30; Dodson, in Eyre (ed.), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists*, 331–338; Lapp and Niwiński, in Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* I, 284; Taylor, in Davies (ed.), *Colour and Painting*, 168–169; Sartini, *EVO* 38 (2015), 49–66.

³ Smith, *MDAIK* 48 (1992), 225–227; Dodson, in Eyre (ed.), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists*, 331.

⁴ Dorman, *The Monuments of Senenmut*, 167–171; Smith, *MDAIK* 48 (1992), 225–226; Smith implies that Ramose’s white coffin was a feature of his original burial, which is contradicted by the condition of his mummy: Dorman, in Strudwick and Taylor (eds), *The Theban Necropolis*, 32–34.

⁵ Smith *MDAIK* 48 (1992), 227–228.

⁶ Seidel, in Eggebrecht (ed.), *Pelizaeus Museum Hildesheim*, 52.

⁷ Dodson, in Eyre (ed.), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists*, 332.

⁸ *ibid.*, 332–333.

⁹ Serpico and White, in Davies (ed.), *Colour and Painting*, 33–42.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, 33–42, col. pl. 8.

¹¹ Taylor, in Davies (ed.), *Colour and Painting*, 176.

¹² Serpico and White, in Davies (ed.), *Colour and Painting*, 33–42.

¹³ Polz, in Assmann, *Amenemope*, 265.

¹⁴ cf. Florence 2175 A, B: Betrò, in Betrò and Miniaci (eds), *Talking along the Nile*, 55–56, pl. III a, b.

¹⁵ Smith, *MDAIK* 48 (1992), 198, Table 1.

¹⁶ Niwiński, *21st Dynasty Coffins from Thebes*, 11–12.

¹⁷ Daressy, *Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois (1898–1899)*, 7–8, pl. II.

¹⁸ Bruyère, *Deir el-Médineh (1933–1934)*, pls X (2), XI.

¹⁹ Schneider et al., *The Small Masterpieces of Egyptian Art.*, 40, no. 19; Georganteli and Bommas (eds), *Sacred and profane*, 52–53, fig. 36–37.

²⁰ Colinart et al., *BSFE* 139 (June 1997), 28–30.

²¹ Niwiński, *21st Dynasty Coffins from Thebes*, 12.

²² cf. also Colinart et al., *BSFE* 139 (June 1997), 31.

²³ Colinart et al., *BSFE* 139 (June 1997), 31, 32.

²⁴ Colinart et al., *BSFE* 139 (June 1997), 30–32; Berman, in Kozloff, Bryan and Berman (eds), *Egypt’s Dazzling Sun*, 312–317.

²⁵ e.g. Berman, in Kozloff et al. (eds), *Egypt’s Dazzling Sun*, 315–316.

²⁶ e.g. *ibid.*, 314.

²⁷ Polz, in Assmann, *Amenemope*, 249, 254.

²⁸ This fragment is unnumbered.

²⁹ cf, for example, Polz, in Assmann, *Amenemope*, Taf. LXXVI, LXXVIII, LXXX. This object is unnumbered.

The ceramics from Shaft I

Pamela Rose

9.1 Introduction and overview

Study of the pottery from this burial complex concentrated on the material from the fill of the chambers, which was of 18th dynasty date, and from the Corridor, which contained a high proportion of similarly-dated material, although with some later contamination from the late Roman period. The fill of the shaft itself was not examined, since it had clearly been opened and refilled more than once. Debris from the shaft fill spilled into the Corridor, raising some concern about the origin of ceramics from that location, but we here include vessels or large parts thereof from the Corridor in the catalogue below, even if, as is possible, they originated outside the tomb. Individual diagnostic sherds from the Corridor for which other parts of the vessel could not be identified are omitted.

All the pottery from the contexts mentioned above was examined, and we tried to reconstruct as many of the vessels as possible, within the inevitable time constraints.¹ Marl clay vessels were given priority, then the large Nile silt jars, and in the remaining time the diagnostic sherds from the rest of the Nile silt wares were examined, although with little attempt at reconstruction. It is noteworthy that amongst the marl clay wares, there were relatively few fragments found that could not be joined to any of the vessels described below, and most of the remaining diagnostic pieces were single sherds from the Corridor. Thus the latter may not have been part of the original Shaft I assemblage, and perhaps entered the tomb from the Courtyard during periods of exploration, robbing, or refilling.

The ceramics from the rooms and the Corridor reflect at least in part the original contents of the burial(s), although their original distribution within the chambers of Shaft I is not clear as the sherds

from individual vessels had become widely scattered during robbing and previous clearances, as is shown in [Table 14 on p. 220](#) to [Table 17 on p. 223](#). These tables suggest that many of the vessels came from Room 3, and this was undoubtedly the location of the large silt jars (Cat. nos 50–70), the pilgrim flasks (Cat. nos 19–23) and the bottles (Cat. nos 24–29). A few vessels are known only from Room 2, the Corridor and the ‘Staircase shaft’ (for example, squat jar Cat. no. 31), which may hint at an association between the vessels and that room. However, in general, the mixing of the sherds makes it impossible to give any confident statement as to their original location in the tomb; the best that can be said is that there no indication that any of the vessels were originally situated in Room 1.

The extent to which the surviving assemblage represents an approximation of the full ceramic assemblage rests on the question of whether or not vessels were removed from the tomb, either anciently or during more recent exploration. In terms of ancient activity – most likely robbery – ceramic vessels would have been of interest to the robbers only for their contents, if at all, and (presumably) these would not have remained in a usable condition very long after the interment, if indeed they were in a good condition when they went into the tomb (see Bohleke, Chapter 10, [p. 251](#) on the ‘good enough’ nature of the goods provided). Since in some cases the sherd breaks were found coated with the vessel contents, breakage must have occurred before the contents solidified, and therefore probably not long after deposition (see Chapter 11, [p. 292](#)). This suggests that neither the vessels nor their contents were a target for robbers, and were probably left in the tomb, perhaps having been deliberately broken. By modern times it is likely that all the ceramics in TT99 were already smashed.²

Some sherds, however, must have been removed from Shaft I in the course of the repeated disturbance of the tomb, since many of the vessels could not be completely reconstructed. It seems that the missing pieces did not come to rest in the tomb courtyard (although it is possible that part of one of the canopic lids was found there, see below), and in general it appears that there was little overlap between the Shaft and Courtyard assemblages, even though it was not possible to make systematic checks between them (see Shaft H for a brief overview of the Courtyard pottery). Thus, whatever was removed from Shaft I was disposed of further afield.

As well as considering the removal of ceramics, there is also the question of whether we recovered sherds, or indeed vessels, in the tomb which did not form part of the burial assemblage(s) proper. The possibility of sherds entering the Corridor from spillage of the shaft fill

has already been mentioned. Other vessels may be connected with the preparation of the tomb, and may have been abandoned in it. These include the many gypsum-coated vessels which are discussed further below, and pigment- and ink-filled pieces. Remains of red, blue, blue-green and green pigments are preserved, sometimes on top of a layer of gypsum. The colours often run over broken edges suggesting that the vessels used to hold them – generally silt wares but in one case a marl dish, and in two cases oasis amphorae – were themselves reused. A few other vessels are highlighted in the catalogue as possible outsiders, on the grounds of use wear or possible date: the reason for their presence is unclear. It is noteworthy that the sherds from some of these doubtful vessels are the most widely scattered in Shaft I (for example, Cat. nos 33–34). See also the archaeological report above (p. 77).

Even within these constraints, it seems likely that the material presented here represents a substantial part of the ceramic repertoire included with the burial of an elite individual (including his immediate family) from the middle to later part of the reign of Thutmose III. It consists primarily of small-sized decorated marl clay vessels, which most commonly occurred in multiple examples of single types, although the number of vessels in each type varied. There is thus nothing to indicate that each type group was conceived as a ‘set’, in the manner of the canopic jars.

The marl clay vessels were frequently labelled with their contents (see Bohleke, Chapter 10), and these are reflected in the thick coatings of brownish residue on the inner surfaces of many of the vessels. As already mentioned, sometimes the residue ran over the breaks (see [Fig. 160](#) and [Fig. 163](#)). All the residues looked similar to the non-specialist eye, despite the varied commodities recorded. If chemical testing were ever to prove possible, these well-preserved residues would provide invaluable information about the contents. The contents had a marked corrosive effect on the inner surfaces of the vessels, creating pits or larger areas where the surface was completely lost. It should be noted that, because of the presence of the inscriptions and the residues, the marl sherds were not washed, and hence it is not always possible to be certain of details of the decoration.

The marl clay vessels are the only ones in the assemblage to preserve clear evidence for the closing of their mouths. This is seen in the remains of strips of reed wound around the vessel neck below the rim, and strips are also sometimes preserved running across the rim, and into the vessel mouth.³ The binding around the neck was

probably related to the making of a lattice of reeds over the vessel mouth, on top of which a mud seal could be applied without the mud leaking into the contents of the jar. This technique was used on vessels from the tomb of Tjanuni.⁴ Similar lattices, without mud seals, are known on pottery vessels from the tomb of the architect, Kha.⁵ One mud sealing fragment from Shaft I preserved traces of the reed binding within the chaffy mud matrix (99.98.0529a), and the edge of the seal was shaped where it rested on the vessel shoulder.⁶ Unfortunately the type of vessel on which the seal was used could not be identified, but it is clear that in this case the mud seal must have been fairly substantial. It is not certain whether all the marl vessels had mud seals, or whether some were closed by the reed coverings only, as with the jars from the tomb of Kha cited above. In some cases a textile covering tied with string sufficed either alone or over the reed lattice (Pilgrim flasks 4 and 5, Cat. nos 22 and 23). The few imported vessels from Shaft I show no traces of mouth closures, nor of inscriptions.

Marl clay amphorae formed another component of the assemblage, although some, and perhaps all, were used to hold dry goods rather than wine, and thus are likely to have been reused when they entered the tomb. At least two of them may originally have been royal gifts, to judge from the cartouches stamped into the clay. Amphorae from the western oases, which may have contained wine although none is inscribed, may also have formed part of the assemblage but this is more difficult to assess (see below, Cat. nos 47–49).

The third main element of the assemblage was a group of at least 21 large Nile silt jars, which were packed into the burial chambers (Cat. nos 50–70). They may have been used to hold embalming debris, although nothing remained inside the vessels nor in the debris in Room 3 to support this idea.

It is much more difficult to quantify the remaining Nile silt vessels, or to ascertain how many vessels of each type were included in the burial assemblage. There were certainly large numbers of ‘flowerpots’, beer jars, and flange-rimmed bowls, as well as many small dishes, and a few jars and stands. In the light of the finds from Shaft H it is worth noting that there was almost no evidence for the presence of wavy-necked jars in Shaft I, nor of small offering dishes (see Shaft H, Cat. nos 42–50). Just one possible rim fragment from the former vessel type came from the Corridor. Presumably the ritual associated with the deposition of such finds in Shaft H was carried out (if at all) in a different manner or location in Shaft I, or the evidence for it had been completely removed during the repeated clearances of the tomb.

The ceramics included with the burial(s) seem to have been gathered almost entirely from local sources. The marl clay vessels were mostly of Upper Egyptian manufacture, and were very probably made or obtained in the immediate vicinity of the west bank, especially given the close parallels between the TT99 vessels and other west bank tomb assemblages of the same date.⁷ The lack of traces of wear on the vessels resulting from daily use, in particular the absence of abrasion on the bases, suggests that they were obtained specifically for funerary use (the only exception to this is Marl jar 1, Cat. no. 34). It is more difficult to say to what extent the vessels themselves represent specifically funerary types, due to the rarity of contemporary comparable ceramic assemblages from non-funerary contexts.

The locally manufactured pieces include the canopic equipment, the clay of which is closely similar to that used for the other marl clay vessels. However, whilst one would assume that the canopic jars and their lids were obtained as a set from a single potter or workshop, the two well-preserved lids from Shaft I show strikingly differing manufacturing techniques (see Canopic lids 1 and 3, Cat. nos 5 and 7 below), which appears at odds with our modern concept of a 'set'. Since though the outer aspects of the two lids are very similar, perhaps the manufacturing technique was irrelevant and reflects only the output of two potters working within the same workshop.

The fabric of the amphorae (Cat. nos 38–43) and a footed jar (Cat. no. 32) suggests they came from Lower Egypt. From further afield were the amphorae from the western oases (Cat. nos 47–49), and a few small imported vessels of Cypriot origin (Cat. nos 109–112).

The Nile silt vessels are likely to be local products. As with the marl clay vessels, they show little evidence of use, and may also have been obtained specifically for inclusion in the burial assemblage.

Several types of vessels had thick coatings of gypsum,⁸ often both on the inside and the outside. In the case of certain types this appears to be directly connected to the function of the type and the role it played in the burials, as for example the large silt jars (Cat. nos 50–70) and the offering stand (Cat. no. 107). In other cases the reason is less clear. Thus, coatings were particularly common on amphorae and bowls. In some cases only a few sherds of an individual vessel were coated, and the gypsum must have got onto them after the vessel was broken, although how and why this happened is unclear. In other cases complete or substantial parts of the vessels were coated. In the case of the body of an Egyptian amphora (similar to Cat. nos 38–43), not included in the catalogue below because of the lack of diagnostic

sherds, the gypsum ran over the broken upper edge. Thus the lower part of the vessel had been reused as a container for the gypsum by the time it entered the tomb, for some unknown purpose, and once finished with, it was abandoned there. The flange-rimmed bowls (Cat. nos 83–93), most of which were coated, could perhaps have served as lids for the large silt jars (Cat. nos 50–70), and became coated in the process of sealing them. There are however several arguments against this (see the introduction to Flange-rimmed bowls, below [p. 215](#)). Alternatively, they served as containers for gypsum as their breaks were sometimes coated.

What is the reason for the large quantity of gypsumcoated vessels in the tomb? One possibility is that the large silt jars (Cat. nos 50–70) were sealed in situ in Room 3 and that gypsum had to be brought in to do this: given the jars' unwieldy size and shape this might have been the easiest way to deal with them, whatever their contents. Alternatively, it was noted that parts of the walls of the recess in Room 2 were coated with gypsum and resin (see [p. 70](#) above), and the excavators suggested that this related to the burial ceremonies. The gypsum-coated vessels may have been connected with this practice, and were perhaps abandoned in the tomb afterwards (there is, however, no evidence in Shaft I for jars holding resin, but these may have been removed as containing a more valuable, and reusable, material). The explanation for the gypsum-like material found in two of the small dishes (Cat. nos 94 and 98) is more puzzling. In these cases, it has a notably crystalline structure, which may indicate that it was perhaps some other substance.

9.2 Dating

The dating of the ceramic assemblage is, of course, well established from the dating of the tomb itself, and it is representative of elite funerary pottery current in the middle to later part of the reign of Thutmose III. It is reassuring that the assemblage also fits excellently with phase 2A of the New Kingdom tomb pottery sequence put forward by Aston,⁹ which he assigns to the period of the reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III. Items in the assemblage also fit well with types from tomb Kampp -64-, suggested to date to probably the first half of the reign of Thutmose III.¹⁰

In connection with the dating, it should be noted that there was only one doubtful example of red splash decoration (Bowl 7, Cat. no. 97) in the Shaft I assemblage. This style has been dated to the reign of Thutmose III and perhaps a little later.¹¹ The reason for its rarity in the Shaft I assemblage, especially when compared with the material

from Shaft H, may be chronological – the style may not have become popular by the time of the Shaft I burials – or, more prosaically, such vessels may not have been considered important to include with the burial. Other forms of decoration were very rare, and where noted consisted of simple black bands on red-slipped Nile silt jars. There were no examples of black rim bands on the bowls from Shaft I, a style of decoration associated with the earlier 18th dynasty into the reign of Thutmose III.¹² Again, this may be either for chronological reasons – perhaps the style had lost its popularity by the time of the burials – or it may reflect its insignificance as part of the burial assemblage. One small decorated marl clay fragment, of Marl A4 with an unslipped surface, was decorated with irregular vertical and angled black bands pendant from a horizontal band. The sherd came from the flaring neck of a jar: it may be compared with the band of pendant triangle decoration seen on the necks and shoulders of marl jars of the mid-18th dynasty.¹³ This was, however, a unique sherd, from the ‘Staircase shaft’ and is probably intrusive in the assemblage.

Two fragments, Silt jar 7 (Cat. no. 79) and Bowl 10 (Cat. no. 106) may be significantly later than the rest of the material, and date to the later New Kingdom. Both pieces occurred low in the stratigraphy in Room 2, but whether this is significant is unknown. None of the remaining vessels that are probably from this particular area, however, is of this date, and neither do any of the other finds point to later New Kingdom usage.

9.3 Descriptions

9.3.1 *Fabrics*

The fabric classification used for the pottery from both Shafts H and I in TT99 is the Vienna system,¹⁴ as there was neither time nor facilities to develop a site-based classification. Fabrics not included in the Vienna system are referred to using other published sources where possible.

9.3.1.1 Marl A group (Colour pl. 41, Colour pl. 42)

By far the majority of the marl clay fabrics are Marl A-related. They are of Upper Egyptian origin and are probably local to the Theban region.¹⁵ Most of the TT99 vessels belong to the Marl A4 category, although considerable variation is noticeable amongst them. This appears to result from differences in levigation and firing. The finest and most homogeneous fabrics are classified here as Marl A2, and this seems to form one end of a continuum of processing of the ‘Marl A4’ fabric. This is borne out by the fact that identical vessels occur in both

Marl A4 and Marl A2. In general, the fabrics are pink to yellow, and contain fine sand, low quantities of fine limestone particles or yellowish rings where limestone has burnt out, and some fine (occasionally larger) opaque red particles. The fabric produces a pale-coloured 'scum' on the surfaces exposed to the air during firing.

There are occasional examples in Shaft H of a fabric that can be equated with Marl A3.¹⁶

9.3.1.2 Marl B (Colour pl. 42)

Two possible examples of Marl B were noted.¹⁷ This is also thought to be an Upper Egyptian fabric.

9.3.1.3 Marl D group (Colour pl. 42)

There is very little Marl D from TT99. The fabric is thought to be of Lower Egyptian origin.¹⁸ As seen in the amphorae from Shaft I (Cat. nos 38–43), the fabric is coarser than that known later from the later 18th dynasty; indeed because of its coarseness one example has been erroneously published as an oasis product.¹⁹ The fabric is red in colour, often with a brownish-grey core. It contains abundant fine to occasional large limestone particles, some of which have burnt out leaving hollow yellowish rings, sand and sparse opaque brown and red particles, some of which may be unmixed clay lumps.

9.3.1.4 Marl F (Colour pl. 42)

Marl F is also probably Lower Egyptian, and like Marl D is rare in the TT99 assemblage.²⁰ It has a grey to yellow colour, and contains abundant fired-out limestone particles, sparse large opaque greenish-cream particles (perhaps unmixed clay), sparse opaque red particles, and some sand.

9.3.1.5 Nile silts

The majority of Nile silts from Shafts H and I belong to the Nile B2 group.²¹ Of the other Nile fabrics, Nile D is very rare in Shaft I but more common in Shaft H. It is characterised by the presence of conspicuous limestone in a non-homogenous fabric, the matrix of which is otherwise closely related to the other Nile fabrics of the Vienna system.²² In the descriptions below, only those vessels where limestone inclusions are common and conspicuous are described as Nile D, and these are generally harder than fabric Nile B2. However, in other respects the matrix is that of a coarse Nile B2. Nile C, which contains large quantities of vegetable temper, is used only for bread cones, fragments of which are found in both Shafts I and H.

9.3.1.6 Oasis fabrics (Colour pl. 43A)

These distinctive fabrics conform in general to the New Kingdom oasis fabric noted from Amarna and other sites in Egypt²³ and to material

from the oases themselves.²⁴ They are too rare in occurrence in TT99 to create a separate classification for them, and the nomenclature used at Amarna is adopted here.

9.3.1.7 Imports (Colour pl. 43A)

For imported fabrics, see descriptions in the catalogue below, Cat. nos 109–113.

9.3.2 Type nomenclature

In the following corpus, the vessels are grouped by type, with sub-numbers added for individual vessels (for example, Pilgrim flask 1). Not all examples of each type were drawn, on the basis that the undrawn vessels are closely similar to other members of the type, but all examples are listed in the catalogue to show the full range of material present. Where only single examples of particular types were identified, which was the case with many of the Nile silt vessels, the broad categories ‘jars’ and ‘bowls’ are used to group them.

9.3.3 Provenance terminology

‘I’ indicates the designation of the burial complex (Shaft). When followed directly by a number, it indicates the number of the Room, and a following dash separates it from the layer number within the room, thus I2-3 is Shaft I, Room 2, layer 3. IC designates the Corridor, and is followed by the layer; IS followed by a number is the layer within the putative staircase between corner of Corridor and Room 2. See § 4.5.3 for more detail on the chambers of the complex.

9.3.4 Abbreviations

RD: Rim diameter; BD: Base diameter; MD: Maximum diameter; H: Height; %: percentage of rim preserved

All measurements are in centimetres. Scales on the drawings refer to all vessels on that plate unless a vessel has its own specific scale. The ceramic drawings are arranged in series of figures (**Fig. 176– Fig. 190**), but each drawing is referred to by its individual illustration number (Ill).

9.4 Catalogue

9.4.1 Marl Clays

9.4.1.1 Canopic jars

Four jars could be reconstructed, the sherds of which were found scattered throughout the tomb, but were presumably originally located in Room 3. These were the only canopic jars discovered in the tomb, and it is assumed that they formed a set. Three of them (Cat. nos 1–3) are closely similar in fabric, a relatively fine version of Marl

A4.²⁵ The fourth jar, whilst of the same fabric, is fired to a greenish-grey colour and contained larger sand grains and fewer red particles than the others, and is also distinguished from them by having what appears to be a slipped surface. In external form, however, the jar does not differ from the others, nor in its manufacturing technique.

1. Canopic jar 1 (Hapy) (Ill. 1)

Fabric Marl A4. The inner half of the break is discoloured brown, perhaps from the seepage of the contents into the vessel walls.

Surface The vessel is unslipped, but has turned cream in some areas during firing. There are light vertical burnishing marks on the exterior and horizontal marks around the rim top and shoulder.

Description A tall relatively cylindrical jar with restricted mouth and flat base. The base is string cut, the resulting spiral from which is centred on the base. There are no trimming marks visible around the lower body, although the sharpness of the base angle suggests it must have been deliberately cut to shape. Inside, the base is coated with black material, which appears burnt; around the middle and lower body is a yellow powdery residue, and there is some of this same material around the outer base.

Inscription The name of Hapy is painted in black around the middle of the vessel.

About 75% preserved; the base and rim are complete.

RD 8, BD 10, H 30.

Provenance I1-2(?), I2-2, I2-5, I3-1, I3-2, I3-3, I3-4, IC-14, IC-16



Fig. 155: Canopic jar (Hapy) (Cat. no. 1)

2. Canopic jar 2 (Imsety) (Ill. 2)

Fabric Marl A4 (**Colour pl. 41.1**)

Surface A cream-coloured firing surface covers the whole vessel. The body is vertically burnished, and the rim and shoulder are horizontally burnished. The interior is dull brown.

Description A tall relatively cylindrical jar with restricted mouth and flat base. The base shows a centred spiral on the underside. There is a white to yellow powdery coating on the lower half of the interior, which overlies dark brown residue in the base.

Inscription The name of Imsety is painted in black around the centre of

the vessel.

About 33% preserved; RD 8.5 (50%), BD 9.5 (100%), H 29

Provenance I1-1, I3-1, I3-2, I3-3, IC-15, IC-16

3. Canopic jar 3 (*Duamutef*) (not illustrated)

Fabric Marl A4. The fabric varies in colour and firing throughout the vessel.

Surface It is unclear whether the exterior is cream-slipped or has a pale firing surface; the latter is more likely. The surface is reddish-orange in some areas. The walls are lightly vertically burnished, and the rim and shoulder are horizontally burnished.

Description A tall relatively cylindrical jar with restricted mouth and flat base. The base shows a centred spiral. There are traces of yellow resinous material on the exterior, and the lower interior is coated in a creamish-white powdery substance.

Inscription The name of Duamutef is painted in black around the centre of the vessel.

About 50% preserved; RD 8.5 (70%), BD 9 (100%)

Provenance I2-2, I2-3, I2-5, I2-6, I3-1, I3-2, I3-3, I3-4, IC-15, IC-16

4. Canopic jar 4 (*Qebehsenuef*) (not illustrated)

Fabric Marl A4 (**Colour pl. 41.2**)

Surface The exterior is cream-slipped with light horizontal burnish strokes around the shoulder and for c. 2 cm below the shoulder angle, and vertical burnish below this.

Description A tall relatively cylindrical jar with restricted mouth and flat base. Inside and running down from the rim on the outside are thick trails of brown resinous material, which covers the inner base. A yellowish-white powdery substance covers much of the exterior.

Inscription The name of Qebehsenuef is painted in black around the centre of the vessel.

About 70% preserved; RD 8 (80%), BD 8.5 (100%)

Provenance I1-1, I2-2, I3-1, I3-2, I3-3, I3-4

9.4.1.2 Canopic jar lids

Fragments of three lids were found, two of which were sufficiently well preserved to show that they were sculpted with human faces. Like the canopic jars, the lids are made in a fine version of fabric Marl A4. Two of the lids were found in Room 3, and one in Room 2.

Two very different manufacturing techniques were employed to make the lids themselves, although in external appearance they are almost identical. In both cases the faces were fashioned in the same manner, using a combination of accretion and modelling.²⁶

5. Canopic jar lid 1 (*Object 99.98.0589*) (Ill. 3a–b; **Fig. 156**)

Fabric Marl A4

Surface The lid has a cream-coloured firing surface. Over the stopper edge and trailing into the interior are traces of sloppily applied red material, apparently paint, probably added after firing. There is no trace of red elsewhere on the lid, and the reason for its presence is unclear. The modelled face itself has the natural pinkish colouration of the clay rather than the cream colouration of the rest of the lid, suggesting that the face was protected in the kiln during firing. This was perhaps done to emphasise its flesh-like aspect.

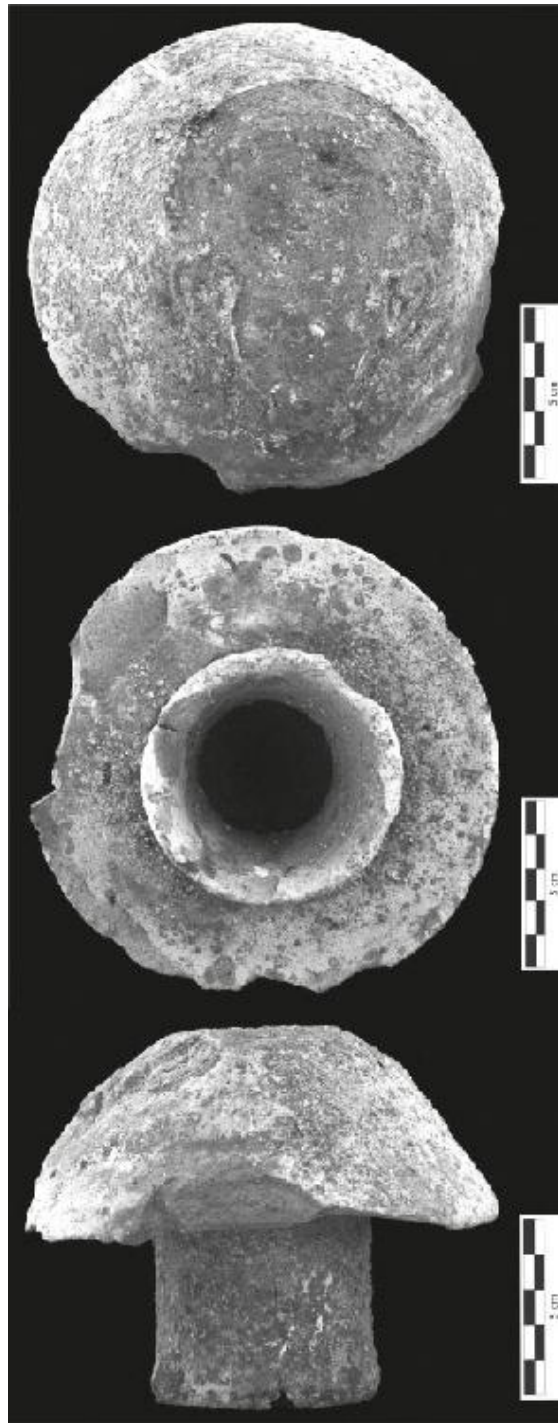


Fig. 156: Canopic lid 1 (Cat. no. 5) (Object 99.98.0589): Top, underside and profile



Fig. 157: Canopic lid 3 (Cat. no. 7) (Object 99.98.0481): Top, underside and profile

Description The lid consists of a long narrow stopper, 6.7 cm in

diameter and 6.1 cm tall, attached to a separately-made wheel-thrown upper part. As preserved, the two elements have split apart along the join between them. The upper part is a heavy mushroom-shaped element, wheel-thrown as a flat-based bowl in terms of its external shape (traces of the cutting spiral on the base can still be seen), and solid within. When inverted, it has a slightly concave underside and a recess in the centre around which the stopper was attached. On the top of the inverted bowl, extra clay was originally added to form the dome of the top of the head, but this is now lost. On the side of the lid, the outline of the face from eye-level downwards, the ears and the outline of the short beard are preserved. The face itself and the beard have sheared off, and the remains of wheel marks from the original throwing of the lid are now visible here. Thus it is clear that extra clay was added to form the face and wig lappets. The ears, however, were sculpted from the clay of the wall of the bowl.

About 70% preserved. MD 13.4, stopper diameter 5.6

Provenance I3-3

6. Canopic jar lid 2 (not illustrated)

Fabric Marl A4.

Surface The lid has a cream firing surface. Like Canopic lid 1 (Cat. no. 5), it also had red paint(?) around the bottom of the stopper and blobs and trails of the same material over the interior.

Description This lid is represented only by three 'rim' sherds from the bottom of the cylindrical stopper, and nothing more can be said about it.

Stopper diameter 6 cm (60%)

Provenance I3-3, I3-4

7. Canopic jar lid 3 (Object 99.98.0481) (Ill. 4a-b; **Fig. 157**)

Fabric Marl A2

Surface The upper part of the lid has a cream firing surface, and the stopper has an orange surface. As in Canopic jar lid 1 (Cat. no. 5), the sculpted face itself is pinkish in colour, and seems to have been protected during firing to prevent it turning cream. There is no red paint on this example, but there are a few traces of brownish clay or pigment on the outer surface of the lower part of the stopper; these could however be post-depositional. There are traces of burnish on the back of the lid, using both vertical and horizontal strokes. Surface shine around the edge of the face probably comes from the working of the clay here rather than deliberate polishing.

Description Unlike Canopic jar lid 1 (Cat. no. 5), the upper part is hollow, and consists of an inverted thick-walled bowl. The separately-

thrown stopper splays out at the top and the two elements join together at the inner face of the bowl rim, a weak point along which the two parts later split. The addition of areas of clay to form the lid is less clear than in Canopic lid 1 (Cat. no. 5) because the top is complete, but wheel marks on the outside extend c. 5 cm from the edge of the lid, above which all the clay appears to be added, including the rounded lump forming the top of the head. The ears and perhaps the lower part of the face are carved into the thickness of the bowl wall, but most of the face stands proud of the surface and must have been shaped from added clay. The interior is finger-impressed immediately behind the face, where the lid was handled when the face was modelled.

About 75% of lid preserved. MD 13.2, stopper diameter 6 cm (25%), H 10.5

Provenance I2-4



Fig. 158: Canopic lid fragment from Courtyard, underside

There are a few additional stopper rim fragments of the same type as Canopic jar lid 3 (Cat. no. 7) that do not join this lid, at least as currently preserved. They may come from the fourth, missing, lid. In relation to this it is worth noting that the lower edge of the upper part of another canopic lid was recovered from the courtyard of TT99 ([Fig. 158](#)). It is also of fabric Marl A4 and has a cream firing surface, and it seems to have been similar to Canopic jar lid 1 (Cat. no. 5) in its manufacturing technique. Nothing remains of the face. Its origin is unknown, but it is possible that it is part of the fourth lid of the set from Shaft I.

9.4.1.3 Loop-handled jars

Three loop-handled jars were found, and are likely to have stood originally in Room 3. The inner surfaces of all three vessels were

eroded by their contents, traces of which remained. No labels were written on the vessels. Two of the three jars preserved traces of the original mouth closures.

8. Loop-handled jar 1 (Ill. 5, [Colour pl. 44A](#))

Fabric Marl A2 (Memphis fabric H10) ²⁷ ([Colour pl. 41.9](#))

Surface The vessel has a cream firing surface, with pinkish areas over the lower body. Around the neck the surface is lightly burnished vertically, and the upper body is horizontally burnished.

Description Globular-bodied jar with tall neck, everted rim, ring base and two horizontally-placed handles. There is a centred spiral on the base under the foot. The interior is coated in patches of brown resinous material, thick and brownish-black in the base, on areas of the upper body, at the junction of the neck and shoulder, and inside the neck. Over the upper body there is a whitish-yellow powdery substance. These traces seem to represent the original contents of the vessel, which have partly eroded the interior surface. There are a few traces of reed on the neck below the rim. The lower body appears to have been deliberately punctured from the exterior, although when this happened is unknown, and it is not clear that it relates to the funerary ritual.





Fig. 160: Loop handled jar 2 (Cat. no. 9): Residue inside jar

About 80% preserved. RD 10.8 (97%) BD 7 (100%) H 22.5

Provenance I3-3, I3-4

9. Loop-handled jar 2 (no drawing: [Fig. 159](#), [Fig. 160](#))

Fabric Marl A4(?) (Memphis fabric H2)²⁸ (**Colour pl. 41.3**)

Surface The vessel is probably self-slipped, firing pale greenish-white. There are no traces of burnish. A band of five alternating black and red stripes runs around the base of the neck.

Description Globular-bodied jar with tall neck, everted rim, ring base and two horizontally-placed handles. The interior is coated with greyish-black residue, which becomes white and powdery in the upper parts of the vessel, and extends into the neck. It has eroded the inner surface. There are clear traces of reed binding around the upper neck.

RD 11.5 (77%), BD 6.8 (100%), H 20.3

Provenance I3-2, I3-3, I3-4

10. Loop-handled jar 3 (not illustrated)

Fabric Marl A2

Surface The jar appears self-slipped, with no trace of burnish.

Description Globular-bodied jar with tall neck and everted rim, very similar to the other examples given here. The interior is coated with thick black residue that is shiny in some parts. The residue has run over the edges of the sherds making up the vessel, and must still have been in a liquid state when the vessel was broken. The interior surface is eroded, presumably from the contents. There is no trace of reed binding.

RD 10.5 (77%)

Provenance I2-1, I2-3, I2-4, I2-5, I3-1, I3-3, IS-3

9.4.1.4 Single-handled jars

Eight such vessels were found. Sherds from two of them, Single-handled jars 4 and 9 (Cat. nos 16 and 17) were more common in Room 2 than in Room 3, and they may have originated there. The fragments of Single-handled jar 3 (Cat. no. 15) came mainly from the Corridor, and thus its original location is unknown.

Almost all the vessels contained traces of residue and preserved the remains of the original mouth closures. Only two were inscribed, both for ‘edible pulp’ (see [p. 245](#) below). For these and other inscribed vessels, the locations of the inscriptions are marked with dashed lines on the illustrations. The type is closely associated with tomb groups in Thebes and elsewhere.²⁹

11. Single-handled jar 9 (Ill. 6)

Fabric Marl A4

Surface The vessel is self-slipped, and the slipped surface is a dull pinkish-red. The slip extends over the rim onto the interior for 1–1.5 cm, ending in an uneven line. The inner surface of the jar is pale yellowish-brown.

Description Small globular-bodied vessel with tall neck, externally thickened rim, small ring foot and a single handle running from just below the rim (the junction is not preserved) to the shoulder. There are no traces of residue in the vessel. Traces of reed below the rim show that the vessel mouth was originally closed.

Inscription On the shoulder, more or less opposite the handle, is an inscription in black ink (99.98.0734, [p. 245](#)), ‘Good edible pulp’.

RD 7.5, BD 4.5, H16.6

Provenance I3-2, I3-3, I3-4

12. Single-handled jar 5 (Ill. 7)

Fabric Marl A4

Surface The vessel is self-slipped and has a greenish-white firing surface. There are traces of streaky vertical burnish on the lower neck but none on the body. The jar is decorated with three narrow bands in

black and red at the base of the neck. On the body are four sets of vertical bands: a pair of black stripes on each side of the handle, a set of three vertical stripes more or less at 90 degrees to the handle, and traces of what may be a more complex band of black, red and black bands with dots over it opposite the handle (none of these is visible on the view of the vessel as drawn). There is no trace of a symmetrically-placed set of three vertical stripes on the other side of the vessel; instead, the inscription is located here.

Description Globular-bodied vessel with tall neck, externally thickened rim, small ring foot and a single handle running from just below the rim to the shoulder. There are traces of brownish-black discolouration and a yellow powdery substance on the interior. Remains of reed binding on the rim and upper neck come from closing the jar mouth.

Inscription On the shoulder is an inscription in black ink (99.98.0737, [p. 246](#)), 'Edible pulp'.

RD 10 (80%) BD 7.5 (100%), H 20.1

Provenance I3-1, I3-2, I3-3, I3-4

13. Single-handled jar 6 (*Ill. 8; [Colour pl. 44B](#)*)

Fabric Marl A4 ([Colour pl. 41.4](#))

Surface The jar appears self-slipped, and has a pale firing surface. There are traces of light burnish, but most of the surface is matt. The jar is decorated with two black bands flanking a red one around the base of the neck, from which five sets of vertical bands descend. Some of these run over the base ring and onto the underside of the base proper, raising an interesting question as to how the vessel was orientated when the decoration was applied. The vertical bands consist of two stripes on each side of the handle, a set of three stripes next to each of these, and finally a complex stripe opposite the handle consisting of two pairs of stripes with squared dots between them (see also Single-handled jar 5, Cat. no. 12). The stripes appear mainly black in colour but are in fact dark red, the colour variation resulting from the thickness of the paint.

Description Globular-bodied vessel with tall neck, externally thickened rim, small ring foot and a single handle running from just below the rim to the shoulder. There are traces of brown residue on the interior, especially on the inside of the neck, and most of the body is coated in a yellow-white powdery substance. The interior surface is eroded. There are traces of resinous material on the outside which in one area also appears to have eroded the surface. Around the neck are traces of a reed binding. The vessel is not inscribed.

RD 11 (93%), BD 6.7 (100%), H 20.6

Provenance I2-4, I3-1, I3-2, I3-3, I3-4

14. Single-handled jar 1 (not illustrated)

Fabric Marl A4 ([Colour pl. 41.5](#))

Surface The vessel is self-slipped, with traces of horizontal burnish around the shoulder. Decoration consists of six sets of dark-coloured vertical bands more or less regularly placed around the vessel circumference: a pair of stripes on each side of the handle, two pairs of three stripes, and two complex bands with spots of paint. As a result of the even number of bands there is no decoration directly opposite the handle. No decoration was noted around the base of the neck.

Description Globular-bodied vessel with tall neck, small ring foot and a single handle running upwards from the shoulder. A non-joining externally thickened rim probably comes from this jar. The inner surface, especially of the neck, is eroded, and there are traces of yellowish-white powdery residue over it. On the exterior are traces of an orange-brown resinous deposit. There are remains of reed binding just below the rim. There may be a deliberate breakage hole in the lower body just above the base. The vessel is not inscribed.

RD 11 (60%), BD 7 (100%)

Provenance I3-2, I3-3, I3-4

15. Single-handled jar 3 (not illustrated)

Fabric Marl A2 ([Colour pl. 41.10](#))

Surface The jar is self-slipped with a cream-coloured firing surface, and there are traces of burnish. Around the base of the neck are two black bands flanking a red band. From this, six vertical sets of bands descend: three-striped bands flank the handle, after which comes a complex spotted band on each side, and this pairing is repeated twice more around the vessel. The vertical bands extend over the base ring onto the underside of the jar.

Description Globular-bodied vessel with small ring foot and a single handle running from the neck to the shoulder. The vessel is preserved in non-joining sections, and the neck is missing, although what is probably its rim is preserved. A large lump of flat-surfaced gypsum plaster partly covers the handle stump and the break where the neck is lost. The presence of the plaster, and the fact that the fragments of this vessel are mainly from the Corridor and not from Room 3, may suggest that the vessel was introduced into the tomb as a container for plaster. There were, however, traces of residue inside the vessel. No evidence of reed binding is preserved, nor any inscription.

RD 9 (30%) BD 7 (80%)

Provenance I2-3, IS-3, IC-3, IC-4, IC-6

16. Single-handled jar 4 (not illustrated)

Fabric Marl A4

Surface This has a pale firing surface, with traces of vertical burnish on the neck. It is decorated with two black bands flanking a red band around the base of the neck, from which descend five sets of two or three vertical lines of which at least one was red and one black. Two such sets flank the handle, followed by another set of stripes on each side, and opposite the handle is a complex band consisting of two pairs of vertical lines with square black spots between them.

Description Globular-bodied vessel with tall neck, externally thickened rim, small ring foot and a single handle running from just below the rim to the shoulder. There is thick black residue inside the base, and a thinner coating of the same material over the upper body. Patches of resinous material are also found on the outside, especially over the ring base. The residue runs over some of the breaks, and was therefore liquid when the vessel was broken. There are no traces of reed binding on the exterior. The vessel is not inscribed.

RD 10.5 (83%), BD 7 (90%)

Provenance I2-2, I2-3, I2-4, I2-5, I2-6, I3-1, IS-3, IC-11

17. Single-handled jar 7 (not illustrated)

Fabric Marl A2

Surface The jar is self-slipped, and is not burnished. Around the base of the neck are two black bands flanking a red band. Unlike the vessels noted above, there are no vertical stripes on the body; rather there is another set of horizontal bands around the maximum diameter. This consists of five stripes, of alternating black and red paint.

Description Globular-bodied vessel with tall neck, externally thickened rim, small ring foot and a single handle running from just below the rim to the shoulder. It is preserved in two non-joining parts, and a substantial area of the central body is lost. There is a thick brown residue in the base and inside the neck, and the interior surface is eroded. The exterior and base have much brownish-black powdery residue over them. There is no evidence of reed binding. The vessel is not inscribed.

RD 10.5 (72%), BD 6.6 (100%)

Provenance I2-2, I2-3, I2-4, I2-5, I3-1

18. Single-handled jar 8 (not illustrated)

Fabric Marl A2

Surface The jar has a pale firing surface and is lightly burnished. It is decorated with three black bands around the base of the neck. From

them five sets of vertical bands descend. Two vertical stripes run from immediately below the handle, and are connected by two horizontal stripes across the base of the handle. From this, moving clockwise, the decoration consists of a complex spotted band, a pair of stripes, another spotted band, and a pair of stripes. The decoration is somewhat asymmetrically arranged so that the second of the spotted bands is more or less opposite the handle.

Description Globular-bodied vessel with tall neck, externally thickened rim, small ring foot and a single handle running from just below the rim to the shoulder. There is a thick coating of residue over part of the interior and also in patches on the exterior; the rest of the interior is covered with a thin yellow-brown coating. There is no evidence of reed binding, although only a small area of the rim is preserved. The vessel is not inscribed.

RD 11 (8%) BD 6 (100%)

Provenance I2-2 (base), I2-4, I3-1, I3-2, I3-3, I3-4, IS-2, IS-3, IS-uncertain (neck and rim)

9.4.1.5 Pilgrim Flasks

Five pilgrim flasks were identified. They appear all to have been located originally in Room 3.

In all cases the flask body was made from two wheel-thrown bowls which were joined together. A hole was then punched through the body to insert the separately-made vessel neck. Clay was built up around the exterior to seal the join between neck and body, and the handles were added.

The flasks were used as wine containers according to inscriptions found on three of the five vessels. All but one contained traces of the original contents, and all preserved traces of the mouth closure, which was fixed over the handles as well as the vessel mouth.

19. Pilgrim flask 2 (Ill. 9; [Fig. 161](#))

Fabric Marl A4 ([Colour pl. 41.6](#))

Surface The flask is self-slipped, with a pinkish-grey firing surface. Around the centre of each face is a band of three concentric black stripes, inside which is a geometric motif. Another band of three concentric stripes runs close to the outer edge of each face, and a single stripe runs around the junction of the two faces of the flask. A black stripe runs around the base of the neck, and the handles have three stripes on each outer face. There are traces of spots of paint on the rim.

Description Lentoid flask with short neck and externally thickened rim, and two handles. There are traces of residue on the interior, and the exterior is thickly coated, obscuring much of the decoration and the

inscription. Over the rim, on the neck and on the handles are traces of reed binding from the closure of the vessel.



Fig. 161: Pilgrim flask 2 (Cat. no. 19)

Inscription On one face is an inscription in black ink (99.98.0745), 'Good wine for regnal year 38' (p. 243).

RD 3.5 (100%) H 15.9

Provenance I3-1(?), I3-2, I3-3, I3-4

20. Pilgrim flask 1 (Ill. 10; Fig. 162)

Fabric Marl A2 (Colour pl. 41.11)

Surface The flask is self-slipped, with a cream firing surface. The faces are decorated in black with a band of two to three concentric stripes at the centre enclosing a geometric motif, and a band of four stripes towards the edge of one face, and five in the equivalent position on the opposite face. There is a stripe around the join between the two faces, three stripes on the outer edge of each handle, and possible

traces of a band around the base of the neck (not on drawing). There are traces of spots of paint on the rim.

Description Lentoid flask with short neck and externally thickened rim, and two handles. There are slight traces of brown residue on the interior. Over the rim and around the top end of the handles are traces of reed binding from the closure of the vessel mouth.

Inscription On one face, in the gap between the encircling bands, is an inscription in black ink, 'Good wine for this (new) year' (99.98.0735, [p. 243](#)).

RD 4 (100%) H 17.3

Provenance I3-2, I3-3, I3-4



Fig. 162: Pilgrim flask 1 (Cat. no. 20)

21. Pilgrim flask 3 (not illustrated)

Fabric Marl A2(?) ([Colour pl. 41.12](#))

Surface The flask is self-slipped, with a cream-coloured firing surface. It is decorated in black on both faces with two concentric bands around the centre of the face, and an outer band of four stripes. Another stripe runs around the edge of the body to the base of the handles. A stripe defines the base of the neck, and the handles have

five stripes on the outer faces. Four or more spots decorate the rim.

Description Lentoid flask with short neck and externally thickened rim, and two handles. There is no residue preserved in the vessel. There are slight traces of reed binding just inside the rim. A small hole in one face may be evidence of deliberate breakage.

Inscription 99.98.0736 'good wine for this (new) year' (p. 245).

RD 4 (100%)

Provenance I2-2, I2-4, I2-5, I3-1, I3-2, I3-3

22. Pilgrim flask 4 (not illustrated)

Fabric Marl A4 (Memphis fabric H4)³⁰

Surface The flask is self-slipped, with grey surfaces. It is decorated in black with two concentric stripes around the centre of the each face, inside which is a six-pronged star. Two to three stripes form a band at the edge of the face and a band of two more stripes lies between it and the central decoration. A pair of stripes runs below the handles between the faces. There is a stripe around the base of the neck and stripes on the handles.

Description Upper part of lentoid flask with short neck and externally thickened rim, and two handles. On the interior are traces of a thick cream powdery residue. The remains of a textile binding are trapped between one handle and the rim. The vessel appears uninscribed.

RD 3.5 (100%)

Provenance I3-1, I3-2, I3-3, I3-4

23. Pilgrim flask 5 (no drawing; [Fig. 163](#), [Fig. 164](#))

Fabric Marl A4.

Surface The flask is self-slipped, and apparently lightly burnished. It is decorated in black with two concentric stripes around the centre of each face, containing an eight-pronged star; a band of two concentric stripes runs midway around each face, and a band of two to three stripes runs at the edge of each face. Two stripes connect the outer bands below the handles. There is a stripe around the base of the neck and handles, and a pair of stripes on the handles.

Description Lentoid flask with short neck and externally thickened rim, and two handles. The rim is eroded and discoloured. Thick brown residue coats the interior and neck, and has soaked into the vessel walls. The mouth closure is well preserved, and consists of traces of reed running vertically inside the neck and under the rim on the outside, over which is cloth held in place with string, still partly preserved. The reed stopper can be viewed from the underside and consists of a reed bent into a U-shape. Part of the binding is preserved separately, consisting of tightly wound and bound reed. There is no

inscription.

RD 3.1 (100%) H c18.5

Provenance I3-1, I3-2, I3-3, I3-4

9.4.1.6 Bottles

Six such vessels were identified, five of which were very similar in form. All were from Room 3.

Several of the vessels have very thin walls, which made reconstruction difficult as the sherds were poorly preserved; it is however clear that the two bases and two upper parts described below do not belong to the same vessels. A noteworthy feature was the presence of sparse fine black particles in the fabrics of four of the vessels, which distinguished these sherds from those of other forms. At least two bottles are inscribed and show the contents to have been wine. The four bottles in which the rims are preserved show traces of the mouth closure.

24. *Bottle 1 (Ill. 11)*

Fabric Marl A4

Surface The bottle is self-slipped. Decoration consists of two stripes in red and black around the base of the neck, and three sets of vertical stripes, each of two black flanking one red band, which run down the body to just above the base.

Description Globular-bodied bottle with a tall narrow neck and everted rim, rounded base and a single handle. The lower body is very thin walled, notably at the maximum diameter, and the interior is so smooth that it resembles the finish of an open form. This presumably reflects the manufacturing technology, although what exactly this was is unclear. There are traces of a thin skim of cream-coloured material on the lower interior which covers a yellowish-orange layer of residue. There are remains of a reed stopper on the interior and binding on the outside of the neck.

Inscription Traces of inscription only (not otherwise recorded). RD 3.9, H 24

Provenance I3-2, I3-3, I3-4



Fig. 163: Pilgrim flask 5 (Cat. no. 23): Residue inside flask



Fig. 164: Pilgrim flask 5 (Cat. no. 23): Top (left); Binding (right)

25. Bottle B (Ill. 12; **Fig. 165, Fig. 166**)

Fabric Marl A4

Surface This is self-slipped, turning white on both surfaces. It is decorated as Bottle 1 (Cat. no. 24).

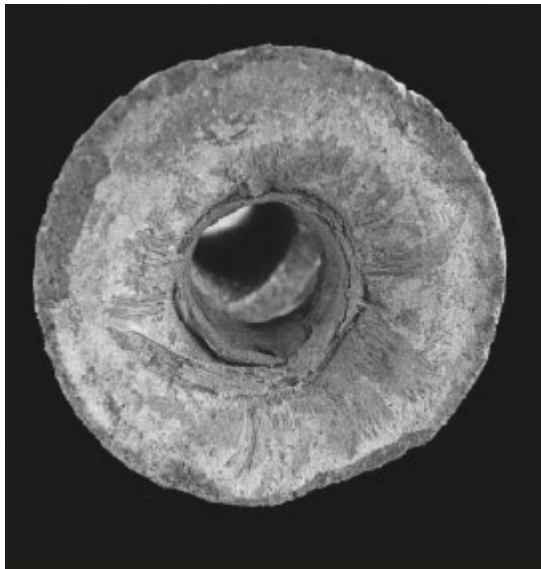


Fig. 165: Bottle B (Cat. no. 25): Binding traces on rim top



Fig. 166: Bottle B (Cat. no. 25): Binding

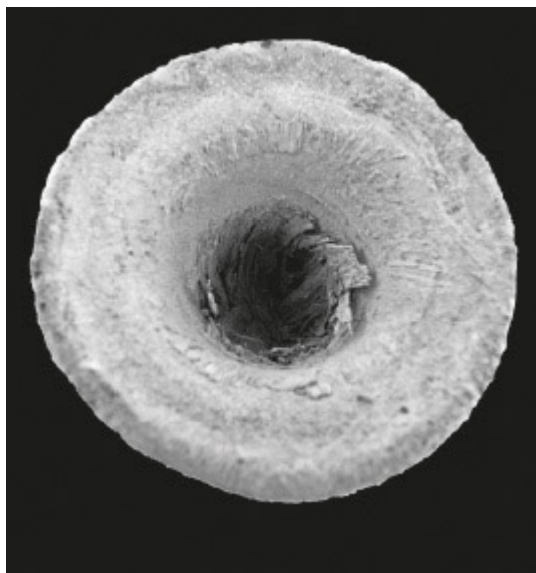


Fig. 167: Bottle C (Cat. no. 26): Binding

Description Upper part of a globular-bodied bottle with tall narrow neck, everted rim and single handle. There are faint wheel marks on the interior, which is not as well smoothed as other examples of the type. A single patch of dark brown resinous substance is preserved on the interior. There are traces of a reed stopper with a well-preserved wrapping around the neck.

Inscription On one side is an inscription in black ink, 'Good wine for [this] (new) Year' (99.98.0738, [p. 245](#)).

RD 4.5 (100%)

Provenance I3-2, I3-3, I3-4

26. Bottle C (Ill. 13; [Fig. 167](#))

Fabric Marl A4 ([Colour pl. 41.7](#))

Surface The bottle is self-slipped, and decorated as Bottle 1 (Cat. no. 24).

Description Upper part of a globular-bodied bottle with tall narrow neck, everted rim and single handle. There is no trace of residue inside. The binding at the mouth is well preserved.

Inscription A partly preserved inscription in black ink reads 'sweet wine for this (new) year' (99.98.0739 + 99.98.0744, [p. 245](#)).

RD 4 (100%)

Provenance I3-2, I3-3, I3-4

27. Bottle 2 (Ill. 14)

Fabric Marl A4

Surface The bottle is self-slipped, with a pink surface, turning red in areas. There is no decoration.

Description Small globular-bodied flask with tall narrow neck, everted rim, flat spot base and one handle. There is no trace of residue on the interior, but a small patch of brown material is preserved on the outside. Traces of binding are preserved at the mouth. The vessel is uninscribed.

RD 3.5 (11%) BD 2.6 (100%), H 17

Provenance I3-2, I3-3, I3-4

28. Bottle A (not illustrated)

Fabric Marl A4 (Memphis fabric H4)³¹

Surface This is self-slipped and decorated as Bottle 1 (Cat. no. 24).

Description Rounded base as seen in Bottle 1 (Cat. no. 24), very thin walled and almost polished on the interior. There are possible traces of residue, and a lump of resinous material runs over a break.

Provenance I3-2, I3-3, I3-4

29. Bottle D (not illustrated)

Fabric Marl A4 (Memphis fabric H4)³²

Surface This is self-slipped or perhaps cream-slipped.

Description Base only, with a distinct spot base. There is some powdery whitish material on the interior, perhaps residue, and possible traces on the exterior.

BD 3 (100%)

Provenance I3-2, I3-3

9.4.1.7 Marl Jars

Each of these is a single example of a shape. The Squat jar (Cat. no. 31) is of interest in that it is one of the few vessels which may have come from Room 2. It is possible that some of the vessels, Marl jars 1, 2, 4 and 5 (Cat. nos 30, 33–35) were not part of the original burial assemblage.

30. Marl jar 2 (Ill. 15)

Fabric Marl A2 (Memphis fabric H10)³³ ([Colour pl. 41.13](#))

Surface The jar is self-slipped, with traces of a white firing surface. The jar is decorated with four black stripes around the base of the neck, three stripes around the shoulder and two stripes around the maximum diameter.

Description Globular-bodied jar with short neck, externally thickened rim and small ring base. It is in very poor condition, especially over the lower body where much of the interior surface is lost. The outside of the lower body shows evidence of burning. The absence of that

phenomenon on ceramics from Shaft I suggests that the vessel became blackened outside the tomb in unknown circumstances: the combination of the blackened exterior with the loss of the surface on the interior may suggest use as a cooking pot, where stirring of the contents abraded the inside of the vessel. If so, the pot may perhaps be associated with funerary feasting taking place in the tomb courtyard (see the discussion of ceramics from Shaft H). The vessel itself appears contemporary with the rest of the Shaft I assemblage. There are no traces of residue, mouth closure, nor inscription.

RD 11.5 (100%), BD 5 (50%), H 21.8

Provenance I2-5, I2-6, I3-2, I3-3, I3-4, IS-2, IS-3

31. *Squat jar* (Ill. 16)

Fabric Marl A2

Surface The jar has a cream exterior, which is probably a firing surface. It is decorated with four or more fine black stripes around the base of the neck. Four black spots are preserved on the rim top. There are traces of one or two black bands around the maximum diameter (not shown on illustration).

Description Small globular-bodied jar with short neck, externally thickened rim and rounded base. One body sherd has a thick cream-coloured greasy deposit on it, which had soaked into the fabric. This looks like wax and, since there is no sign of similar residue on other sherds, it may have come from a candle used by earlier explorers of the shaft. The vessel has no trace of mouth closure, and is not inscribed.

RD 8 (53%), H 11.1

Provenance I2-1, I2-2, I2-4, I2-5, IC-15, IC-16

32. *Footed jar* (Ill. 17; **Fig. 168**)

Fabric Marl D (**Colour pl. 42.4**)

Surface The outer surface is cream-slipped but is coloured pink in some areas. It is well burnished with vertical strokes on the neck and horizontal ones around the body. The slip extends over the underside of the foot, but neither this area nor the stem are burnished. The slip and burnish extend for c. 2 cm over the rim edge onto the interior.

Description Small globular-bodied vessel with wide flaring neck and tall ring foot. It is possible that the vessel may originally have had a single handle but no traces are preserved on the surviving parts. There are traces of residue on the interior, and the inner surface is badly pitted. There are no traces of mouth closure, nor any inscription. The form is more commonly found in stone.

About 75% preserved. RD 8.1, BD 3.9, H 11.3

Provenance I3-2, I3-3, I3-4, IC-9, IC-13

33. *Marl Jar 4 (Ill. 18)*

Fabric Marl A4 (?) The fabric contains larger amounts of sand than usually seen in Marl A4, and may be Marl B ([Colour pl. 41.8](#))



Fig. 168: Footed jar (Cat. no. 32)

Surface The jar has a thick cream slip on the exterior.

Description Jar with flared neck and slightly thickened rim, and grooves around the lower shoulder (not shown in illustration). Many sherds of this vessel, including its base were found, but could not be reconstructed. It is similar in form to some of the long-necked jars from Shaft H (Shaft H Cat. nos 1–2), and may reflect a chronological connection with that shaft, or may even be sherds from a vessel associated with that burial which have found their way into Shaft I from the Courtyard. The widely-scattered provenance of the sherds may reflect this. RD 10

Provenance I2-2, I2-4, I2-5, I2-6, I3-1, I3-2, I3-3, IS-3, IC-2 (rim), IC-6, IC-11, IC-12, IC-14, IC-16

34. Marl Jar 1 (Ill. 19)

Fabric Marl A2

Surface The surfaces are uncoated.

Description Globular-bodied vessel with short neck, externally thickened rim, and rounded base. It is heavily scraped horizontally below the maximum diameter, and this has partly removed string impressions here. The underside of the base is slightly worn, suggesting that the vessel had been in use before it entered the tomb assemblage. This is also suggested by the incised owner's mark high on the shoulder, the only example of such a feature in the assemblage. There is no trace of mouth closure, nor of inscription.

The vessel was clearly smashed anciently, and many of the widely-scattered fragments were reused as spade sherds. Since much of the rim and upper neck are missing, and the breaks appear old, it is possible that this vessel does not belong to the tomb assemblage but was introduced into the tomb at a slightly later date. A greyish coating over the entire interior, perhaps thin mud, also distinguishes the vessel from most of the rest of the assemblage and suggests it had contact with flood water (see Shaft H where a similar coating was noted on some vessels, below [p. 293](#)). The date of the vessel itself may be slightly later than the rest of the assemblage, from the mid to late 18th dynasty.³⁴

RD 12 (70%) H c. 31.4

Provenance I1-1, I1-3, I2-1, I2-2, I2-3, I2-4, I2-5, I2-6, I3-1, I3-2, I3-3, I3-4, IS-2, IS-3, IC-1, IC-8

35. Marl jar 5 (not illustrated)

Fabric: Marl B (?) ([Colour pl. 42.3](#))

Surface: The jar is self-slipped.

Description: The lower body of a large jar. Its interior is discoloured grey in a manner similar to Marl jar 1 (Cat. no. 34). This is also perhaps not part of the original burial assemblage, given that its provenance is entirely in the Corridor.

Provenance IC-2, IC-3, IC-4, IC-6

36. Marl Bowl 1 (Ill. 20)

Fabric Marl A4

Surface The surfaces are uncoated.

Description Bowl with slight flange rim and flat base. The lower exterior is heavily scraped horizontally, and the base is string cut. The vessel was smashed anciently and its sherds used as scrapers, as a

result of which the rim edge is rounded and its precise original shape is uncertain. The centre of the base was broken through anciently, and it is not possible to tell if this was intentional. One area of the rim, c. 2 cm long, is blackened, as is the area below it on the outside, perhaps from use as a lamp. There is no evidence of residue on the interior. Sherds of this vessel were widely scattered throughout the deposits. It may represent a pot brought into the tomb by later robbers, perhaps for lighting. The bowl's form and technology suggest that it is close in date to the rest of the assemblage.

RD 18.6, H 5.6

Provenance I2-2, I2-3, I2-5, I3-1, I3-3, IS-3, IC-6, IC-7, IC-8

37. Marl Bowl 2 (Ill. 21)

Fabric Marl A4 (?), perhaps Marl B

Surface This has a cream firing surface.

Description Two fragments of a small bowl with an upturned rim. The vessel contained blue pigment. It may thus relate to the decoration of the tomb rather than the funerary assemblage itself.

Provenance IC-13

9.4.1.8 Amphorae

A group of six almost identical amphorae formed part of the assemblage. They were found mainly in Room 3, although the bulk of the sherds of Amphora 5 (Cat. no. 42) were found in Room 2. Most were inscribed, and two were stamped before firing with cartouches, one of which can be read as Thutmose III. Two show what may be traces of mud seals on the neck and shoulder.

Although amphorae were originally primarily wine jars, it is not clear that any of those from TT99 functioned as such within the tomb. The two amphorae with unambiguous inscriptions referring to wine, Amphorae 1 and 6 (Cat. nos 38 and 43, both of which were stamped with cartouches of Thutmose III), were also inscribed as containing 'tiger nuts' ([p. 246](#)); one must suppose that the latter represent the final contents and that the jars were reused. Two of the other jars contained some sort of dry goods (possibly sesame, see [p. 248](#)) and one was not inscribed: perhaps this vessel contained its original expected commodity, wine. The final vessel has an inscription giving only a date and no commodity. This might again be suggested to have held wine, based on the assumption that an unlabelled vessel might be expected to contain its 'proper' contents.

38. Amphora 1 (Ill. 22)

Fabric Marl D

Surface The jar has a thick cream slip on the exterior, including over

the base.

Description Amphora with short vertical neck, externally thickened rim, moulded base and two handles on the body. The base was separately made and attached to the body, and there are roughly-executed smoothing marks in the interior to show this. The base and its walls are reasonably thin and well hollowed out to follow the inner profile of the body, and this distinguishes these vessels from later 18th dynasty amphorae.³⁵ A thick yellowish-brown residue coats parts of interior and trails down the exterior. On the interior it forms a whitish lumpy crust standing proud of the surface.

Inscription There is a cartouche-shaped stamp on the shoulder, reading Menkheperre (99.98.0746) (**Fig. 169**). The vessel is inscribed twice on the shoulder in black ink. One of these (99.98.0742 + 99.98.0526a) reads 'wine of/by(?) the vintner' (**p. 241**), the other 'tiger nuts' (99.98.0740, **p. 246**). RD 10, H 63.6

Provenance I3-1, I3-2, I3-3, I3-4

39. Amphora 2 (Ill. 23; **Fig. 170**)

Fabric Marl D. Amphora 2 has been published as a vessel from the western oases,³⁶ but further consideration of the fabric suggests it is in fact of coarse Marl D (**Colour pl. 42.5**).

Surface The jar has a thick cream slip, turning pink on the shoulder, with heavy, roughly horizontal application marks. The slip extends over the base.

Description Amphora with short vertical neck, externally thickened rim, moulded base and two handles on the body. A small amount of residue is present in the neck, but little is visible on the interior. A darkish discolouration on the shoulder and in distinct streaks around the base of the neck suggests the original presence of a mud sealing. The vessel is not inscribed.

RD 10. H 60.2

Provenance I3-2, I3-3, IS uncertain



Fig. 169: Amphora 1 (Cat. no. 38) Stamp of Thutmose III

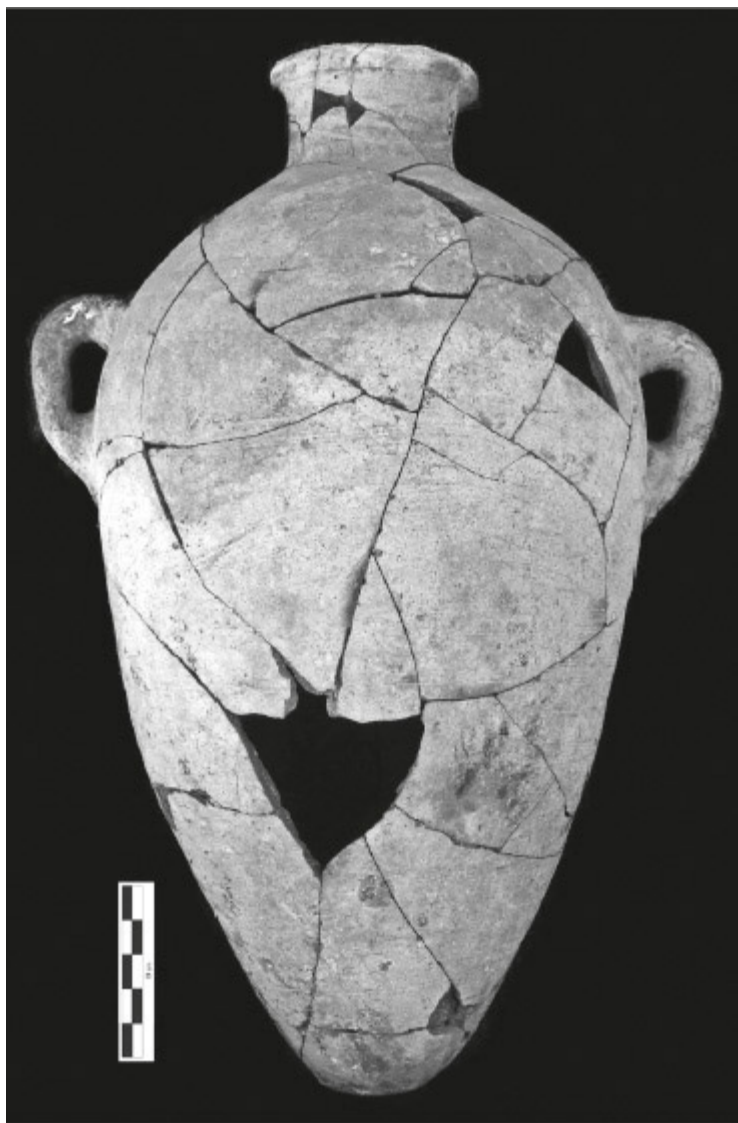


Fig. 170: Amphora 2 (Cat. no. 39)

40. Amphora 3 (Ill. 24)

Fabric Marl D

Surface The jar has a thick cream slip over the exterior.

Description Amphora with short vertical neck, externally thickened rim, moulded base and two handles on the body. The base is uneven in thickness, and has finger impressions on the bottom and large uneven smeared lumps of clay above it from its attachment to the body. The upper interior is coated with a brown resinous substance, which lower down the body becomes white and crusted, as seen on

others of the amphorae. There is no evidence of sealing.

Inscription An inscription on the shoulder in black ink in two lines gives a date, year 28 (99.98.0747), and a commodity, perhaps sesame (p. 249).

RD 10.4 H 59.8

Provenance I3-1, I3-2, I3-3, I3-4

41. Amphora 4 (Ill. 25)

Fabric Marl D

Surface The jar has a thick cream slip on the exterior.

Description Amphora with short vertical neck, externally thickened rim, base and two handles on the body. The base appears wheel-turned throughout. There is no evidence of sealing.

Inscription The vessel is inscribed on the shoulder in black ink (99.98.0527), giving a date, year 28.

RD 10.8, H 65.6

Provenance I2-2, I2-5, I2-6, I3-1, I3-2, I3-3, I3-4

42. Amphora 5 (Ill. 26)

Fabric Marl D.

Surface The jar has a cream slip over the exterior, turning pink in some areas. The interior is very smooth, and wheel throwing lines are almost invisible.

Description Amphora with short vertical neck, externally thickened rim, moulded base and two handles on the body. The base technology is as Amphora 1 (Cat. no. 37), with roughly parallel smoothing marks inside the base that hollow it out to follow the line of the interior profile of the main body of the vessel. Traces of mud around the shoulder may be the remains of sealing, the edge marked in the illustration by dotted lines.



Fig. 171: Amphora 6 (Cat. no. 43) Stamp

Inscription There is a two-line inscription on the shoulder (99.98.0390) including the date of year 25 and the commodity, perhaps sesame.

RD 10.4, H 64.4

Provenance Body and handles from I2-2, I2-3, I2-4, I2-5, I2-6, I3-1, I3-3, IS-3, IC-10, IC-13. Neck and rim from I2-3, I2-4, I2-5, I2-6, I3-1, IC-14, IC-16.

43. Amphora 6 (Ill. 27)

Fabric Marl D ([Colour pl. 42.6](#))

Surface This has a thick cream slip over the exterior and running into the neck. The slip is pink in some areas.

Description Amphora with short vertical neck, externally thickened rim, moulded base and two handles on the body. The handles are crudely attached and carelessly finished. There are traces of a residue similar to that in Amphora 1 (Cat. no. 37) but whiter in colour. There

is no evidence of sealing.

Inscription There are two inscriptions on the shoulder, specifying the contents as 'tiger nuts' (99.98.0741) and (99.98.0526b) 'wine of/by(?) the vintner'; there is also an illegible stamp on the shoulder on the opposite side of the vessel (**Fig. 171**).

RD 10.4, H greater than 56

Provenance I2-5, I2-6, I3-1, I3-2, I3-3, I3-4

In addition to the above, there were parts of up to three further amphorae. In each case there were insufficient sherds to suggest the presence of a complete vessel, and the fabrics appear sufficiently different as to suggest they are separate vessels, although this cannot be proved. The gypsum coatings on two of the vessels may indicate that they are not part of the original burial assemblage. The vessels are:

44. Amphora 9 (not illustrated)

Fabric Marl F?

Surface This has a cream-slipped exterior, much of which has flaked off.

Description Amphora base. It is not formed in the same manner as the amphorae described above: it is more gently rounded without a distinct angle change into the underside, and the interior is hollowed out with 'wipe' marks around it. The walls are very thick in the area preserved. This may be the same vessel as Amphora 10 (Cat. no. 45).

Provenance Not recorded

45. Amphora 10 (not illustrated)

Fabric Marl F?

Surface This has a cream-slipped exterior.

Description Fragment of amphora body, including the shoulder and one complete handle. Some sherds are coated on the inside with gypsum. Possibly the same vessel as Amphora 9 (Cat. no. 44).

Provenance I2-2, I2-3, I2-4, I2-5, I2-6, I3-1, I3-2, I3-3, I3-4, IC-13.

46. Amphora 11 (not illustrated)

Fabric Marl F (Memphis H14)³⁷ (**Colour pl. 42.9**)

Surface This has a cream-slipped exterior.

Description The shoulder and lower handle stump of an amphora. There is a thick gypsum layer over the interior and over some of the broken edges.

Provenance I2-4, I2-5, I3-1, I3-3, IC-9, IC-10, IC-12.

9.4.1.9 Oasis amphorae

As well as Cat. nos 47–49 below, there were many other sherds from

oasis-ware jars. Unfortunately it is not possible to establish how many vessels they represent, as it was only possible to reconstruct two sections of amphorae from them. The fact that the sherds did not readily resolve themselves into vessels (unlike Amphorae 1–6) may suggest that they were not originally part of the burial assemblage, and the fact that the majority of the sherds were found in the Corridor adds to this impression. Despite this, jars of oasis origin are known as a part of funerary assemblages in Thebes.³⁸

In addition, many of the sherds are coated with gypsum, and may therefore have come from vessels serving to transport gypsum. One lower body fragment came from a vessel used to hold black ink or paint, and again may have been part of the materials abandoned after decorating the tomb. The amphora base (Cat. no. 49) does not belong to any of the other vessels; the presence of just the base may suggest that it too was present as a container rather than part of a whole vessel. Sherds from oasis ware vessels were frequently used as scrapers, presumably because of their exceptionally robust character: perhaps oasis-ware vessels, or parts thereof, were introduced into the tomb by robbers specifically to provide sherds for digging.

47. Oasis Amphora 7 (Ill. 28)

Fabric Amarna fabric IV.2

Surface The exterior is cream-slipped, and has flaked off in places.

Description The body of an oasis amphora, missing most of the neck, the rim, base, and most of the handles. The upper part of the vessel is wheel-thrown and the lower interior shows clear diagonal finger smears over it. The exterior is prominently trimmed. There is a clay smear behind the upper handle stump, perhaps a repair where the body was accidentally punctured during attachment of the handle. There are traces of gypsum over the interior but this may be accidental. There is no evidence of an inscription. Some of the fragments were used as spade sherds.

Provenance I2-2, I2-4, I3-1, I3-2, I3-3, IS-2, IC-2, IC-2, IC-8, IC-9, IC-11, IC-13

48. Oasis Amphora 8 (not illustrated)

Fabric Amarna fabric IV.2 ([Colour pl. 43A.1](#))

Surface The vessel is cream-slipped.

Description Fragments of an amphora, preserved from just above the base to the wheel-turned upper body; nothing remains of the handles. The shoulder may also be present but does not join.

Provenance IS-2, IC-2, IC-8, IC-12, IC-13, IC-14

49. Oasis Amphora 12 (Ill. 29)

Fabric Amarna fabric IV.2 (?) (**Colour pl. 43A.2**)

Surface This has a thick cream slip. A spot of red paint on the exterior cannot be explained: it may suggest that the base was in use in connection with the preparation of the tomb, and that paint dripped on to it at this time.

Description Amphora base, probably mould-made with a heavily finger-impressed interior, and thick walls. There are strong diagonal and horizontal wiping marks on the outside.

Provenance I2-4

9.4.2 Nile silt vessels

9.4.2.1 Large silt jars

Vessels of this type are well known from both the tombs of the nobles and the Royal Wadi, where they often occur in large numbers. They are known from at least the reign of Thutmose III into the later 18th dynasty.³⁹ They are characterised by their similar shape, technology and surface finish.

In the Royal Wadi this type of vessel was used to hold embalming residue,⁴⁰ but it is not certain that the jars had the same use in burials outside it.⁴¹ Loyrette suggests they held grain or beer, on the basis of inscriptions from vessels from the Queens' Valley, but since no drawings of the latter vessels are shown, it is not certain that the same type is meant.⁴²

However, a larger silt jar from the Queens' Valley tomb 32 is inscribed for beer.⁴³ No evidence survives on the vessels from Shaft I to indicate their contents. Just one vessel, Large silt jar 1 (Cat. no. 49), has a powdery white coating on the interior which may, perhaps, be natron, but no other examples of such a coating have been noted on the body sherds, and no obvious evidence of mummification debris has been found in the chamber itself. No inscriptions have been found on the Shaft I sherds.

21 large jars have been identified in Shaft I from their rims and necks. Most of the jar bodies could not be reconstructed due to constraints of space, and the time-consuming nature of identifying joins from the handmade vessel bodies. The tops of the vessels, which are wheel-thrown, were put together much more simply. The junction between the wheel-made and hand-made parts varies in location and can be at the base of the neck, part way down the neck, or, rarely, in the vessel shoulder. The hand-made bodies show deep diagonal finger grooves inside the vessel running from the lower right to the top left and reflect the use of coiling to form them. The one fully reconstructed vessel (Large silt jar 1, Cat. no. 50) is strikingly misshapen. Large silt jar 21 (Cat. no. 70) is of identical size and form

to the rest but was entirely wheel-made; this may also be true of Large silt jar 20 (Cat. no. 69). All the jars are of Nile B2 fabric, and vary only in their firing patterns.⁴⁴

The outer surfaces of the jars are coated in a few cases with a cream-coloured slip that is then covered by a layer of white plaster or gypsum; in most cases, however, the coat of gypsum lies directly on the unslipped vessel surface.⁴⁵ Because of the lack of complete vessels it is difficult to generalise, but it appears that the gypsum coat is found principally, or at its thickest, in the neck area. Oddly, a gypsum layer is sometimes also seen on the interior. Why many of the vessels are coated on the interior is unknown, but it appears intentional; there are some hints that the gypsum over the body was applied before the neck was added to the vessel (see Cat. no. 66). Given the porous nature of the fabric it could be functional, so as to render the vessels more proof against leakage.

The gypsum on the neck may relate to the closing of the vessels' mouths, although its application appears even rather than with the trails one might expect from sealing, and its presence on the inner surface as well as the exterior goes against this. Sealed examples of such jars are known,⁴⁶ and mud stoppers from them have been found in several tombs.⁴⁷ In KV36, the mouth was closed with an inverted dish and a piece of cloth, over which a mushroom-shaped mud seal was added, and this was all then coated with gypsum.⁴⁸ Aston noted that in KV 21, the vessels were closed with a mud seal and a gypsum coat was then applied over both the seal and the vessel.⁴⁹ In Shaft I, a fragment of textile was found adhering to the outside of Large silt jar 18 (Cat. no. 67), and may indicate a cloth covering, although it may be post-depositional and come from another source within the burial chamber. Another jar, Large silt jar 21 (Cat. no. 70) preserves the remains of unidentified fibrous material in the gypsum coating at the neck. Otherwise, there is almost no evidence for mud sealings that may have come from the jars. A line of mud around the neck of Large silt jar 2 (Cat. no. 51) may indicate that it was originally sealed, but this is the only vessel that shows such a feature. In terms of mud seals themselves, just one mud fragment (99.98.0633)⁵⁰ is sufficiently preserved to show that it had a diameter compatible with the jars. Whilst it is possible that seals might have fragmented over time to such an extent as to no longer be identifiable, the presence of large quantities of mud fragments in Room 3 is likely to have been noted by the excavators, and their apparent absence suggests that mud seals were not placed on the jars.

There is no clear evidence of the use of bowls to close the vessel

mouths: the Flange-rimmed bowls (Cat. nos 83–93), which occur in large numbers and are often gypsum-coated, are generally larger than the mouths of the jars, and so are unlikely to have been lids (see below, Cat. nos 83–93).

Sherds of the large silt jars are found only in Room 3, and because of this, their provenances are not individually recorded by level in the catalogue. Their specific find spot raises the question of how much of the space in the chamber was taken up by them. If the two vessels for which evidence of the maximum diameter survives, Large silt jars 1 and 21 (Cat. nos 50 and 70) are taken as representative of the average size of the jars, then the chamber could have held them standing side-by-side (see further the suggested outline layout in [Fig. 261 on p. 292](#) and associated discussion). If more space was required for burial equipment, the vessels could have been stacked; if the one jar for which the height is known is taken as representative, it was possible to arrange them two deep in Room 3, thus doubling the floor space available for the other items. Alternatively, of course, they could have been crammed into the minimum space possible, without regard to stance: if this was the case the mouths would undoubtedly have had to be closed to prevent the contents from spilling out.

The jars' discovery in a single chamber also raises the question of why their sherds were not found scattered over a wider area in the tomb, as happened with most other vessels. Is it that this type was so well known that the first robbers knew that the jars did not contain anything of interest and thus they were left relatively unmolested?

50. Large silt jar 1 (Ill. 30)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface The exterior has an all-over yellowish-cream coating that appears slightly worn over the base. Over it are white flakes of gypsum on the lower body. On the neck, the gypsum cover is more continuous, and has what appear to be vertical brush marks in it. The gypsum coat extends just over the rim onto the interior. The interior is patchily coated with a white powdery residue, which is thicker over the base and lower walls.

Description Large ovoid jar with flaring neck and externally thickened rim. The neck is wheel-made for about 11 cm below the rim, and below this is handmade with horizontal to diagonal finger drags on the interior from shaping using a coiling technique. The base appears moulded, and finger impressions radiate out from the central base.

RD 20, H 72.4 (100%)

Provenance I3-2 (I3)

51. Large silt jar 2 (Ill. 31; Fig. 172)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface This has a thick white gypsum coating over the interior and exterior. It is smooth-surfaced and shows horizontal application strokes around the wheel-made area of the neck, and is more flaky below this point. From 2 cm below the rim on the outside, the gypsum is covered with what seems to be an additional coating with a rough uneven texture, changing the surface colour to yellowish white. Two rows of decorative indents on the shoulder are filled with white gypsum but not with the yellowish coating.

Description The rim, neck and upper body of a large silt jar. On the shoulder are two lines of shallow finger impressions c. 3 cm apart forming a band of decoration. There are possible traces of a mud sealing around the neck below the rim.

RD 18–20 (100%)

Provenance I3

52. Large silt jar 3 (not illustrated)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface This has a thick gypsum coating on the interior and exterior. On the exterior are clear vertical scraping marks running from the lower neck onto the shoulder where the vessel was trimmed to shape.

Description The rim, neck and shoulder of a large silt jar. The lower neck is handmade with prominent diagonal finger scrapings on interior. The rim is badly eroded.

RD 22 (70%)

Provenance I3

53. Large silt jar 4 (not illustrated)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface There appears to be a cream-coloured coating over the exterior, over which gypsum was applied. Gypsum also coats the interior as far as preserved.

Description The rim and neck of a large silt jar. There is a slight indent at the base of the neck, presumably the accidental result of joining the wheel-made and handmade sections.

RD 22 (100%)

Provenance I3

54. Large silt jar 5 (not illustrated)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface Vertical scraping marks are visible on the shoulder from trimming the vessel neck. The gypsum coating on the interior is uneven, and a large area of the inner neck is uncoated.

Description The rim and neck of a large silt jar.

RD 23 (100%)

Provenance I3

55. Large silt jar 6 (not illustrated)

Fabric Nile B2, poorly fired

Surface The outside gypsum coat is not well preserved, and runs over a break in the rim. Thus the pot was already damaged when put into the tomb. There is a large area of reddish pigment (?) spilt on the shoulder, the origin of which is unknown.

Description The rim and neck of a large silt jar.

RD 22 (100%)

Provenance I3



Fig. 172: Large silt jar 2 (Cat. no. 51)

56. *Large silt jar 7 (not illustrated)*

Fabric Nile B2

Surface There are diagonal scraping marks on the exterior from trimming the vessel. The gypsum coating is poorly preserved, but there are whitish traces and large white blobs on the interior.

Description The rim and neck of a large silt jar. The rim is very uneven and was not turned over cleanly.

RD 23 (100%)

Provenance I3

57. *Large silt jar 8 (Ill. 32)*

Fabric Nile B2

Surface Only sparse drips of gypsum are preserved on the interior, and the vessel appears effectively uncoated.

Description The rim and neck of a large silt jar.

RD 23 (93%)

Provenance I3

58. *Large silt jar 9 (not illustrated)*

Fabric Nile B2

Surface There is a well preserved gypsum coating on the interior, and a flaky gypsum coating on the exterior.

Description The rim and neck of a large silt jar.

RD 21 (100%)

Provenance I3

59. *Large silt jar 10 (not illustrated)*

Fabric Nile B2

Surface This has a gypsum coating on the exterior, and a sparse, speckled coating on the interior.

Description The rim and neck of a large silt jar.

RD 22 (90%)

Provenance I3

60. *Large silt jar 11 (not illustrated)*

Fabric Nile B2

Surface Some areas of the exterior surface have a slight orange colouration, as if pigment was spilt on them, although the gypsum coating seems to overlies these. There are drips of gypsum on the interior.

Description The rim and neck of a large silt jar. This example is crudely made and finger marked and with spots of clay on the interior of the neck. The rim is poorly shaped.

RD 20 (100%)

Provenance I3

61. Large silt jar 12 (not illustrated)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface This has a gypsum coating on the interior and exterior.

Description The rim and neck of a large silt jar. The wheel-made part extends well down into the shoulder. There is a slight groove at the base of the neck.

RD 23 (100%)

Provenance I3

62. Large silt jar 13 (Ill. 33)

Fabric Nile B2, low fired

Surface This has a pale surface slip on the exterior, probably a self slip, with traces of gypsum over the interior and exterior.

Description This vessel is identical in shape to those already catalogued, but differs from them in that it is wheel-made as far as preserved.

RD 23 (100%)

Provenance I3-2, I3-3, I3-4

63. Large silt jar 14 (not illustrated)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface This has a pale yellowish coating on the exterior, over which the gypsum layer lies. The yellowish coating clearly ends on the inner neck and drips from it are seen further down the vessel; it is therefore a deliberate coating. There are traces of gypsum on the exterior, but none on the interior.

Description The rim and neck of a large silt jar. The vessel has very thin walls.

RD 21 (100%)

Provenance I3

64. Large silt jar 15 (not illustrated)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface This has a yellowish coating over the outside, over which lies the gypsum layer. The interior is also coated with gypsum.

Description The rim and neck of a large silt jar. It is wheel-made into the shoulder area.

RD 21 (100%)

Provenance I3

65. Large silt jar 16 (not illustrated)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface There is a gypsum coating over the exterior, and on the

interior of the neck; below this it appears there is no gypsum coating on the interior.

Description The rim and neck of a large silt jar.

RD 21 (100%)

Provenance I3-1

66. Large silt jar 17 (not illustrated)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface This is cream-slipped on the exterior and inner rim, where it ends in a clear line. There is a thick gypsum coating over the exterior and interior of the body, but only drips on the inner neck; this raises the odd and seemingly unlikely possibility that the vessel body was coated before the neck was attached.

Description The rim and neck of a large silt jar.

RD (max.) 21 (100%)

Provenance I3

67. Large silt jar 18 (not illustrated)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface There is a thick gypsum coating over the exterior, apparently painted onto the body with vertical brushstrokes, and horizontal ones around the neck. The gypsum extends just over the rim and forms a clear edge. A gypsum layer coats the interior but there is very little on the neck itself (cf. Cat. no. 66 above). The surfaces are pitted.

Description The rim and neck of a large silt jar. A small patch of textile adheres to the exterior.

RD 21 (100%)

Provenance I3

68. Large silt jar 19 (not illustrated)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface There is a thick gypsum coating over the exterior, with a clear line marking its end just over the rim edge; there is also gypsum on the lower interior of the neck.

Description The rim and neck of a large silt jar. The neck is poorly preserved and eroded. No body sherds belonging to the vessel could be identified.

RD 21 (10%)

Provenance I3

69. Large silt jar 20 (not illustrated)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface Gypsum coats the interior and exterior.

Description Six rim fragments and a small area of neck and shoulder

are preserved of a large silt jar. The preserved parts are all wheel-made. All are eroded.

RD 21 (50%)

Provenance I3

70. Large silt jar 21 (Ill. 34)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface The exterior and a short distance over the rim are coated with cream slip. Most of the body is then covered with a thick layer of gypsum; much of it has discoloured to a yellowish shade. The thickest area of gypsum coating stops more or less at the base of the neck on the exterior. In one area on the rim top the edge of the gypsum coating forms a distinct ridge, at one end of which there appear to be traces of a fibrous material, or an impression of such; this may relate to the sealing of the vessel. The interior does not have a gypsum coating, but has a pale yellowish wash over it which may be a coating or discolouration as a result of the vessel contents. It does not appear to be post-depositional as it does not run over breaks.

Description The rim and neck of a large silt jar. The base is missing. The vessel is entirely wheel-made.

RD 18.8, H greater than 56.8

Provenance I3

9.4.2.2 'Beer Jars'

Beer jars account for the majority of the remaining closed Nile silt forms. None was fully reconstructed. The type commonly has a restricted mouth and usually a flat, crudely shaped and finger-impressed base, but a few bases are trimmed, with varying degrees of care, to a more rounded shape. All the vessels are of a fairly coarse Nile B2, and are unslipped. No pierced bases that definitely belong to beer jars have been identified, although pierced bases are present in the assemblage: these have been assigned to the 'flowerpots' described below (Cat. nos 81–82) on the basis of their slightly better finish and their more flaring walls.

There were over 40 fragments of beer jar rim found in Shaft I and large numbers of bases and base fragments,⁵¹ but it is not possible to assess how many beer jars they represent. The majority of rims and bases were found in locations other than Room 3, suggesting the type was not placed in the burial chamber itself. Many of the base sherds in particular come from the low trench in front of the access to Room 3, and this may suggest an original location for some of the vessels here. The number of fragments from the Corridor seems too large for them all to be intrusive, and it is possible that they derive from cultic activities based around the shaft (see Shaft H).

A few of the bases have splashes of pigment on them, including on the breaks. Four fragments have gypsum on the interior, and may have been used to carry that material. Thus not all of the beer jars may have formed part of the burial equipment; rather, some of the bases may have been used as containers for materials used in and around the tomb. One beer jar base was ground down to a level about 7 cm above the base to a smooth edge, and was presumably used as a spade sherd.

71. *Beer jar 1 (Ill. 35)*

Fabric Nile B2

Surface The surface is unslipped with a pale surface.

Description Rim of restricted-mouthed beer jar.

RD 12

Provenance I3-1

9.4.2.3 Other Nile silt jars

Only the rims and bases of the remaining Nile silt closed forms could be examined, and there was rarely time to look for body sherds to join them. As a result it is not possible to say whether most of the vessel was originally present in Shaft I, or whether there were only a few sherds of each. However, so few diagnostic jar sherds were found as to suggest that such forms were either uncommon, or even intrusive. In general there were fewer rim fragments than bases.

The forms are varied and generally there are only one or two examples of each type. In this the assemblage differs strikingly from most of the ceramics discussed up to now.

There is very little evidence of decoration on the jars: a few sherds have black stripes on red-slipped surfaces but these are mainly small and worn, and most come from the Corridor. Their association with the tomb assemblage is therefore questionable.

72. *Silt jar 2 (Ill. 36)*

Fabric Nile B2

Surface The surface is unslipped.

Description Neck and base of what is almost certainly the same vessel, although the parts do not join. The jar has a long cylindrical neck and a ridge around its base, and a slightly concave string cut base into which a small pat of clay was inserted to level it. The base is cracked inside. Closely similar jars are known from elsewhere in the necropolis.⁵²

RD 9

Provenance I3-1, I3-3

73. *Silt jar 10 (not illustrated)*

Fabric Nile B2

Surface The jar has a gypsum-coated surface as found, but may originally have had a red slip. There is a blackish mud-like coating over the interior.⁵³

Description Jar similar in form to Silt jar 2 (Cat. no. 72). Its rim and upper neck fragments do not join. The rim is slightly thickened.

Provenance I2-4, I2-5, I3-2, I3-3, I3-4, IC-16

74. Silt jar 21 (Ill. 37)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface The surfaces are unslipped.

Description Jar rim with two prominent ridges on the neck. The rim is rounded and slightly flared.

RD 10.8

Provenance I3-1

75. Silt jar 1 (Ill. 38)

Fabric Nile B2 with a small amount of limestone

Surface This has a pale slip.

Description Neck and rim of long-necked jar, with externally thickened rim and narrow grooves around the neck. The probable base of this vessel is heavily trimmed. The jar is similar to vessels from Shaft H, and the scattered location of the sherds may suggest that the vessel is a later, perhaps accidental, introduction into the tomb.

RD 8.4

Provenance I2-3, I2-5, IS-2, IS-3, IC-6, IC-13

76. Silt jar 20 (Ill. 39)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface This has a red-slipped exterior.

Description Jar rim, with flaring neck and externally thickened rim.

RD12

Provenance I3-3

77. Silt jar 9 (Ill. 40)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface This has a red-slipped exterior and a black band under the rim.

Description Two rim fragments of a jar with flaring neck and externally thickened rim.

RD 9

Provenance IC-6, IC-9

78. Jar (?) 14 (Ill. 41)

Fabric Nile B2 containing some limestone

Surface The surfaces are unslipped.

Description Three fragments of the rim of a jar.

RD 7.2

Provenance I2-4, I2-6

79. Silt jar 7 (Ill. 42)

Fabric Nile B2 (hard)

Surface This is unslipped.

Description Jar with short vertical rim, one fragment only. It appears too well made to be a beer jar. Whilst the fragment is too small to attribute to a known vessel type with certainty, the fabric and form suggest this may be later in date than the rest of the Shaft I assemblage.⁵⁴ However, it is hard to account for the presence of a fragment of significantly later date within an assemblage that is otherwise uncontaminated. See also Bowl 10 (Cat. no. 106).

RD 14

Provenance I2-5

80. Silt jar 3 (Ill. 43)

Fabric Nile B2 (hard)

Surface The vessel is unslipped.

Description Base of drop-shaped vessel, probably from a tall beaker.

Provenance IC-8, IC-9, IC-10

9.4.2.4 'Flowerpots'

'Flowerpots', deep conical bowls with flat bases that are sometimes pierced, have been associated with beer jars in funerary contexts. Holthoer connected them with the production of bread, the two types together thus providing bread and beer for the afterlife, but this link remains unproven.⁵⁵ Since flowerpots have a restricted chronological distribution,⁵⁶ whereas beer jars have a much longer lifespan, it may be that a connection between the types is fortuitous.

Flowerpots are not uncommon in the assemblage from Shaft I. As is the case with the beer jars discussed above, many more base fragments have been found than rim sherds, and it is likely that the soft nature of their fabric has resulted in the better preservation of the robust bases than the rims. As already noted, flowerpot bases show similar characteristics to those of beer jars in their poor finishing and finger indents around the circumference, and it is not always easy to assess to which type the bases belong; however, the flowerpot bases appear to be a little better finished.

There were at least twenty such vessels in Shaft I. The limited amount of reconstruction carried out showed that there were multiple joins between fragments from Room 3 and Room 2, and thus at least some of these vessels are likely to have originated in this area.

81. Flowerpot 2 (Ill. 44)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface The vessel is unslipped.

Description Deep conical bowl with flat rim top and flat base, centrally pierced before firing. There are finger marks from handling the wet vessel around the edge of the base.

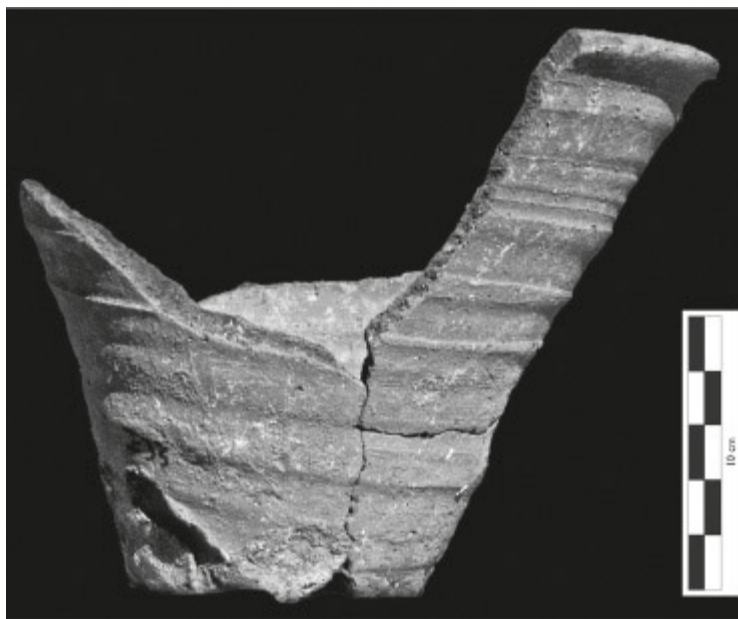


Fig. 173: 'Flowerpot' 1 (Cat. no. 82)

RD 22 H 19.8

Provenance I3-1, I3-2, I3-3, I3-4

82. Flowerpot 1 (Ill. 45; **Fig. 173**)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface The vessel is unslipped.

Description Deep conical bowl with slightly thickened rim and irregular oval base, pierced before firing. It is poorly made with finger prints around the base on the outside.

RD 25.8 H 19.2

Provenance I3-3

9.4.2.5 Flange-rimmed bowls

As with the Nile silt jars, it was only possible to look in detail at diagnostic sherds, and the rims could rarely be attached to bases. Further, the sherds' softness, eroded condition, and the frequent presence of gypsum coatings made refitting difficult. Because of this, and because the rim shape of large open forms can vary around the vessel circumference due to difficulties in controlling the clay during throwing, it is possible that some of the bowls distinguished below may in fact be parts of the same vessels. A minimum of ten examples seems, however, to be a reasonable indication of the numbers present.

A connection with the large silt jars (Cat. nos 50–70) has been posited above, that the flange-rimmed bowls might have served as their lids. Indeed, vessels were found in a dump of material in association with large store jars originating from the tomb of the three foreign wives of Thutmose III in the Wadi el-Qurud,⁵⁷ although none of the Wadi el-Qurud examples showed any trace of a gypsum coating. However, the bowls themselves are too large when inverted to sit within or rest exactly on the mouths of the jars as lids, and would have extended some distance beyond the rim. If used the right way up within in the jar mouths they would also have protruded. Neither usage seems satisfactory, and makes their use as lids unlikely. Furthermore, unlike the large silt jars, the bowl fragments were found widely scattered throughout the tomb with several coming mainly from Room 2, and this discrepancy also suggests the two types should not be connected. Instead, the bowls may have held the gypsum for coating the large silt jars in the tomb, as the gypsum sometimes runs over the breaks and must therefore have been in a liquid state when the bowls were broken.

The decoration and burning on flange-rimmed bowl 3 (Cat. no. 89) is of interest and may indicate that the bowl was used for a specific cultic purpose, perhaps in connection with the offering stand (Cat. no. 107).

83. *Flange-rimmed bowl 1 (Ill. 46)*

Fabric Nile B2

Surface The inner surface was red-slipped, and the exterior was unslipped. The slip extends only to the top of the rim.

Description Flange-rimmed bowl with flat base showing a centred spiral. The lower exterior is heavily trimmed.

RD 30.3 H 14.1

Provenance I2-2, I2-3, I2-4, I2-5, I2-6, I3-1, I3-3, IC-4

84. *Flange-rimmed bowl 7 (Ill. 47)*

Fabric Nile B2

Surface The bowl has a red rim band. There is a thick gypsum coating over all surfaces.

Description Flange-rimmed bowl with flat base.

RD 36.6 H 14.7

Provenance I1-1, I2-4, I3-1, I3-2, I3-3, I3-4

85. Flange-rimmed bowl 6 (Ill. 48)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface The bowl appears unslipped, but the surface is obscured by the thick gypsum over the interior, exterior and breaks.

Description Flange-rimmed bowl with flat base.

RD45 H 14.1

Preservation I1-1, I3-1, I3-2, I3-3, I3-4, IC-9, IC-11

86. Flange-rimmed bowl 11 (Ill. 49)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface The bowl has a red rim band. It is coated in gypsum.

Description Four joining rim fragments from a shallow flangerimmed bowl.

RD 40.2

Provenance I3-2, I3-3, I3-4

87. Flange-rimmed bowl 10 (Ill. 50)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface The bowl has a red rim band. It is coated in gypsum.

Description Rim fragments of a flange-rimmed bowl. There is a possible string mark around the lower body.

RD 36.6

Provenance I1-1, I3-1, I3-2, I3-3, I3-4.

88. Flange-rimmed bowl 2 (Ill. 51)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface The bowl has a red rim band. There is a thick gypsum coating over the interior, exterior and breaks.

Description Rim and upper body of a flange-rimmed bowl.

RD 37.5

Provenance I3-2

89. Flange-rimmed bowl 3 (not illustrated)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface The bowl has a c. 3.5 cm-wide white band on the interior running around the top of the rim, and with trails below it. The interior is partly blackened from burning.

Description Rim fragments of a flange-rimmed bowl.

Provenance I2-4, I2-5, I2-6, I3-2, IC-4, IC-13

90. Flange-rimmed bowl 4 (not illustrated)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface This is unslipped. There is some chalky gypsum residue over the exterior but this is secondary.

Description Rim fragments of a flange-rimmed bowl. A flat base which probably comes from this bowl was identified but does not join.

Provenance I2-2, I2-3, I2-4, I2-5, IS-2, IS-3, IC-13, IC-14

91. Flange-rimmed bowl 5 (not illustrated)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface The bowl has a red rim band.

Description Rim fragments of flange-rimmed bowl.

Provenance I2-4, I2-5, I2-6, I3-2, IS-2, IC-8

92. Flange-rimmed bowl 8 (not illustrated)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface The bowl has a red rim band. There are traces of gypsum on all surfaces and breaks.

Description Rim fragments of a flange-rimmed bowl, similar to Flange-rimmed bowl 11 (Cat. no. 82).

Provenance I3-2, I3-4

93. Flange-rimmed bowl 9 (not illustrated)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface The bowl has a red rim band. It is coated in gypsum.

Description Rim fragments of a flange-rimmed bowl, similar to Flange-rimmed bowl 11 (Cat. no. 82).

Provenance I3-2, I3-4

9.4.2.6 Other Nile silt bowls

It is not possible to assess if other such vessels were present in Shaft I beyond those documented below.

Some of the vessels are gypsum covered, and one contained paint. The latter at least may be connected with the preparation of the tomb rather than the burial itself.

94. Bowl 5 (Ill. 52)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface The bowl has a patchy red rim band. A gypsum coating covers the surfaces and breaks, and there is a thick deposit of large salt-like crystals over the interior.

Description Simple-rimmed bowl with slightly convex base, probably intended to be flat.

RD 20.8 H 6.2

Provenance I3-2, I3-4

95. Bowl 8 (*Ill.* 53)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface Uncertain because of the vessel's reuse.

Description Flat-based bowl. It was used to contain red paint, and perhaps therefore not part of the original burial assemblage.

RD 18.8 BD 6.2 H 6

Provenance I2-4, I2-5, I3-2, I3-3, IC-11

96. Bowl 4 (*Ill.* 54)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface The bowl has a red rim band.

Description Simple-rimmed bowl with flat base with centred spiral. There are unidentified yellowish accretions on the interior and parts of the exterior. One area of the rim is burnt, and the bowl may have been used as a lamp.

RD 18 BD 5.6 H 5.5

Provenance I3-2, I3-3

97. Bowl 7 (*Ill.* 55)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface The bowl has a red rim band and possible red splashes over the interior.

Description Small simple-rimmed bowl with flat base.

RD18 BD 6.6 H5.2

Provenance I3-2, IC-16

98. Bowl 2 (*Ill.* 56)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface The bowl has a red rim band. There is gypsum (?) over all surfaces and the breaks, and this appears crystalline on the interior.

Description Small simple-rimmed bowl with flat base.

RD14.1 (95%) BD 5.2 H 3.3

Provenance I3-3

99. Bowl 3 (*Ill.* 57)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface The bowl has a red rim band, the latter covered by a thick gypsum coating.

Description Small simple-rimmed bowl with pedestal base.

RD14.5 H 4.6 BD 3.6

Provenance I3-3

100. Bowl 20 (Ill. 58)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface The bowl has a red rim band. All surfaces have a thick gypsum coating, running over the breaks.

Description Small simple-rimmed bowl with slight pedestal base.

RD 15.5 H 4.3 BD 5.4

Provenance I3-2, I3-4

101. Bowl 13 (Ill. 59)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface The surfaces are unslipped.

Description Small dish with flared walls and simple rim, and flat base with centred spiral on its underside.

RD20 BD 7.5 H5.1

Provenance I3-4

102. Bowl 9 (Ill. 60)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface The surfaces are unslipped.

Description Small simple-rimmed bowl with flat base.

RD 10.7 BD 4.6 H 3

Provenance I3-3

103. Bowl 1 (Ill. 61)

Fabric Nile B2 (very fine)

Surface The surfaces are unslipped.

Description Small shallow dish with out-turned rim and flat base. The walls are very thin.

RD 8 H 1.1

Provenance I3-2, I3-3

104. Bowl 21 (Ill. 62)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface The bowl has a red rim band.

Description Rim of bowl with out-turned rim.

RD 22

Provenance I3-3

105. Bowl 11 (Ill. 63)

Fabric Nile D

Surface The surfaces appear red-slipped.

Description Small carinated bowl with slight pedestal foot. Two round appliqués are preserved below the rim. The rim is burnt, and the bowl may have been used as lamp.

RD 12 BD c3.6 H 5.1

Provenance I2-6, I3-2, I3-3, IS-2, IS-3

106. Bowl 10 (Ill. 64)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface The surfaces are red-slipped.

Description Fine rounded base of an open form. No rim could be identified. This vessel may be later in date than the rest of the Shaft I assemblage: rounded cup and bowl bases are more characteristic of the later New Kingdom into the Libyan period.⁵⁸ See also silt jar 7 (Cat. no.79).

Provenance I2-4, I2-6

9.4.2.7 Bread cones (not illustrated)

There were eight fragments of narrow cylindrical bread cones, including one small rim fragment, all of fabric Nile C. All came from the Corridor and are likely to be intrusive: fragments of bread cones, although never numerous, were found throughout the Courtyard deposits in greater numbers than found in either Shaft H or Shaft I, and are thus likely to be associated with rituals and activities taking place there.

9.4.2.8 Offering stand

107. Offering stand 1 (Ill. 65; Fig. 174)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface This has a thick white gypsum coating on the exterior, and running just over the lower edge. It extends more deeply into the inner neck at the upper end. Such deliberate coatings are associated with cultic usage.⁵⁹

Description Medium-tall, trumpet-shaped stand. It is wheel-made in sections and has very thick walls in the central part. An area of burning on the rim edge suggests the stand may have held a dish used as a lamp.

About 80% preserved. RD 16.8 BD 24 H 60

Provenance Body I2-2, I2-3, I2-5, I2-6, IC-15. Upper rim I3-1, I3-2, I3-3.

9.4.2.9 Ring stands

There were some twenty fragments of ring stands, and over half of them came from the Corridor. Most sherds were poorly preserved due to their very soft fabric, and it proved impossible to join them. Thus it is unclear how many (or indeed, whether) stands were widely present in the Shaft I assemblage. Most fragments were red-slipped.

108. Ring stand 2 (Ill. 66)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface This is red-slipped on the exterior.

Description Base of a ring stand.

RD 14

Provenance I3-3, I3-2

9.4.3 Imported vessels

The imported vessels found in Shaft I that could be reconstructed are of Cypriot origin. All are handmade.

It is not possible to assess the significance of a single Mycenaean body sherd from Room 3 layer 1, nor of the few fragments of a Canaanite jar found in Rooms 2 and 3, and it is unclear whether such vessels formed part of the burial assemblage.

109. Base-ring ware juglet (Imported vessel 4) (Ill. 67; [Fig. 175](#))

Fabric Base-ring ware. Brown fabric containing few grits and white particles.

Surface The juglet has a red slip, burnished horizontally on the rim, and vertically on the neck. The interior is heavily finger marked.



Fig. 174: Offering stand 1 (Cat. no. 107)

Description Base Ring I juglet (type B.R. I IAa).⁶⁰ Only the neck and a small area of the shoulder are preserved; the rim edge and handle are missing. There is a groove around the neck at the point where the upper end of the handle was attached originally. There are traces of residue on the interior, and this surface is badly pitted. There are no traces of mouth closure.

Provenance I3-1, I3-2

110. Base-ring ware juglet (Imported vessel 1) (Ill. 68)

Fabric. Base-ring ware. Brown fabric in which few inclusions are visible under 10x magnification. The fabric has a striking tendency to laminate. The section is discoloured towards the interior from the contents.

Surface The neck and areas of body are dark red and are burnished, vertically on the neck and body, and horizontally around the base; some parts of the body are black. The interior is smoothed by hand.

Description Base ring I juglet (type B.R. I IIIAa).⁶¹ The rim edge is missing, as is the handle. The walls are very thin. There are possible traces of residue on the interior. There is no trace of mouth closure.

H 18 BD 3.3

Provenance I2-6, I3-2, I3-3, I3-4

111. Base-ring ware juglet (Imported vessel 3) (Ill. 69)

Fabric Base-ring ware. Fabric entirely black with a thin dull brown core. A few opaque cream inclusions are visible.

Surface The upper body is horizontally burnished on the presumed natural surface, and also along the length of the handle

Description Base ring I juglet (type B.R. I IIIAa).⁶² The base, shoulder, lower end of the handle, part of the neck and the separate rim are preserved but could not be joined together. The juglet has very thin walls, 2–3 mm in thickness. There are large quantities of residue inside, and some traces on the exterior.

There is no trace of mouth closure.

RD 1.9 BD 2.5

Provenance I3-1, I3-2, I3-3, I3-4

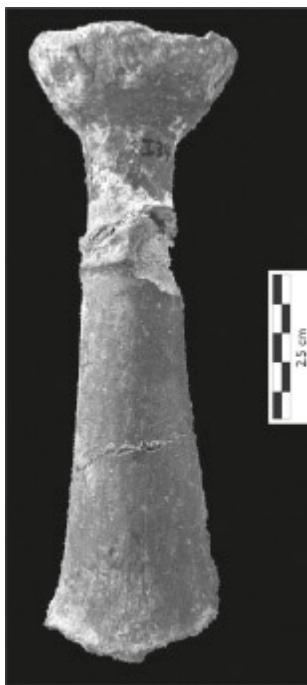


Fig. 175: Base ring ware juglet (Imported vessel 4) (Cat. no. 109)

112. Lentoid flask (Imported vessel 2) (Ill. 70; [Colour pl. 44C](#))

Fabric Unidentified. Orange-red fabric firing to light brown towards inner surface, containing common very fine sand and dung threads ([Colour pl. 43A.4](#)).

Surface The flask has a thick red burnished slip on the outside, and inside the neck; the interior of the neck is burnished to at least half way down its length. The interior of the body is heavily finger-impressed.

Description Lentoid flask with medium-length neck flanked by two handles. There is residue over the interior, and traces of a gypsum-like coating in some areas but this is probably post-depositional. There are no traces of mouth closure.

This vessel is classed with the imported vessels on the grounds of its shape and technology, but no clear parallels can be found for it in Cyprus, the Near East, nor Egypt.⁶³ Its handmade technology, neck length and the lack of a central handle eliminates Red Lustrous Wheel-made ware as a possibility.⁶⁴ Its form is different from most 18th dynasty Egyptian-made pilgrim flasks (see Cat. nos 19–23 above) in that the neck is too long. A thick burnished red slip is found on early and mid-18th dynasty vessels of fabric Nile B2, often on small vases with long flaring necks,⁶⁵ but the fabric of the present vessel is

[illegible]

**Table 16: Shaft I distribution of vessel sherds across contexts
(part 3)**

[illegible]

Table 17: Shaft I distribution of vessel sherds across contexts
(part 4)

Case no.	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	100	101	102	103	104	105	106	107	108	109	110	111	112	113
IC-1	YES	YES	83	86	81	87	82	83	810	813	87	81	811	811	810	861	842	81	81	8	81	811
IC-2																						
IC-3																						
IC-4																						
IC-5																						
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Fig. 1.

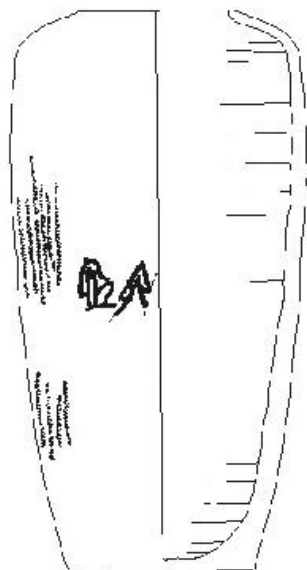
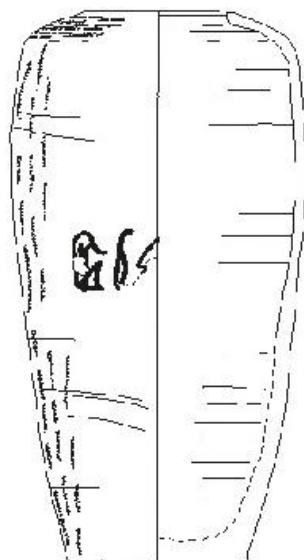


Fig. 2.



■ black
■ blue
■ red
■ cream



Fig. 3.

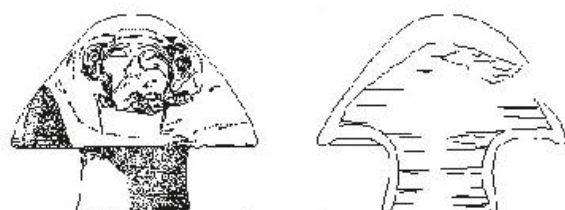
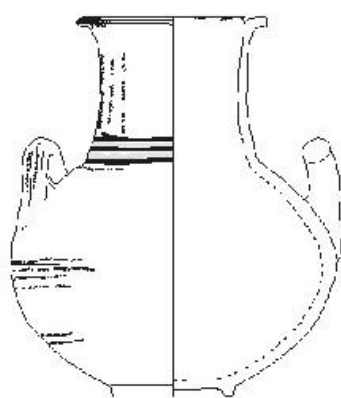


Fig. 4.



Fig. 176: Ceramics from Shaft I

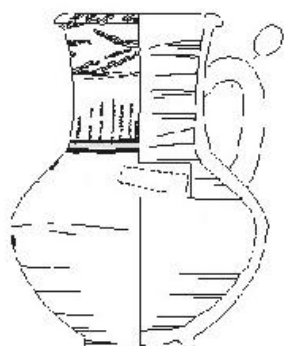
Pl. 5.



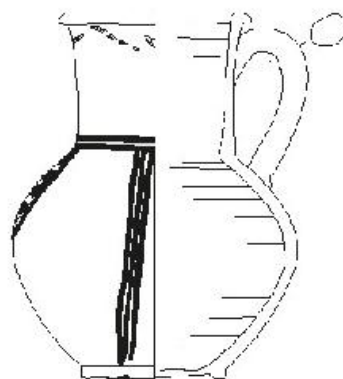
Pl. 6.



Pl. 7.



Pl. 8.



Pl. 9.

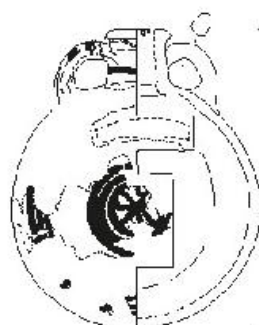
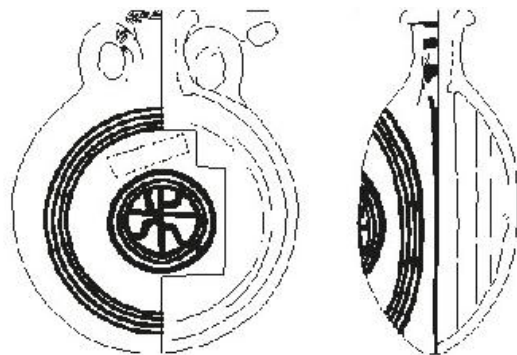
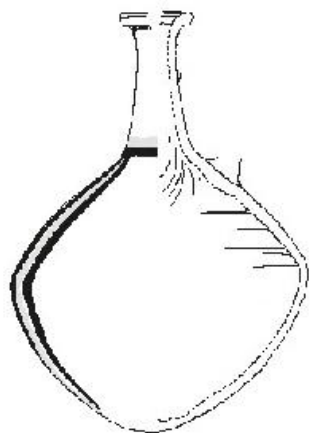


Fig. 177: Ceramics from Shaft I

Pl. 10.

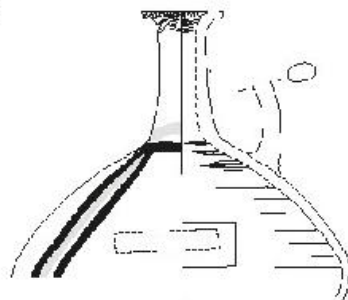


Pl. 11.



Pl. 12.

■ black
■ blue
■ red
■ cream



Pl. 13.



Pl. 14.

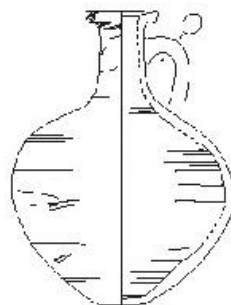


Fig. 178: Ceramics from Shaft I

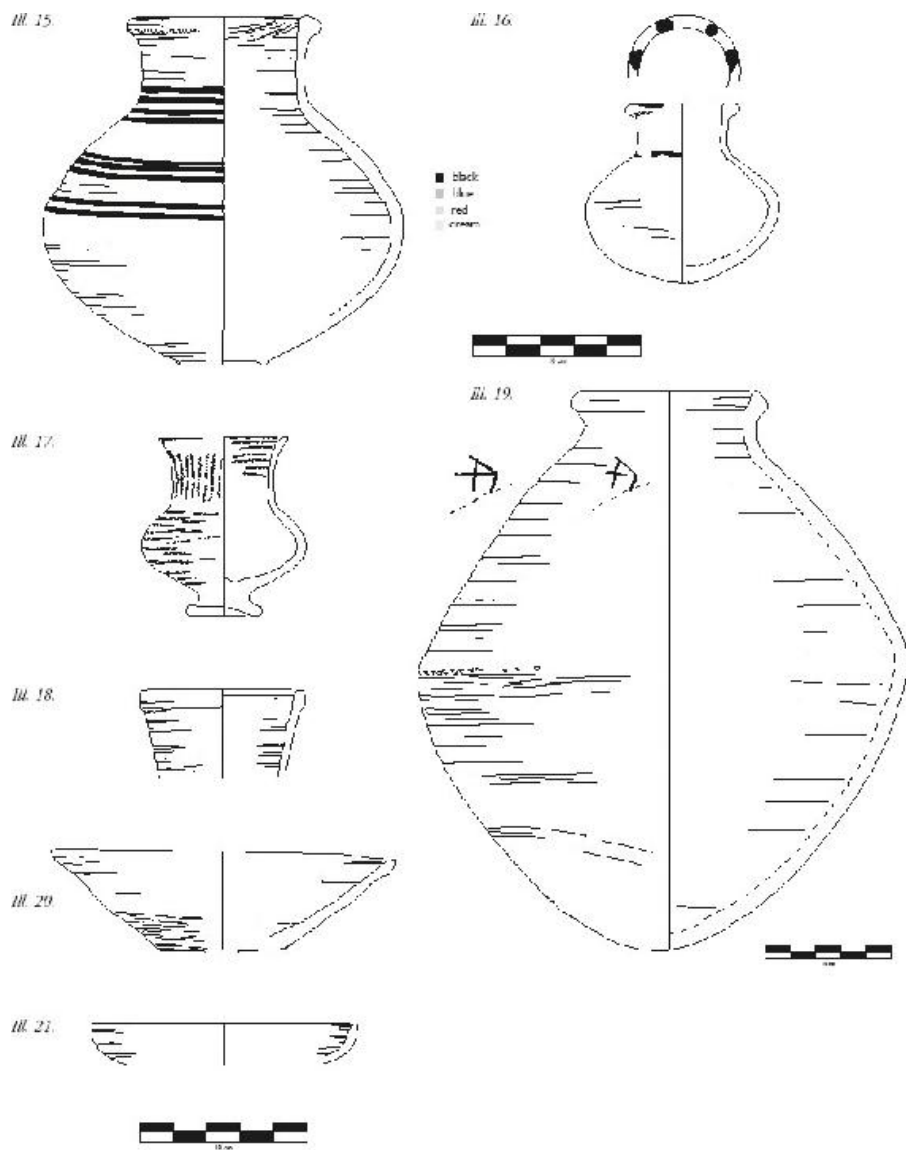


Fig. 179: Ceramics from Shaft I

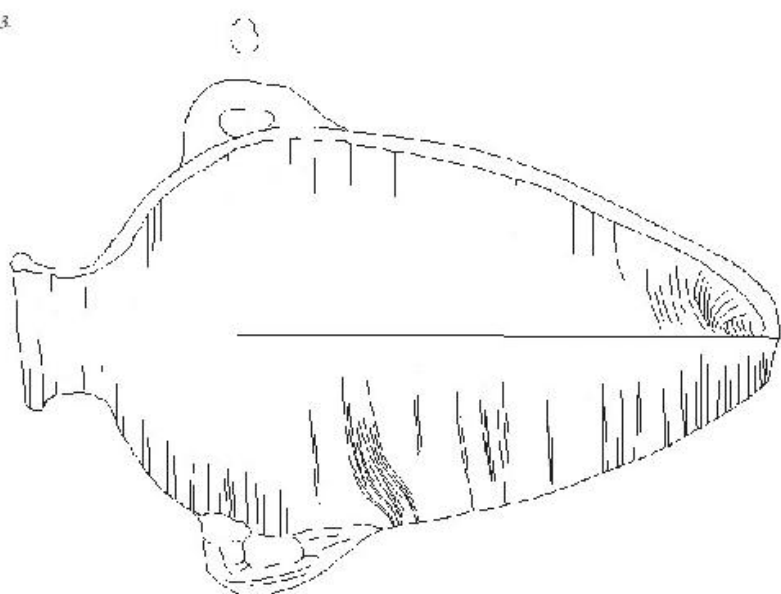
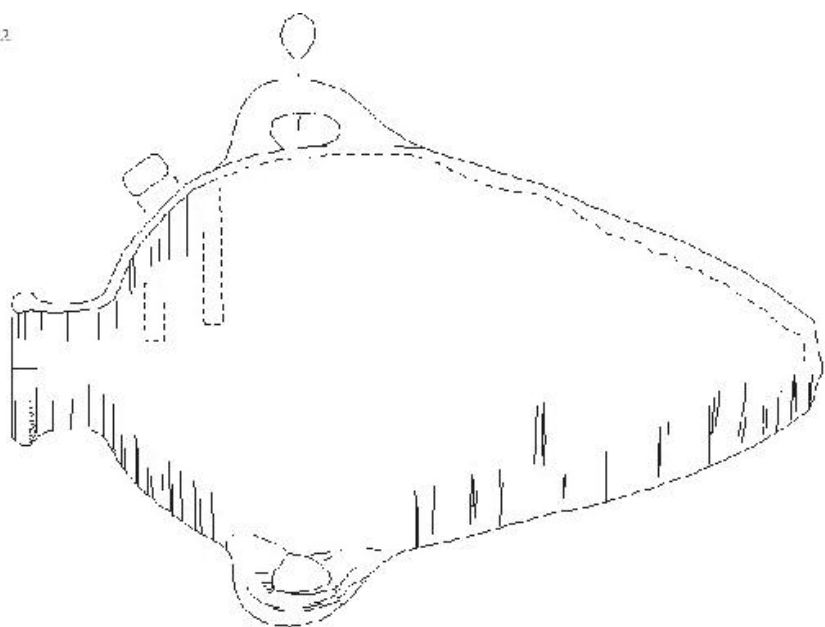
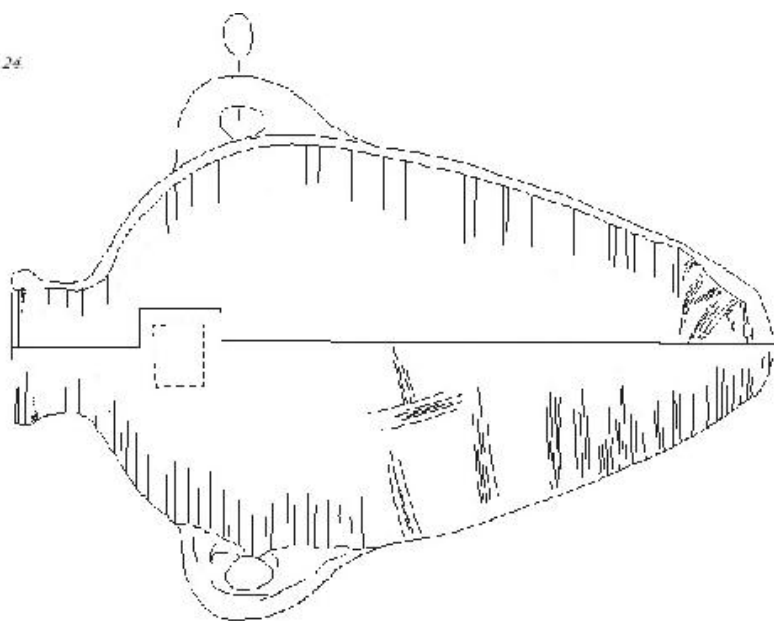


Fig. 180: Ceramics from Shaft I

Ill. 24



Ill. 25

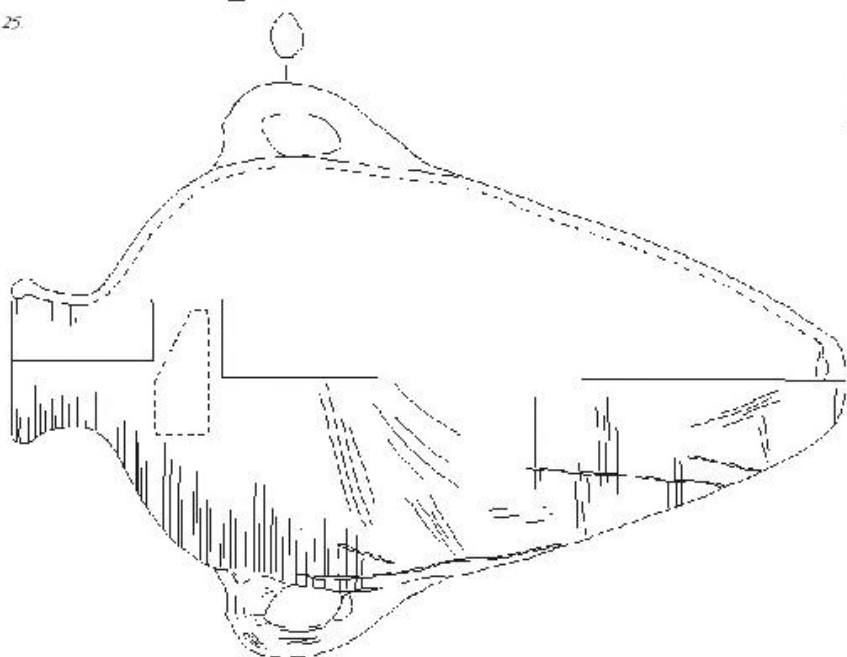


Fig. 181: Ceramics from Shaft I

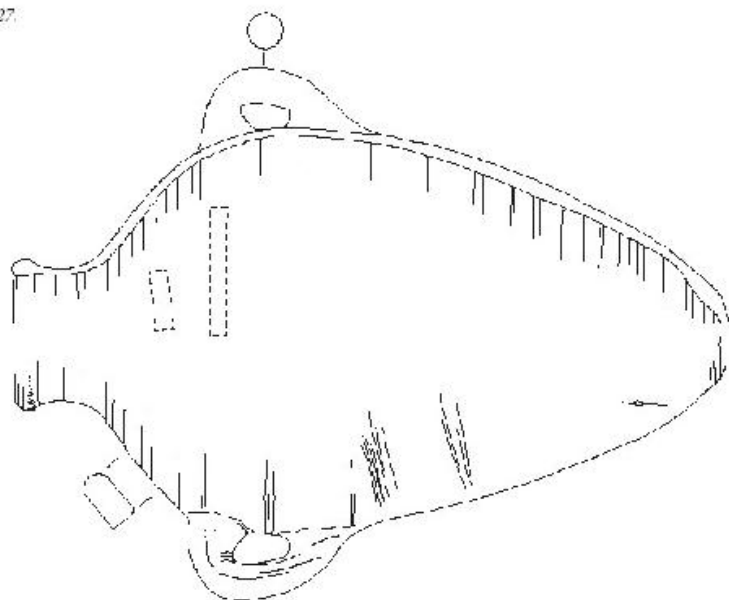
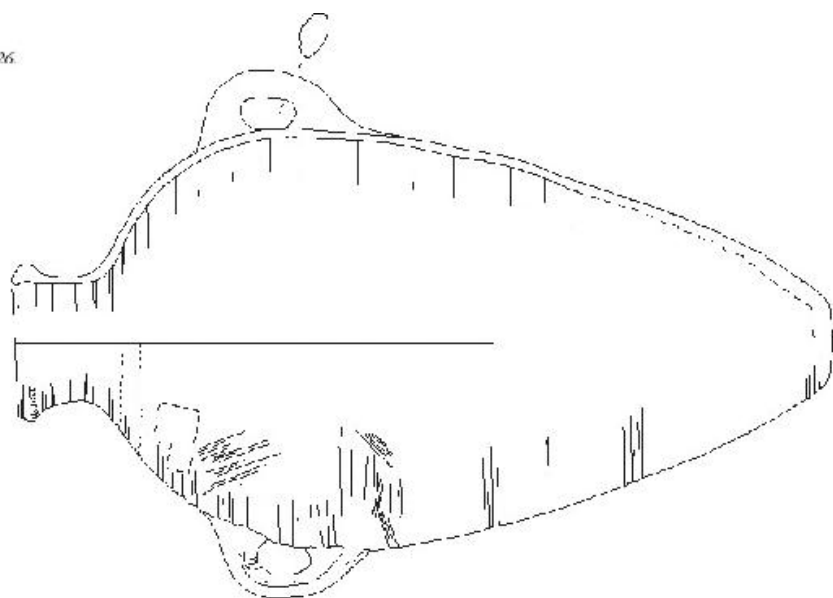


Fig. 182: Ceramics from Shaft I

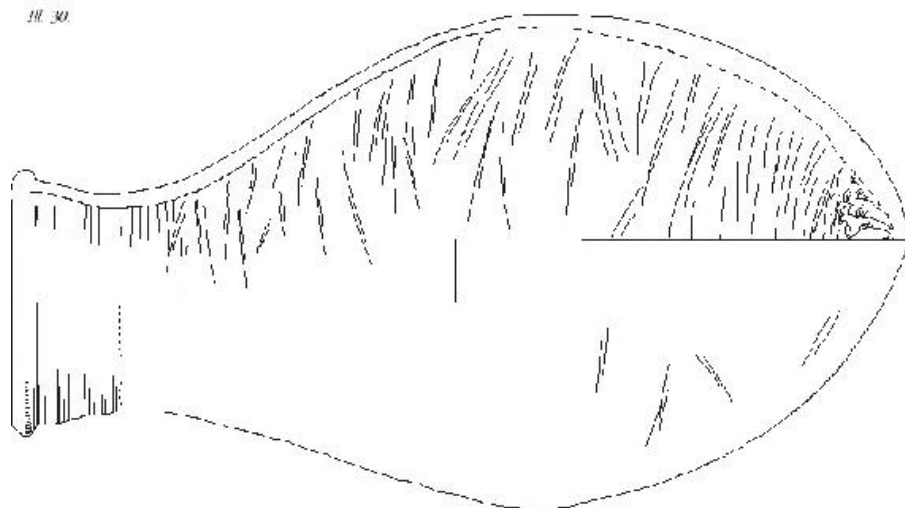
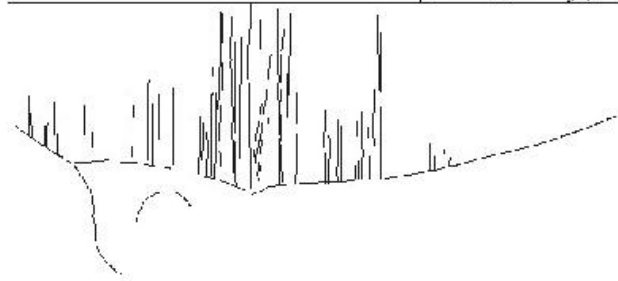
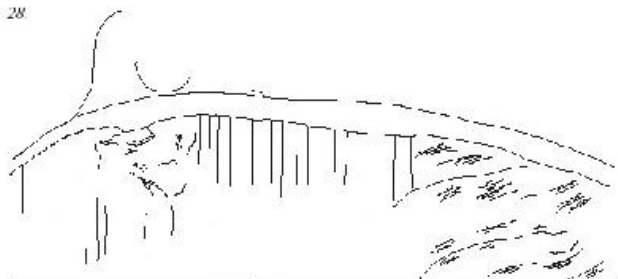
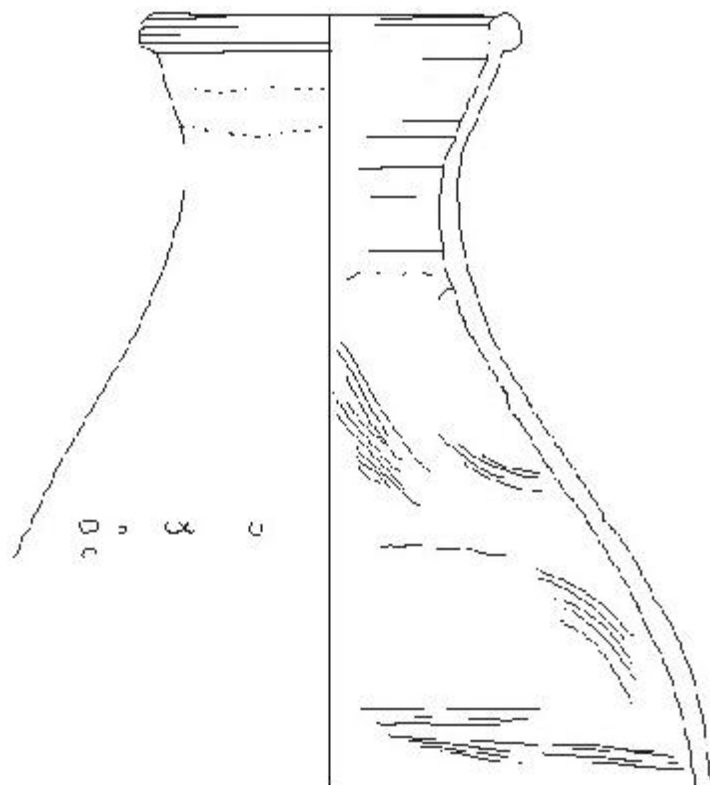


Fig. 183: Ceramics from Shaft I

III. 31.



III. 32.

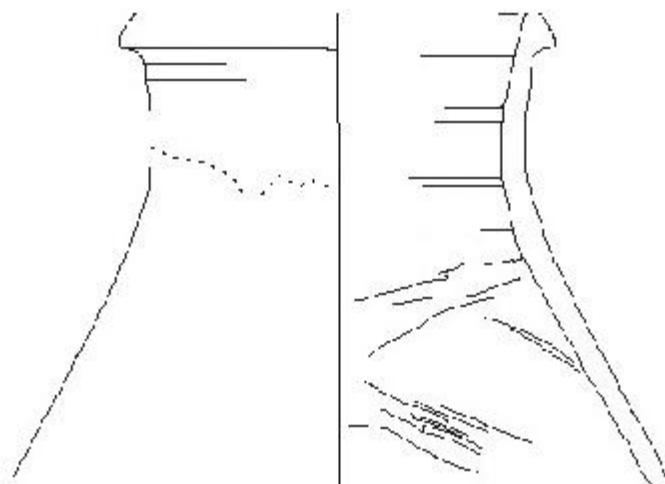
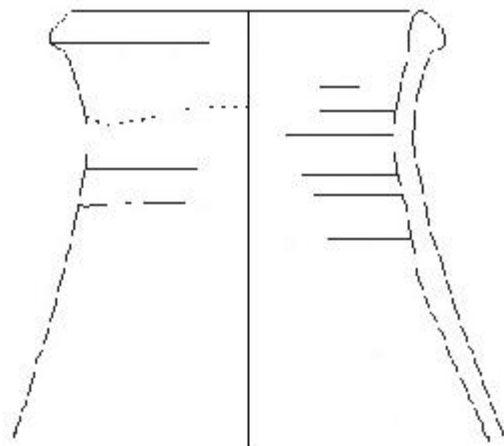


Fig. 184: Ceramics from Shaft I

Pl. 33.



Pl. 34.

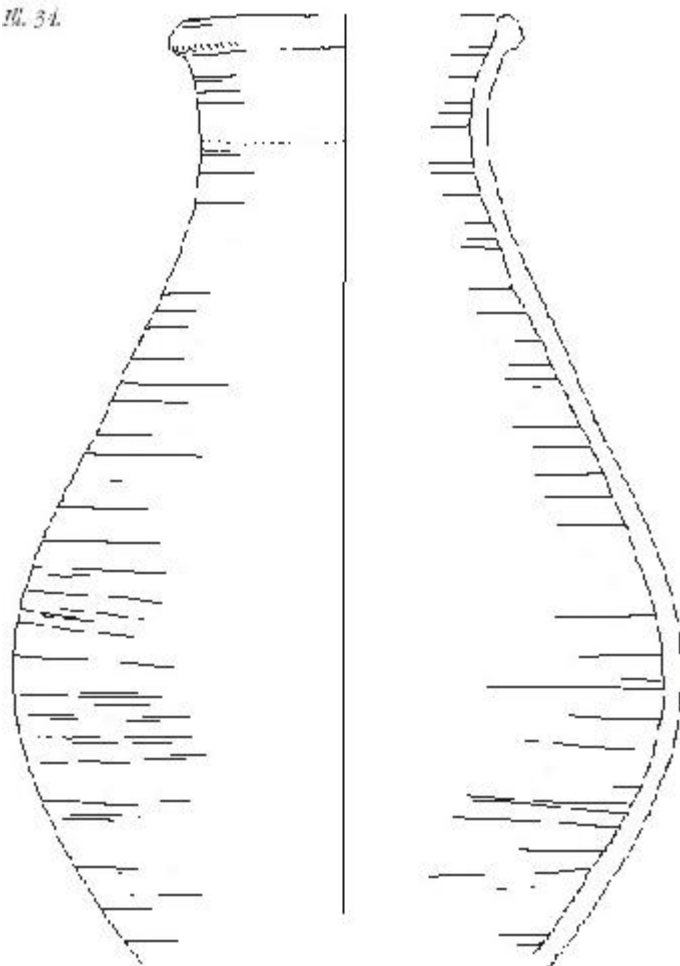


Fig. 185: Ceramics from Shaft I

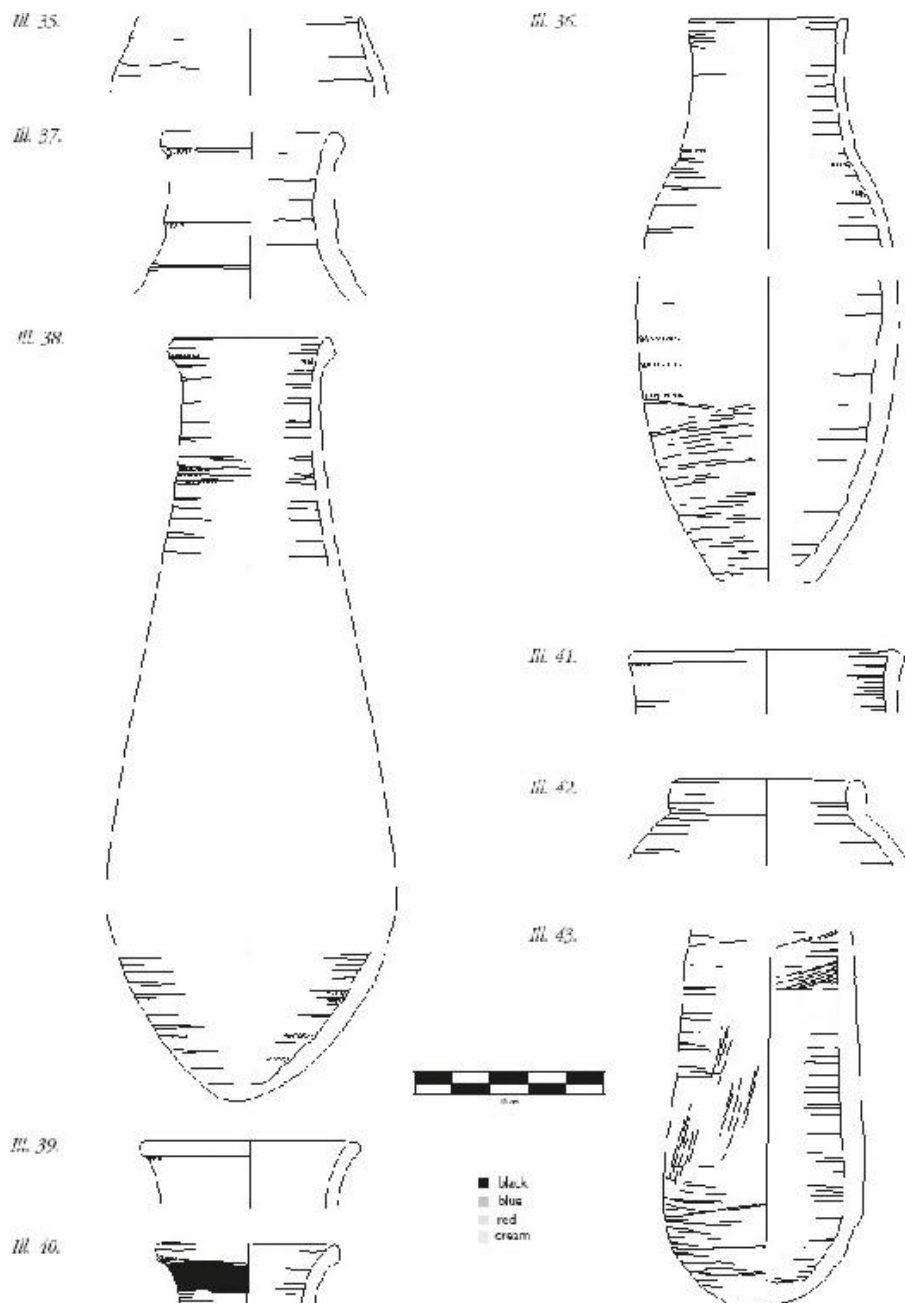


Fig. 186: Ceramics from Shaft I

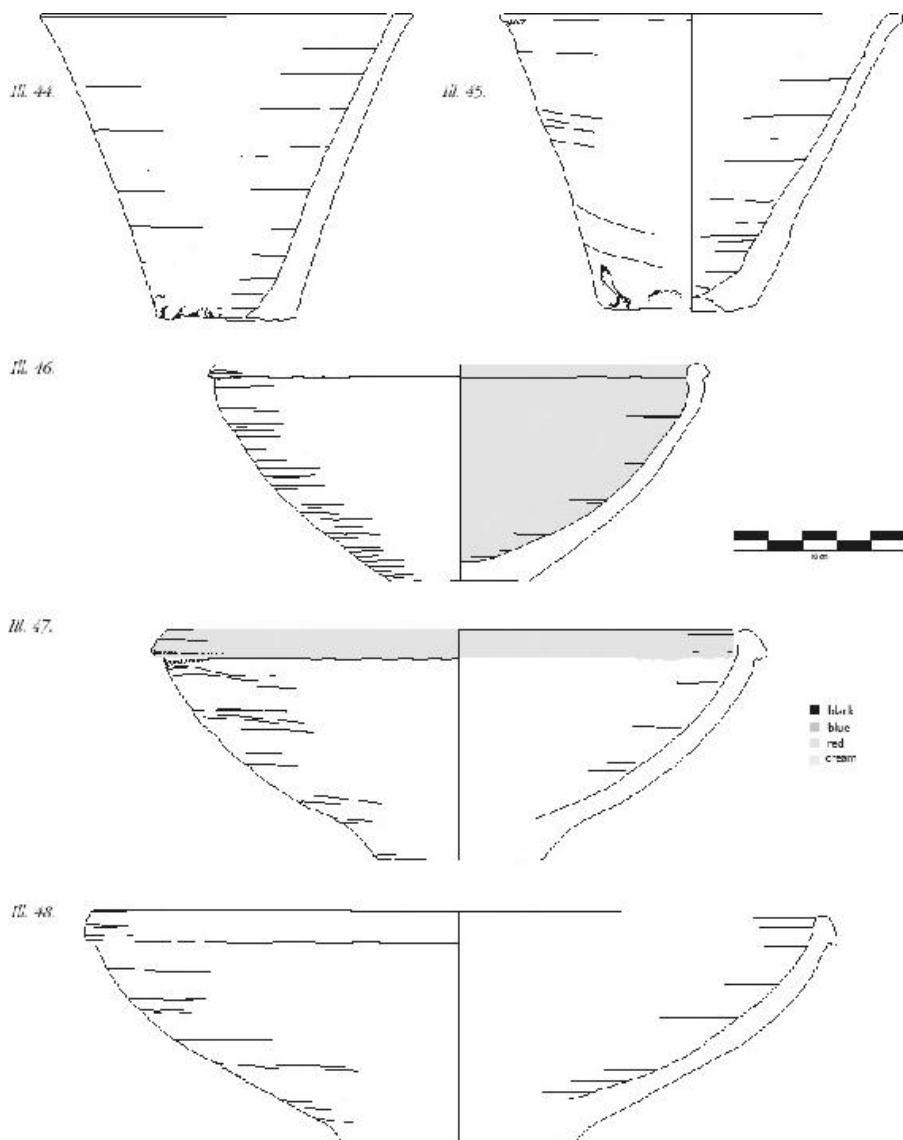
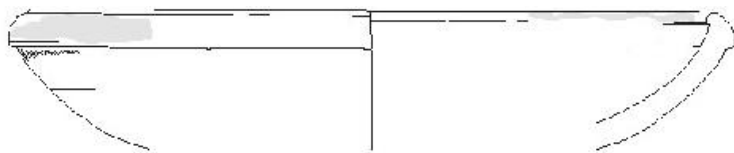
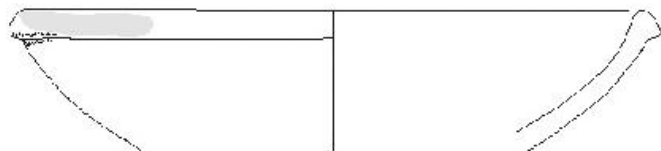


Fig. 187: Ceramics from Shaft I

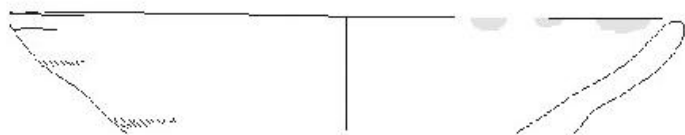
ill. 49.



ill. 50.



ill. 51.



ill. 52.



ill. 53.



ill. 54.



ill. 55.



ill. 56.



ill. 57.



■ black
■ blue
■ red
■ light blue



Fig. 188: Ceramics from Shaft I

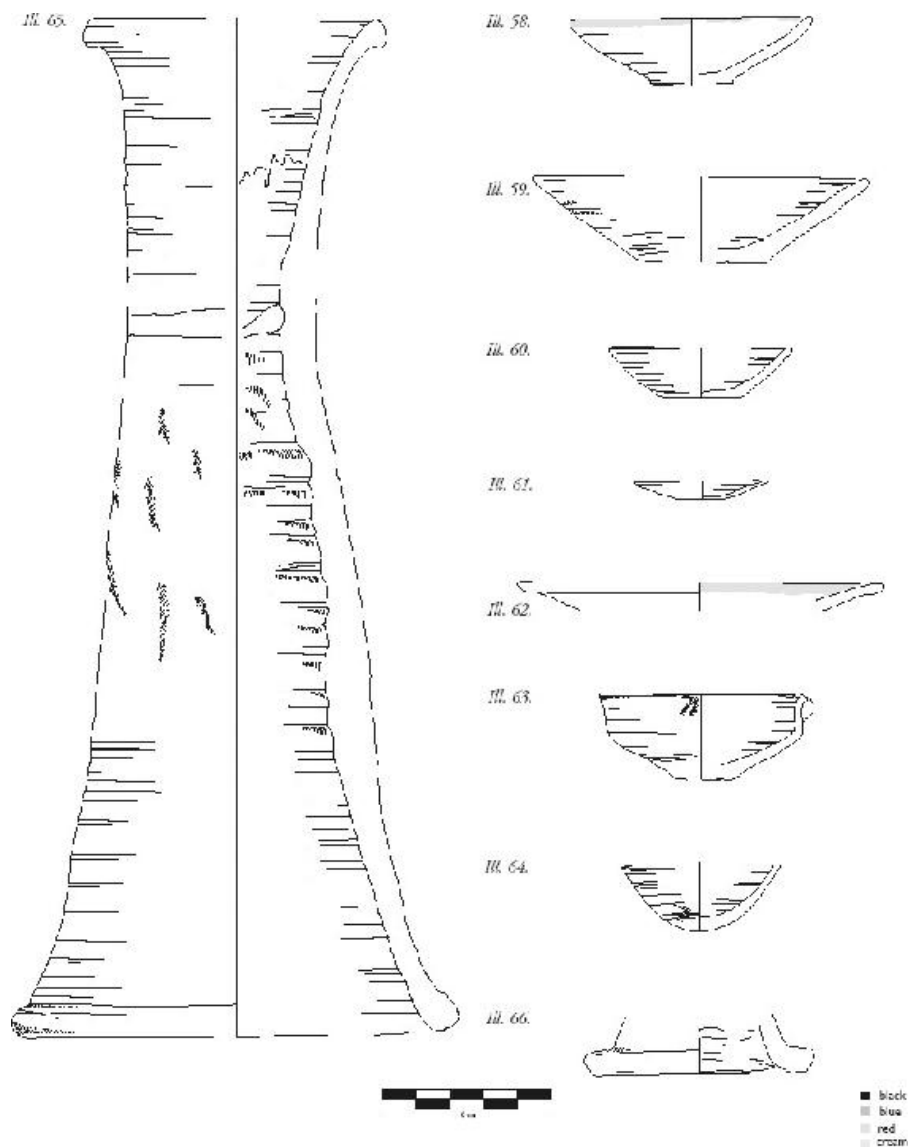


Fig. 189: Ceramics from Shaft I

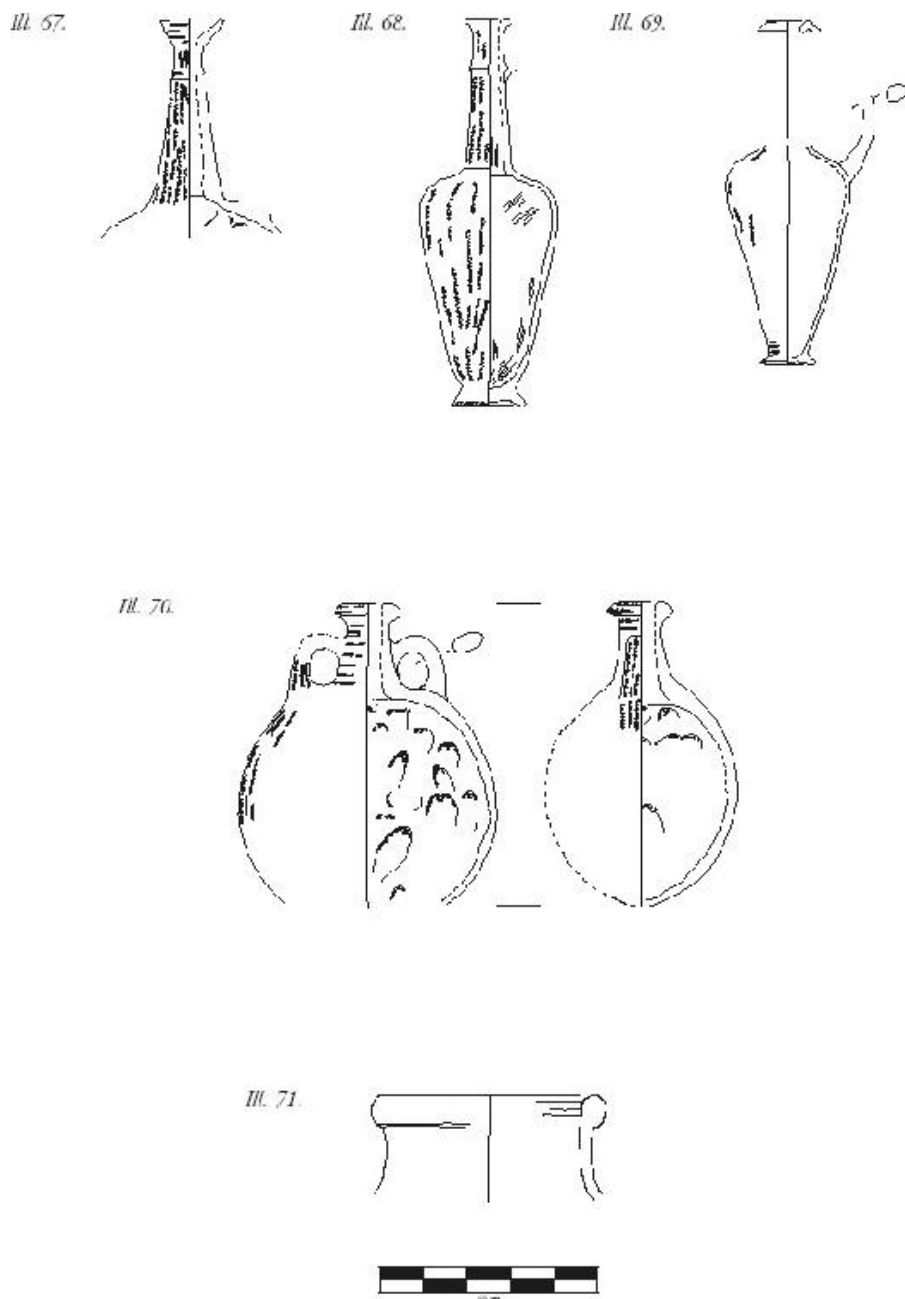


Fig. 190: Ceramics from Shaft I

¹ The ceramics were recorded by Pamela Rose, Gillian Pyke and Amanda Dunsmore, and Helen Strudwick and Abdulrahman Ahmed Hassan helped to reconstruct the vessels. Photograph are by Anthony Middleton, with additional images by Pamela Rose and Gillian Pyke. A preliminary overview of the pottery from Shafts I and H

was published in Strudwick and Taylor (eds), *The Theban Necropolis* 205–208; the pottery from the shafts inside the tomb chapel, also discussed in this article, will be fully published in Part II of this publication.

² For comments on the mechanics of robbery, with some reference to TT99, see Strudwick, *Etudes et Travaux* 26 (2013), 637–651.

³ The reed has not been botanically identified.

⁴ Brack and Brack, *Tjanuni*, 64 object 1/31. For other sealing methods see Hope, *Malkata and the Birket Habu*, 26–31. He illustrates vessels with bundled reed stoppers within the vessel mouth, but none with reed bindings around the rim.

⁵ See examples in Donadoni et al., *Il museo egizio di Torino*, 151.

⁶ From Room 3, layer 1.

⁷ See for example Guksch, *Nacht-Min*, 77–78, 81–87; Seiler, *MDAIK* 48 (1992), 124–129

⁸ The material has not been analysed.

⁹ Aston, in Bietak (ed.), *Synchronisation II*, 145–146.

¹⁰ Schreiber, in Bechtold et al. (eds), *From Illahun to Djeme*, 256, 259–261

¹¹ Aston, in Czerny et al., (eds), *Timelines I*, 65–74.

¹² Bourriau, *The Survey of Memphis IV*, 81; Aston, in Bietak and Czerny (eds), *Synchronisation III*, 218–219.

¹³ Hope, *CCE* 1 (1987), 103 fig. 1 and fig. 3

¹⁴ Nordström and Bourriau, in Arnold and Bourriau (eds), *Introduction*, 168–186. The author would like to thank Janine Bourriau for her comments on some of the marl clay fabrics. Where a specific correlation was made between the fabric of one of the TT99 vessels and the fabric sequence used at Memphis (see Bourriau, *The Survey of Memphis IV*, 24–27) this is noted in the appropriate catalogue entry below.

¹⁵ Nordström and Bourriau, in Arnold and Bourriau (eds), *Introduction*, 173–178.

¹⁶ *ibid.*, 177. For comparison see Jacquet-Gordon, *Le trésor de Thoutmosis Ier. La céramique*, pl. XVI No. 4 (her Marl B1).

¹⁷ Nordström and Bourriau, in Arnold and Bourriau (eds), *Introduction*, 178–179.

¹⁸ *ibid.*, 181–182.

¹⁹ Hope et al., in Friedman (ed.), *Egypt and Nubia*, 104, 126 fig. 9.

²⁰ Aston, *Die Keramik des Grabungsplatzes Q I*, 267, fabric II.F.02; Bourriau and Nicholson, *JEA* 78 (1992), 71; Rose, *The Eighteenth Dynasty Pottery Corpus*, 14 (fabric III.9).

²¹ Bourriau, Smith and Nicholson, *New Kingdom Pottery Fabrics*, 6–12.

²² *ibid.*, 15–19.

²³ Rose, *The Eighteenth Dynasty Pottery Corpus*, 15; Hope et al., in Friedman (ed.), *Egypt and Nubia*, 106–111, 113–115.

²⁴ Marchand and Tallet, *BIFAO* 99 (1999), 307–352; Hope et al., in Friedman (ed.), *Egypt and Nubia*, 106–109.

²⁵ Bourriau, *The Survey of Memphis IV*, 25 (fabric H4).

²⁶ For a detailed discussion of such lids see Dorman, *Faces in Clay*, in particular pp 37–55 and 133–170, with pls 6–29.

²⁷ Bourriau, *The Survey of Memphis IV*, 26.

²⁸ Bourriau, *The Survey of Memphis IV* 25.

²⁹ For example, Seiler, *MDAIK* 48 (1992), 126; Mond and Emery, *LAAA* 16 (1929), 54 and pl. XXXIX; Nagel, *La céramique du Nouvel Empire*, 84, fig. 65 no. 31; Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, Pl. XXVII no. 27; Williams, *New Kingdom Remains*, 86 fig. 8o; Minault-Gout and Thill, *Sai II*, Pl. 156 nos T8 39 and 40.

³⁰ Bourriau, *The Survey of Memphis IV*, 25.

³¹ Bourriau, *The Survey of Memphis IV*, 25.

- ³² *ibid.*, 25.
- ³³ *ibid.*, 26.
- ³⁴ Williams, *New Kingdom Remains*, 84 fig. 6a,b
- ³⁵ Such as Rose, *The Eighteenth Dynasty Pottery Corpus*, 272–273 (ME3.6).
- ³⁶ Hope et al., in Friedman (ed.), *Egypt and Nubia*, 126, fig. 9 (OA2) and p. 104. See also Aston, *Ä&L* 14 (2004), 203–205, in which he suggests a possible origin in Sinai for the vessel.
- ³⁷ Bourriau, *The Survey of Memphis IV*, 26–27.
- ³⁸ See for example those cited by Hope et al., in Friedman, (ed.), *Egypt and Nubia*; to these can be added Guksch, *Nacht-Min*, 81 and Abb. 36 c–d, although not described as of oasis origin in the text.
- ³⁹ For a summary of their occurrence and a discussion of their use, see Lakomy, *GM* 228 (2011), 21–32, to which list can be added examples found close to the tomb of three foreign wives of Thutmose III (Lilyquist, *The tomb of three foreign wives of Tuthmosis III*, 64, 67, fig. 56a, 57, 58; Loyrette *Memnonia* 8 (1997), 187, 190 fig. 8a,b.
- ⁴⁰ For example, similar vessels from the tomb of Yuia and Tjuiu contained embalming residue, described as ‘yellow salts wrapped in bits of cloth’ (Quibell, *Tomb of Yuia and Thuiu*, vi, containing ‘crude natron and sawdust’ (*ibid.*, 75)). See also Lakomy, *GM* 228 (2011), 24–25.
- ⁴¹ Smith, *MDAIK* 48 (1992), 212.
- ⁴² This is especially true as the pottery on which the inscriptions are found is described as ‘belle’, which is not a description that immediately springs to mind when considering the large silt jars: Loyrette, *Memnonia* 8 (1997), 187 quoting Koenig, *BIFAO* 88 (1988), 113–129.
- ⁴³ Lecuyot, *CCE* 4 (1996), 151.
- ⁴⁴ A closely similar jar, fully wheelmade, is described by Schreiber as of Marl D (Schreiber, in Bechtold *et al.* (eds), *From Illahun to Djeme*, 264) but this represents the only example of the form in a marl fabric.
- ⁴⁵ The limits of the thick gypsum coating are marked on the illustrations with dotted lines.
- ⁴⁶ Lakomy, *GM* 228 (2011), 32 Abb. 1.
- ⁴⁷ Guksch, *Nacht-Min*, 81; Brack and Brack, *Tjanuni*, 66 and Taf. 63 1/43 (jar), 64–65 Taf. 63 1/32 (sealing); Loyrette, *Memnonia* 8 (1997), 187 and fig. 8m–n.
- ⁴⁸ Lakomy, *GM* 228 (2011), 24
- ⁴⁹ Aston, Aston and Ryan, *CCE* 6 (2000), 15.
- ⁵⁰ Room 2, layer 5. L 7.0, W 2.2, Th 6.5, D 20.
- ⁵¹ Bases and base fragments come from: I1-1 (1), I1-5 (1), I2-1 (2), I2-2 (5), I2-3 (2), I2-4 (7), I2-5 (20) (one reused to contain plaster), I2-6 (2), I3-3 (6), the Corridor (29), and the ‘Staircase shaft’ (8).
- ⁵² Mond and Emery, *LAAA* 16 (1929), 56 and pl. XLIIIc; Loyrette, *Memnonia* 8 (1997), 177 fig. 7e.
- ⁵³ This substance is not identified, but similar material has been noted on certain jar types from Amarna, where it seems to form a deliberate coating or residue: Rose, *The Eighteenth Dynasty Pottery Corpus*, 100–101.
- ⁵⁴ A similar piece from the tomb of Tia and Tia at Saqqara, from a deposit associated with the construction of the tomb is dated to the reign of Ramesses II (Aston, in Martin, *The tomb of Tia and Tia*, 88 and pl. 116 no. 112). See also Aston, *Elephantine XIX*, 72 no. 521: this specific example is dated to the Libyan period, but the type is said to have an origin in the 20th dynasty.
- ⁵⁵ Holthoer, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites: the Pottery*, 83–84.
- ⁵⁶ Williams, *New Kingdom Remains*, 34–35.

- ⁵⁷ Lilyquist, *The tomb of three foreign wives of Tuthmosis III*, 94–95, figs 60, 61.
- ⁵⁸ See for example, Aston, *Elephantine XIX*, pl. 3 no. 51, pl. 6 no. 124, pl. 17 no. 533, pl. 19 nos 560–571 and *passim*.
- ⁵⁹ Hulin, in Kemp (ed.) *Amarna Reports I*, 172; Rose, *The Eighteenth Dynasty Pottery Corpus*, 43–44 (SA3); Budka, *Ä&L* 16 (2006), 112.
- ⁶⁰ Merrillees, *The Cypriote Bronze Age Pottery*, 147–148.
- ⁶¹ *ibid.*, 161–162.
- ⁶² *ibid.*, 161–162.
- ⁶³ I am grateful to Irmgard Hein of the University of Vienna for her comments on this piece.
- ⁶⁴ Eriksson, in Barlow, Bolger and Kling (eds), *Cypriot Ceramics*, fig. 10.3i.
- ⁶⁵ For example, from Ballas (Bourriau, in Lacovara, *Deir el-Ballas*, 19 and fig. 4.3 no. 6); KV21 (Aston, Aston and Ryan, *CCE* 6 (2000), 15, Cat. no. 2.
- ⁶⁶ Bourriau, *Umm el Ga'ab*, 75–77, Cat. nos 142–144. For the fabric see Nordström and Bourriau, Arnold and Bourriau (eds), *Introduction*, 170–171.
- ⁶⁷ Bourriau, *Umm el Ga'ab*, 75–76 cat, no. 143.
- ⁶⁸ Group 5 as distinguished by Smith *et al.*, in Bourriau and Phillips (eds), *The social context of technological change 2*, 71–73.

The hieratic jar labels

B. Bohleke

10.1 Introduction

The ink wine jar dockets found in the tomb of Senneferi now constitute the oldest New Kingdom attestations of such a ‘genre’. The ceramic ware and palaeography of the hieratic recording the wine and other commodities contained in the vessels are consistent with those of the reign of Thutmose III, ruling out the possibility that the goods derive from a later, intrusive burial.¹ A stamped seal impression on one sherd bears the throne name of Thutmose III,² offering further proof that these materials belonged to the original funerary equipment of a high official of the early New Kingdom.

Though humble remnants discovered in a disturbed context, the jar labels provide important archaeological evidence: at a minimal level, they indicate the earliest date of burial; upon further consideration, they attest the nature of funerary food offerings actually given to an early 18th dynasty official compared to the ideal menu stated on contemporary offering lists.³ Some rare parallels to this combination of tomb, jar dockets, ceramic types, and non-royal functionary are those of the nearly contemporary parents of Senenmut, members of the Deir el-Medina community, the slightly later Tjanuni, and Maya at the very end of the 18th dynasty.⁴

TT99 additionally yielded ten ostraka, the palaeography of which indicates a later date of composition during the Ramesside era. Their fragmentary nature makes them difficult to transcribe, but they seem to be tallies and accounts, perhaps done by the residents of Deir el-Medina and discarded at a short distance from the community. The most legible list enumerates a few products and includes their quantity or value. Among these are a piece of sycomore fig wood, a goat, grain, and at least one other commodity, flour of perhaps a type

of grain, of which there were 13.5 *khar*.

The corpus of TT99's ink jottings thus, until further discoveries are made, take chronological and evolutionary precedence of place among the rich line of similar jar docketts and related stoppers or seals found at Malqata,⁵ the Western Valley,⁶ Amarna,⁷ the royal tombs of Tutankhamun⁸ and Horemheb,⁹ the Ramesseum,¹⁰ additional royal funerary temples,¹¹ Deir el-Medina,¹² and other miscellaneous sites¹³ or in a non-royal context.¹⁴

The labels on vessels having once contained commodities for Senneferi's burial are listed by number assigned by the excavators and fall into a very limited group of categories: so-called ale,¹⁵ wine for celebrating the (new?) year, wine from vintners/vineyards, a type of fruit or grain (most probably sesame), and tiger nuts. The ten later accounts recorded on some of the ostraka form a distinct category and are most likely intrusive discards as stated above. Within the older, original group, consistency between the type of vessel and the contents it bore is noticeable: Marl D vessels acted as wine amphorae as well as general storage jars for non-liquid foodstuffs. Celebratory wine 'for this year' was 'individually packaged' for consumption in pilgrim flasks and rarely dated. By far the most distinctive correlation is that of the beverage currently translated as '(hydrated) edible pulp' to two single-handled jars (SHJ5 and SHJ9).

The formulaic nature of the inscriptions eases identification of contents and transcription of the signs, although certainly not in all cases. The standard formulae also give recognizable context to very short jottings such as regnal year dates, which signify a *terminus post quem* for inclusion in Senneferi's family's burial chambers or a *terminus ad quem* for perishables, the time near which the product was offered to the deceased.

The elements found in the TT99 jar inscriptions are fewer than on those W. C. Hayes published from Malqata and that were earmarked for the jubilees of Amenhotep III.¹⁶ Whereas Hayes identified eight elements, the TT99 labels, though adhering to the same sequence, do not designate, with one possible exception per category, the name of a donor¹⁷ or the vintner.¹⁸

Two of Senneferi's jars show evidence of having been reused through the presence of earlier ink docketts, and this procedure is now known to be rarer than previously thought.¹⁹

The labelling of wine jar docketts with details approaching that required today by a wine connoisseur stopped at the end of the New Kingdom, a phenomenon thought to be linked to the end of long-distance trade, the cessation of provisioning large institutions such as

royal funerary temples, and the resurgence of local production and ‘private’ consumption greatly restricted in scale and geographic scope.²⁰ Likewise, there is very little pre-New Kingdom evidence for labelling and dating large vessels of wine except via stamps.²¹ If the tradition started at the dawn of the New Kingdom with Kamose’s capture of the vineyards and vintners around Avaris,²² it would be helpful for current and future scholars to locate such records that could illuminate the reigns of the first kings of the new dynasty. Instead, it is more likely that the labelling of jars was necessitated by the burgeoning amount of trade, booty, and international commerce in Egypt during the reign of Thutmose III.²³ Therefore, the current discoveries in the tomb of Senneferi may come close to the start of large-scale bureaucratic accounting of the booming ‘brands’ of goods.

Unlike the chronologically next large cache of documents, found at Malqata, Senneferi’s wine is not identified to any named vineyard or vintner. Perhaps such specificity was the prerogative of wines derived from royal vineyards, or perhaps at this early date the tradition of naming vineyards and indicating the name of the chief vintner had not yet become common practice. It is doubtful that the wine was locally produced, but Senneferi could have owned a vineyard in the delta, the location of which is indicated, according to the excavators, by the fabric of the amphorae. In two cases, why specify, seemingly redundantly, that wine was ‘of the vintner’ (without identifying him by name) unless the vineyard was Senneferi’s (or perhaps the king’s)?²⁴ One can call to mind the many contemporary tombs in the Theban necropolis in which the walls are decorated with the delta-related schema of hunting, fishing, netting birds, and spearing hippopotami in the marshes along with depicting the various stages of wine preparation and presentation to Renenutet and the deceased.²⁵ These religious ‘recreations’ of curbing unfettered evil and ensuring a supply of food and intoxicating drink may have originally been intended to have taken place in the delta but were brought ‘magically’ to the tomb owner in the south (and in the netherworld) via their very depiction. In Senneferi’s case, and almost certainly in the case of those officials being able to afford the drink, the motif was supplemented by actual wine for the burial.

Although the jar dockets already exhibit the newly standardised formulae, these labels are not without surprises, which are discussed below. Most of the preserved hieratic signs are clearly and boldly drawn, yet can still provide some question of exact transcription. It is hoped that publication is the first step for others to integrate this material into the larger milieu of wine production, distribution, and

consumption during the New Kingdom and that these initial transcriptions and transliterations can be refined in the future in light of additional discoveries in the field and in unpublished museum holdings.

10.2 Dockets contemporary with Senneferi

10.2.1 Transcription, translation and commentary

References to ‘Cat. nn’ in the heading to entries refers to the catalogue number in Pamela Rose’s chapter on the ceramics from Shaft I (§ 9.4).²⁶

10.2.1.1 Wine

99.98.0742 + 99.98.0526a *Amphora 1 (Cat. 38).*

Fig. 191

irp n pꜣ kꜣmy

‘wine of/by (?) the vintner’

Provenance: 99.98.0742, Shaft I, layer 33; 99.98.0526a, Shaft I, Room 3. The remainder of the vessel also comes from Shaft I, Room 3.

The *kꜣ* sign is written very much like *ꜣꜣ* spelling out *ꜣꜣwty* ‘warrior’,²⁷ and a translation such as ‘wine of/for the warrior’ could alternatively be interpreted according to the Wb. entries as being for men or the manly, for the battle (as a fortifier?), or for quarrelling/the quarreller/the querulous. Such a translation would be in keeping with other ‘purposed’ wines such as ‘wine for a happy return’ (or ‘going down well’), and ‘wine for taxes’.²⁸ At Edfu and Dendera at a later time, a type of wine made by crushing grapes in water was offered to Horus, the kingly warrior, to quench his thirst in combat, to encourage him and to alleviate his pain.²⁹

It is less likely, though still possible, that *Pꜣ-ꜣꜣwty* is a place name designating a town or region, or a military district, parallel to such examples as ‘wine of the fortress’,³⁰ ‘wine of *Ywqꜣnꜣst*’,³¹ or the much more familiar ‘wine of the Oasis’.³² H. Gauthier notes a few towns which incorporate the name *ꜣꜣwty*, but none provides a convincing toponym.³³

Instead, it is most likely that the scribe was accustomed to the orthography of the word *ꜣꜣwty* ‘warrior’ and used it, without clearly modifying the shape of the first sign, for the similarly appearing but slightly differently written *kꜣmy(w)* ‘vintner(s)’.³⁴ In published docket,

the source of the wine comes after the regnal year and commodity and is appended to the latter by the masculine singular indirect genitive, designating ‘...of the vineyard (*k3mw*) (of)...’, followed by the name of the vineyard.³⁵ The specialist himself, whether ‘chief of the vineyard(s)’ or ‘chief of vintners’ appears at the end of the docket by title and name as a sort of appended ‘signature’, connected to previous information with one of a few or by no grammatical indicators.³⁶

In the docket under study, the position of the word, the lack of the *hry* sign indicating ‘chief’, and the appearance of the definite article would favour the translation ‘vineyard’. However, the final two signs appear to be ³⁷ and a seated man. But for a couple of isolated instances where  and the house determinative appear together as a scribal error confusing the two words, ‘vineyard’ is consistently written with a house determinative while ‘vintner(s)’ is written with  (or ) , optionally followed by a seated man determinative with or without plural strokes.³⁸

Senneferi’s amphora thus seems to have an early version of the formula that was later expanded and standardised. It must be noted that the vintner himself is not named and that he is not a chief of vintners. The absence of a name identifying the producer of the wine lends itself to speculation.³⁹ Was the name to be added later and never was? Did ‘the vintner’ signify Senneferi’s personal vintner in this official’s private vineyard and was therefore known to him? Was the vintner the king’s servant? Or is this merely an instance of all but the first line of the original docket having been erased when the jar was relabelled and reused? Otherwise, ‘the wine of the vintner’ seems somewhat redundant and uninformative.

The current hieroglyphic transcription of the hieratic writing of ‘vintner’ is provisional, but is attested in the larger corpus of jar dockets.⁴⁰ There are no ink signs after ‘vintner’ on the first line, and the illusory appearance of a second line of signs, which does not line up flush with the right margin of the first line, may be the shadowy remains of the vintner’s name and other information that was erased when the jar was relabelled for more mundane contents. See 99.98.0740 below on p. 246.

Sherd 99.98.0746, bearing the cartouche of *mn-hpr-r* ‘Menkheperre’ stamped into the fabric when the clay was wet, belongs to this vessel, thus securing the age and time of manufacture of the jar and its contents.

99.98.0526b Amphora 6 (Cat. 43). **Fig. 192**

irp n ps k3my

‘wine of/by (?) the vintner’

Provenance: Shaft I, Room 3. The remainder of the vessel comes from Shaft I, Rooms 2 and 3.

Similar to 99.98.0742 + 99.98.0526a above, the scribal hand is yet clearly of another person. Both scribes write  as . This may indicate the same tradition for the orthography of ‘vintner’ or the same location for the origin of the wine. The inscription seems to end after the complementary , but there are traces of the remaining signs of the word ‘vintner’ on the attached sherd, which has not been highlighted by acetone in the photograph. The traces imply that the spelling of ‘vintner’ is the same as in 99.98.0742 + 99.98.0526a, and that any identification of the vintner’s name on a theoretical second line has been so erased that no evidence remains at all. This vessel was reused for the same purpose as Amphora 1. See 99.98.0741, p. 248.

99.98.0527 Amphora 4 (Cat. 41). **Fig. 193**

hsbt 28

dhwtj

‘Regnal year 28’

‘Djehuty’

Provenance: Shaft I, Room 3. The remainder of the vessel comes from Shaft I, Rooms 2 and 3.

The excavators have reconstructed this jar nearly completely. The value of the jar is that it is dated to regnal year 28, doubtless of Thutmose III, and was included in TT99 at that time or later, before or during the interment of one of the six family occupants of Senneferi’s burial chambers.⁴¹ The docket does not specify the commodity contained, but the type of vessel may suffice for that purpose, and another wine jar from the known corpus of wine jar labels bears a title and name without identifying the contents of the jar.⁴²

Without any title, it is difficult to know who Djehuty is and whether he is a donor or an official in charge of the wine manufacture. It might be tempting to read the name Haydjehuty, the father of Senneferi (above § 2.2.1), but  is clear and the attested hieratic writings of  differ substantially from the sign on the jar.⁴³

Note that the beak of the ibis extends for an exaggerated length to the right twice the distance of the entire second line, no doubt done when the scribe completed his first sign of this line. Besides being

proud of his craft, the scribe may have gone the extra length, so to speak, because he was inking his autograph.

Regnal year 28 appears on another amphora (Amphora 3) (99.98.0747, below), this jar having once contained sesame seeds or pods.

99.98.0745 *Pilgrim flask 2* (Cat. 19). **Fig. 194**

[i]rp nfr r ḥsbṯ 38

‘good wine (to be) for regnal year 38’

Provenance: all sherds from this vessel come from Shaft I, Room 3.

The inscription on this decorated and festive flask records the highest year date among the TT99 docketts. Normally, wine is *of* a certain year date that documents its vintage,⁴⁴ but here the hieratic *r* was clear when the current writer inspected the inscription in person.⁴⁵ Wine in pilgrim flasks was ‘corked’ and marketed for opening in the future to celebrate an event, and both the type of container and the preposition here seem to imply that the contents are *to be for* the specific celebration of the king’s accession to the throne. As a product, therefore, of year 37 or earlier, the flask was either buried before the anticipated change of regnal year for the deceased’s enjoyment in the netherworld or was kept as a souvenir of a time when Senneferi or a family member was particularly honoured. If it was, on the other hand, part of the following series of apparent New Year’s gifts (see below), it would help to pin down the date of the inexplicit examples of ‘this (new) year’ (presuming incautiously that they would be from the same year as this dated flask).

99.98.0735 *Pilgrim flask 1* (Cat. 20). **Fig. 195**

[i]rp nfr n rnḫṯ tn

‘good wine for this (new) year’

Provenance: all sherds from this vessel come from Shaft I, Room 3.

Lentoid vessels appear in the reign of Thutmose III and in subsequent reigns diversify into multiple fabrics and interesting variations. The inscriptions found here might constitute the genesis of the New Year wish commonly placed on so-called pilgrim flasks during the Late Period.⁴⁶ Note, however, that *rnḫṯ tn* is written instead of *wḫṯ rnḫṯ*, and one is left to suppose that the anticipated civil New Year or following rise of the Inundation is intended instead of the change of regnal year (but see the last entry).

In Egypt, the New Year was an occasion for the distribution of inebriating drinks and the consumption thereof, ⁴⁷ a human predilection that has not changed much over the millennia, and an extant scene in Senneferi's tomb indicates that this annual ritual of celebration was of enough importance to him to commemorate it for his afterlife. On the eastern side of the southern pillar of the inner hall (Text AE.1 on p. 144), Senneferi receives gifts from his family and craftsmen during the New Year's Day festival, the festival of Nehebkau, and on the first day of the year, the traditional but not calendrically coincidental heliacal rising of Sopdet (Sothis),⁴⁸ and listens to a speech from his beloved wife during which she presents to him various unguents and oils that, like the wine, would have been enjoyed in cyclical and perpetual celebration within the netherworld. Perhaps the pillar's three ruined scenes touched upon the commodities that were contained in the excavated jars.



Fig. 191: Inscription 99.98.0742 + 99.98.0526a Amphora 1 (Cat. 38)



Fig. 192: Inscription 99.98.0526b Amphora 6 (Cat. 43)



Fig. 193: Inscription 99.98.0527 Amphora 4 (Cat. 41)



Fig. 194: Inscription 99.98.0745 Pilgrim flask 2 (Cat. 19)

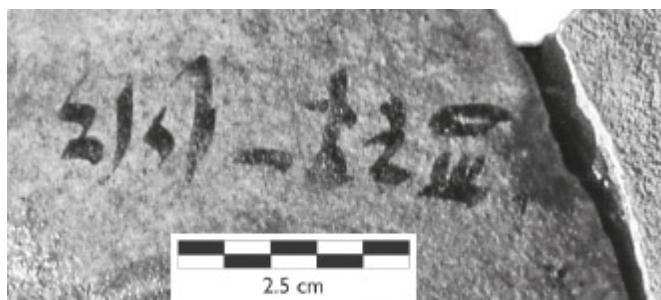


Fig. 195: Inscription 99.98.0735 Pilgrim flask 1 (Cat. 20)



Fig. 196: Inscription 99.98.0736 Pilgrim flask 3 (Cat. 21)



Fig. 197: Inscription 99.98.0738 Bottle B (Cat. 25)

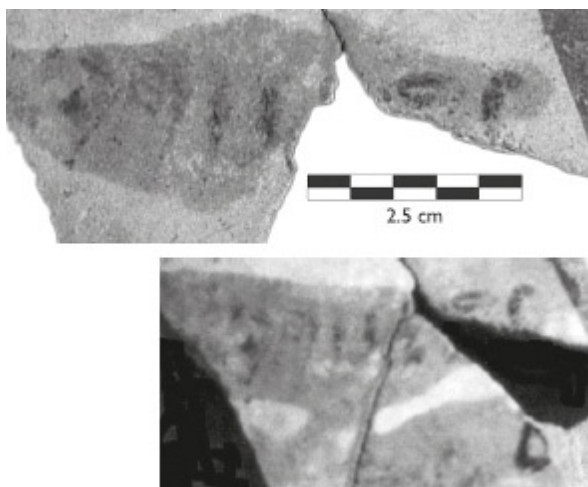


Fig. 198: Inscription 99.98.0739 + 99.98.0744 Bottle C (Cat. 26)

99.98.0736 Pilgrim flask 3 (Cat. 21). **Fig. 196**

irp nfr n rnpt tn

‘good wine for this (new) year’

Provenance: all sherds from this vessel come from Shaft I, Rooms 2 and 3.

The scribal hand differs from that of 99.98.0735, most noticeably with the writing of the pot determinative. Also, the last sign of the inscription looks like a hollow dot instead of an *n*, which it must be. Otherwise, the two inscriptions read exactly the same. Whether they represent the same ‘this year’ cannot be ascertained for certain.

99.98.0738 Bottle B (Cat. 25). [Fig. 197](#)

irp nfr n rnp^t [tn]

‘good wine for [this] (new) year’

Provenance: all sherds from this vessel come from Shaft I, Room 3.

The hand approximates more closely that of 99.98.0735 than 99.98.0736, and may have been written by the same scribe. The sherd breaks off and is chipped on the left margin after *rnp^t* and yet there can be no doubt that *tn* had once been present.

99.98.0739 + 99.98.0744 Bottle C (Cat. 26). [Fig. 198](#)⁴⁹

irp ndm(?) (n) rnp^t(?)

tn(?)

‘sweet wine for this (new) year’

Provenance: all sherds from this vessel come from Shaft I, Room 3.

The only unambiguous signs appear on the first line at the beginning of this inscription and establish the contents as wine. After the jar determinative, there are three ‘trembling’ vertical signs, the first of which does not look at all similar to the *nfr* signs on the pilgrim flask inscriptions. Instead, it looks more like three horizontal plural strokes (absent in the other inscriptions), some other compound sign, or a *ndm*-bean. If the first interpretation is the case, the two following signs, looking like one another, may be *nfr nfr* or a *ndm*-bean and badly drawn cursive owl, yielding ‘sweet wine.’ Though there are attestations of the adjective *ndm* being used in the jar docket corpus without a determinative, the third tall sign could then be the book roll with three strokes.⁵⁰ The sign following this group would then resume the common formula of *rnp^t tn*, without an expected genitival *n*. The traces are equivocal, and at the break there is a short vertical stroke which most likely finishes *rnp^t*.

There is clearly a sign at the beginning of the second line flush with the first line. Here, too, the missing sherd could easily resolve the ambiguity. There appears to be only one sign group, ruling out a regnal year date, name of vintner, or any significant additional information about the contents. A *w3b* sign would not be expected, so the only recommendation that can be offered is that the sign group represents *tn*, although it would indeed be odd for this to stand alone. Perhaps the scribe thought the single line was becoming long enough for the foreshortening effect of the bottle's curve to make it difficult for the eye to scan the entire inscription without the reader having to rotate the vessel, so he started a second line.

10.2.1.2 Sermet ('[Hydrated] Edible Pulp')

99.98.0734 Single-Handled Jar 9 (Cat. 11). **Fig. 199**

srmt nfr n wšr

'good edible pulp'

Provenance: all sherds from this vessel come from Shaft I, Room 3.

The attestations of *sermet* (*srmt*) in the published corpus of ink jar docketts are many, and it was the most popular foodstuff at Amenhotep III's first jubilee. When identified, the place of production was often domains of the royal women, though this is not sufficient evidence, given its usage at Malqata, to think that it was mostly a 'ladies' drink'.⁵¹

The Malqata jar labels and seals invariably use *dbhw* as a direct genitive to qualify *sermet*, and the quality rating of 'good' is given to it in only nine examples.⁵² The two identically phrased TT99 *sermet* docketts include 'good' as the quality, and the indirect genitive *n wšr* follows each, either to indicate that 1. the *sermet* is to be considered a comestible instead of a disposable by-product of wine (or beer) production (only for divine offerings?), or 2. the contents of these containers of *sermet* are of a more viscous or granular nature than standard *sermet* and require mastication.⁵³

M.A. Leahy's⁵⁴ discussion considers all previous scholarship and concludes that the translation of *sermet* as 'ale' is preferable to other suggestions even though Hayes⁵⁵ admitted assigning it arbitrarily. Yet the meaning of the Coptic derivation of the word (COPM) is translated as 'lees, dregs of wine, oil, etc.', indicating that a better definition of the potable product of the jar labels would describe a sediment in suspension more than a beer with some additional ingredients such as malt and hops.⁵⁶ Therefore, the current author translates *sermet* in accord with Leahy's suggestion of 'pulp' and with the indirect

genitival qualification that it can be ingested, serving to contrast it with the use of residues for fodder or fuel.⁵⁷

The inscribed sherds and seals excavated at Malqata and Amarna are apparently too small to determine with certainty the type of vessel from which they derive. The single-handled jars at Amarna are uninscribed, and a parallel at Malqata is also without any indication of its use. The seven, larger single-handled jars found in the tomb of Tutankhamun, each with a graceful ‘attenuated’ neck, undoubtedly held wine and, in two examples preserved intact, the dried lees therefrom.⁵⁸

It should be noted that *sermet* is found otherwise at Malqata, Amarna, and Buhen, but not in the Ramesseum and other royal funerary temple jar docket and seals.⁵⁹

99.98.0737 Single-handled jar 5 (Cat. 12). **Fig. 200**

srmt nfr n wṣ

‘good edible pulp’

Provenance: all sherds from this vessel come from Shaft I, Room 3.

The scribal hand of the extant text differs from that on 99.98.0734: the scribe has written out the hieratic equivalent of the hieroglyphic quail chick to begin *wṣ* instead of using the abbreviated form,⁶⁰ and especially noteworthy is the ligaturing of the owl, bread loaf, and jar determinative in *srmt*.

10.2.1.3 Tiger nuts (‘chufa’) (*Cyperus esculentus* L.)

99.98.0740 Amphora 1 (Cat. 38). **Fig. 201**

iḥ

‘Tiger nuts’

Provenance: all sherds from this vessel come from Shaft I, Room 3.

The secondary inscription is clear and complete. It is located above and to the left of the original wine docket (99.98.0742 + 99.98.0526a on [p. 241](#)), which may have been partially erased, and if so, there must have been a rational reason why the first line of the wine docket was left intact. Without doubt, the initial use of the amphora was for wine, and the ‘cancelling’ of the docket, if indeed it was partially erased, may have had the practical result of letting the reader know that the durable nuts were steeping in the unrinsed residue of what might account for their taste. Alternatively, the wine docket may have had the more mystical purpose of allowing the jar to

perform the double duty of supplying the deceased with tiger nuts as well as wine, since the written word was as good as the product itself for effecting its presence

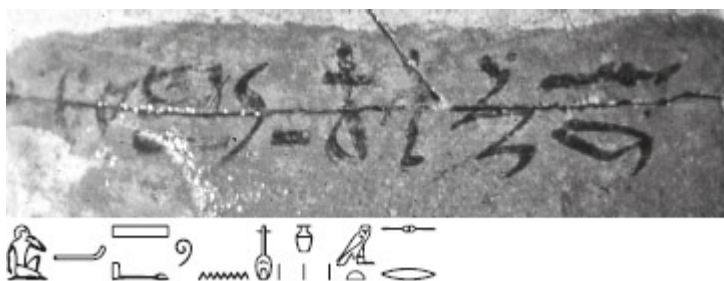


Fig. 199: Inscription 99.98.0734 Single-Handled Jar 9 (Cat. 11)

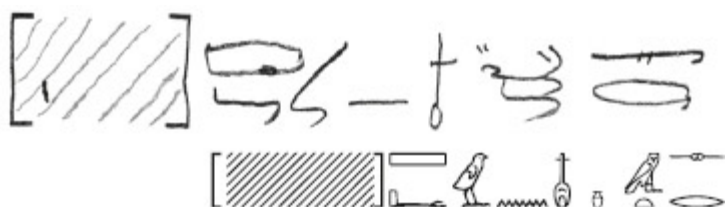


Fig. 200: Inscription 99.98.0737 Single-handed jar 5 (Cat. 12)

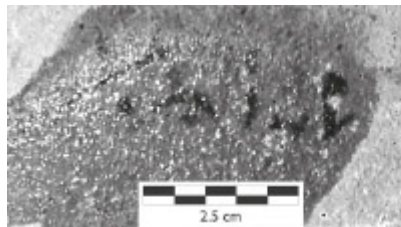


Fig. 201: Inscription 99.98.0740 Amphora 1 (Cat. 38)

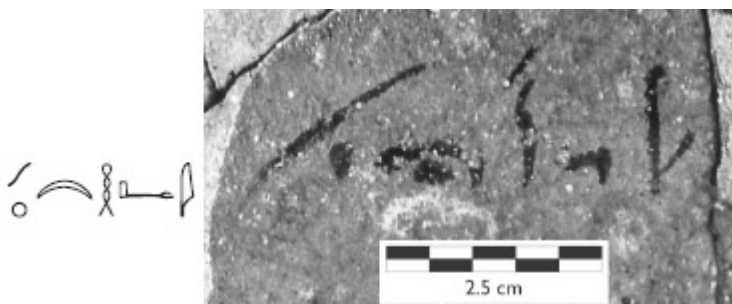


Fig. 202: Inscription 99.98.0741 Amphora 6 (Cat. 43)



Fig. 203: Inscription 99.98.0390 Amphora 5 (Cat. 42)



Fig. 204: Inscription 99.98.0747 Amphora 3 (Cat. 40)

The spelling of the dry food is apparently a variant (and dialectical vocalization?) of *wṣḥ* ‘tiger nut’, the tuber of the common sedge *Cyperus esculentus* L. that will keep in storage for long periods of time and is among the earliest cultivated plants in ancient Egypt.⁶¹ Tiger nuts were also found in the near-contemporary Deir el-Bahari tomb of Hatshepsut’s official Senenmut.⁶² The tomb of the vizier Ramose depicts the heaps of tiger nuts brought by the reporter of Diospolis Parva, and another batch the *qenbet* of the district of Koptos supplied as tax. These are measured and pounded to make bread. It is perhaps from sources such as this that Senneferi obtained his supply.⁶³

The substitution of *yodh* for the first radical (perhaps made under the influence of the tiger nut determinative and not only pronunciation) forms the word *iḥ* ‘moon’, the use of which usually requires for itself the crescent moon determinative. Thus, the scribe was faced with a scenario in which one crescent moon determinative

would be swallowed up by the new orthography, leaving the original meaning bereft of its own determinative. To avoid confusion between the two determinatives and to show the reader he meant ‘tiger nuts’, the scribe restored a freely written sign group originally more representative of the now transformed word for the product *w^ch*. If this lexical amalgamation is correctly understood, the two groups represent ⁶⁴ that has been morphologically altered by specialised usage in agriculture (the dot of the moon migrating into an independent pellet determinative). The use of *w^ch* usually but not invariably includes plural strokes, not present here.⁶⁵

It is also possible though unlikely that the dot and diagonal stroke at the end denote the quantity of the product contained in the jar.⁶⁶

99.98.0741 Amphora 6 (Cat. 43). **Fig. 202**

i^ch

‘Tiger nuts’

Provenance: all sherds from this vessel come from Shaft I, Rooms 2 and 3.

It is doubtless not a coincidence that Amphorae 1 and 6, which both bear the same inscription with its idiosyncratic orthography and most likely the same geographical origin, also were reused, seemingly concurrently, for storing the same dry product. The handwriting differs slightly from the docket on the other jar but not enough to posit necessarily a different scribe. Otherwise the inscriptions are exactly the same.

10.2.1.4 Sesame seeds/pods

99.98.0390 Amphora 5 (Cat. 42). **Fig. 203**

h^sbt 25

ikw

‘Regnal year 25’

‘Sesame seeds/pods’

Provenance: Shaft I, Corridor; other fragments from the same provenance, as well as from Shaft I, Rooms 2 and 3.

The regnal year is clear in this boldly written docket, and there is no precise dating of month and day to indicate that the product is time-sensitive and perishable.⁶⁷ The second line begins directly below the regnal year and ends after the first line; the inscription is obviously complete. Item 99.98.0747 (below) parallels this docket, though of a

different regnal year, and the group sign and determinatives at the end of *ik* do not differ more than could be attributed to an individual scribe's handwriting three years later.

The Wb. cites three similarly named commodities: *ikw* 'a type of food or drink', *ik* 'a fruit', and *ikk* 'something edible, which was put into sacks (a type of grain?)', the first from P. Boulaq 18 24.17; 33.8; and 43.9; the second from P. Anastasi IV 15.10–11, and the third from P. Mayer A 2.4.⁶⁸ These and the current example most likely represent the same product in two forms, as granules (determined by ) from a plant,⁶⁹ and the processed form (determined by ). Both media can be stored in jars or transported in sacks. The orthographies seem often to be expressed in group writing, which favours a foreign origin for the word and perhaps the commodity itself, although group writing for herbs is not uncommon.⁷⁰

ik has come into the published literature as 'sesame', while it was recently maintained that there is little botanical evidence for the plant having been cultivated in Egypt before the Ptolemaic Period; however, sesame is now known to have been placed in the tomb of Tutankhamun, but its origin is still debated.⁷¹

A product from Akaita (Gebel Hegateh, near Qubban and el-Dakka) is recorded on a Ramesside period jar docket from Deir el-Medina.⁷² The orthography of the toponym on the sherd may derive from the orthography used for the commodity under study, for here  takes the place of the group writing of 'bread' used as syllabic *t* in the common spelling of that site,⁷³ the *t* being instead designated by the following .

.

The last sign group of the docket under study appears to be a pellet or roll of bread over plural strokes.

The top of the second to the last sign group seems to begin on the right and courses left, then right, and so on, whereas the same sign group in 99.98.0747 (below) begins on the left, then courses to the right, then left, and so on. The shape of the top sign determines the specific hieroglyphic sign from which it derived, and the differences would mean separate writings for each jar, which, though possible, is not probable. One solution is to take the initial left to right pen stroke as a tick on the 'back' of an initial sign that starts from right to left. If this is so, then one must find a tick for the same sign in 99.98.0390. The needed tick most likely began on the left, coursed right, and then the scribe wrote over it again too closely, forming what otherwise seems to be a very thick initial stroke from right to left and obscuring his first, lighter stroke.

It is equally possible that the initial left to right stroke of 99.98.0747 is a ligature, the scribe's pen coming down slightly early from the clockwise circular motion he made after drawing the stroke following *k3*. The two signs that are most likely to be in the second-to-last hieratic group sign and that would be consistent with the few attested writings of the word are the quail chick and a superfluous $\triangle$.⁷⁴

The orthography of this word is unique not only in the two sign groups discussed above but also in its initial sign group: it is the only example of two reed leaves instead of a single reed leaf or a combination of a reed leaf and man-with-hand-to-mouth.

99.98.0747 Amphora 3 (Cat. 40). *Fig. 204*

hsbt 28

ikw

'Regnal year 28'

'Sesame seeds/pods'

Provenance: Shaft I, but the rest of the vessel comes from Shaft I, Room 3.

The same commodity stored in vessel 99.98.0390 appears here, dated three years later. The sign for twenty is faint yet seems certain. The regnal year is the same found on amphora 99.98.0527 bearing the name of a Djehuty.

The top sign of the last group was drawn as an exaggerated oval, whereas its equivalent on 99.98.0390 looks more like a closed circle or square. The difference can be attributed to scribal style or to the closed circle representing a pellet whereas the larger oval represents the rolled bread loaf. If the jars' contents had been preserved, they would have allowed the excavator to determine the identity of the plant, whether seeds/pods were in both, or whether one jar contained seeds/ pods while the other held bread made from the grain.

These two jars attest Thutmose III's regnal years 25 and 28, the latter being mentioned a second time on another docket as stated above. Year 38 represents a significant gap of a decade between it and the other recorded regnal years on the dockets, and, as the latest securely dated funerary object, would seem to provide a *terminus post quem* for the death and burial of Senneferi or a member of his family.

There are a small number of speculative variations about why regnal years 25, 28, and 38 are together in Senneferi's tomb. If all the dated jars are to be associated with the burial of Senneferi himself,

perhaps they are not reused vessels so much as ‘commemoratives’ and of idealised value as P. Tallet posits regarding the wine jars of year 31 (of Amenhotep III) and year 10 (of Akhenaten?) that were found in Tutankhamun’s ‘wine cellar’.⁷⁵ Years 25 and 28, not long after the beginning of Thutmose III’s sole reign and in the zenith of activity, may have witnessed a marked rise of Senneferi’s administrative career, and the dated favours he reaped could have come during or as a result of his official trip to Lebanon, where he was sent to obtain wood for temple flagpoles (above § 5.5.4), his trip to the mines of Serabit el-Khadim (above § 2.3.6, § 2.3.7, § 2.4.2), another to the Wadi Hammamat (above § 2.4.3) and the (king’s) gift of Senneferi’s burial equipment and statues (above § 5.6.3). Or they were prized gifts from his family that tomb robbers found commercially unappealing.⁷⁶

Otherwise, the earlier dates of gifts could pin down the time of the first burial or set of burials, for example a *terminus ad quem* for the death of the older couple, Senneferi’s parents, and the latest regnal year provide the date for the death of Senneferi and/or his wife. Likewise, these ‘dates of fates’ could, given the realities of unchecked plagues, short life expectancy, and the dangers of childbirth, be *vice versa*.

It is worthwhile to note, in summing up TT99’s edible provisions attestable via jar docket, that all four foodstuffs are mentioned in the P. Anastasi IV model letter modernly titled ‘Command to make preparations for Pharaoh’s arrival’.⁷⁷ The letter strives to acquaint a scribal trainee with the multitude of sundry supplies, food names, amounts, containers, and their classifications as a general, overwhelming exercise more than as examples of specifically royal fare. *ikw*, wine (of Khor), and *sermet* are each mentioned once, respectively in rt. 15.10; 16.1; 16.4, while *w^{ch}* is mentioned twice in different amounts (rt. 14.4; 14.12) and once more as pulp (rt. 14.7). The food itself would no doubt be eaten on a regular basis by officials and (except for wine) by the general populace. Therefore, the groceries would be needed to continue one’s earthly diet in the netherworld.

10.2.2 Conclusion (dockets contemporary with Senneferi)

Many jar docket remain unpublished or overlooked in museums, and their publication and study will enable the historian to paint a more complete picture of the administrations that processed wine and ‘canned food’, their officials, locations, product distribution, and the recognition of some currently unidentified foodstuffs. The material

under study fills gaps in our knowledge about the stocking of non-royal tombs during what might remain among the earliest attestations of inked wine jar docket. ⁷⁸ If this is the case, then the docket from TT99 indicate that the wine docket formula first appears in the general form and specific sequence in which it was to remain through the entire New Kingdom. Surely, the information oenophiles required almost 3,500 years ago persists little changed to this day.

Considering the extent of dated wine jar docket found in the Theban area alone and the frequency with which they attest so many years of pharaohs' reigns, it is, in this author's opinion, a minor tragedy that the docket formula (especially for those docket attesting low regal years) never evolved to specify unequivocally the king under whom the vessel was bottled. Whereas high-year docket at the Ramesseum can only be associated with the reign of Ramesses II, those of year 1 (especially the example after an erased 'year 17') found at Amarna would be of great historical importance if they bore the name of either king Smenkhkare, 'king' Neferneferuaten, or king Tutankhaten. ⁷⁹ Docket salvaged from the tomb of king Horemheb must, of course, have been from his reign, but the advocates of a short reign (the current writer being among them ⁸⁰) see the year 13 and year 14 dates as indicating placement in the tomb shortly before the royal burial in early year 15, ⁸¹ whereas those who believe in a long reign of perhaps 27 years can nevertheless view these jars as an early stocking of the tomb or as some sort of commemorative vintage, for example, laid aside before relocation of the royal residence to the north. ⁸² Any theoretical docket of Horemheb's years 15–27, if they should be found to exist and labelled specifically as belonging to this king, could not be argued as otherwise coming from the reign of Ramesses II.

There are a total of four dated vessels from Senneferi's family's burial chambers, one year 25 amphora containing what is most likely sesame (Amphora 5), two amphorae of year 28 (Amphora 3, Amphora 4) – one also containing sesame, the other not specified except by the name of a Djehuty and perhaps, by analogy with the jar donated by Tutankhamun's 'vizier Pentju', containing wine ⁸³ – and finally a pilgrim flask (2) of wine dated to be for the anticipated regal year 38.

The years 25, 28, and 38 may verify the burials of the (male) adults of means on two separate occasions if the sesame of year 25 was old stock. Because its presence would be symbolic of power and wealth, the wine of year 28 may have been included with the sesame, a foreign and at that time somewhat exotic foodstuff, in the burial of

Senneferi's father sometime during or after year 28. The gap between the wine's manufacture and a burial cannot be obtained directly from this evidence, because the wine did not have to be drinkable for the living. The food and drink could be *included* in the burial of a later date, though they would most likely not have been stored in Senneferi's tomb during the stated regnal years.

The sesame and wine jars of the earlier years could 'keep' for a long time, yet it would be odd to view them as 'commemorative' for just Senneferi's burial (unless received from the king or as a reward for a mission well-accomplished). Instead, given the number of skeletons found in Senneferi's family's burial chambers, the jars would seem to have been placed in the tomb in anticipation of two burials separated relative to one another by a decade.

If the already-mentioned scene on one side of the western pillar of the inner hall, in which Senneferi is shown receiving unguents and oils from his wife (Text AE.1 on p. 144), were painted shortly before or after his death in year 38, the pilgrim flasks and bottles found in the tomb may also have been donated as part of this ceremony, whereas the wine jar of year 28 would have been donated for his father's funeral by a contemporary comrade of Haydjehuty.

The preferred scenario at the present time is that Haydjehuty and Senneferi died during or after Thutmose III's year 28 and year 38 respectively and that the foodstuffs for their burials were gleaned from current and older stocks that were 'good enough' to be offered to each dead man. That being said, these non-royal burials would nevertheless have to remain frail parallels for the timing of the provisioning of the large group of year 13 and 14 wine amphorae in the royal tomb of a king at the end of the same dynasty.

10.3 Highly fragmentary and intrusive ostraka

The author acknowledges the help of Pamela Rose for identifying the fabrics of these sherds, and possible vessels in some cases.⁸⁴

10.3.1 Transcription, translation and commentary

99.94.0183. Fig. 205

[*hst-sp* X *irp n* ...]

[*m-drt n*] *hry* [*kzmyw*...]

[Year X, wine of the...]

[from the hand of] the chief [of the vintners NN]

The only complete hieratic sign preserved on this sherd is *hry*, which refers most often (on wine jar docket) to the title *hry k3mw* ‘chief of vineyards’ or *hry k3myw* ‘chief of the vintners.’ This identifies ‘the specialist ... who prepared or directly supervised the preparation of the contents of the jar’.⁸⁵ The vertical remains of a sign before *hry* and a horizontal line above *hry* are respectively consistent with the stroke determinative of *dr* and the genitival *n* that specify the source of the wine.⁸⁶

The more fully preserved formula on Amphora 1 and Amphora 6 does not name a chief by title, and this indicates its chronologically earlier status in the development of the wine docket formula. Because the current ostrakon was found among later materials, it is likely that it is an intrusive sherd from a vessel originally provisioning Malqata or the Ramesseum (directly or via Deir el-Medina), filled and inscribed at a later period of the New Kingdom when the formula including the vineyard and/or vintner was standard and the *hry* sign common.

It must be noted that the form of the original vessel of which this sherd was a part is unclear, but seems to have had a smaller diameter than a wine amphora. Pamela Rose initially identified the fabric as Late Period marl, but concedes that it might be of an unusual New Kingdom type. The orthography of the hieratic sign is clearly compatible with the New Kingdom and its use on wine docket, but the writing of *hry* deviates little over time during the New Kingdom and 21st dynasty, losing the ‘dot’ between the supports during the 22nd dynasty, thus favouring the earlier period.⁸⁷

99.97.1298 + 99.98.0282 **Fig. 206**

ht n nht 1 ir=n h3r 1/2(?)

nh 1 ir=n h3r 1 ... (?)

it [m] it hqst 2

[bty] nd (h3r) 13 1/2

‘One log of sycomore fig wood, valued at 1/4 [+ 1/4?] *khar*’

‘One goat, valued at 1 *khar*’

‘Barley: 2 *heqat*’

‘[Emmer] flour: 13 1/2 (*khar*)’

Find spot (99.97.1298): Shaft I, layer 10; (99.98.0282): Shaft H, layer 7. Fabric: Marl A3(?).

A ‘log’ of sycomore fig wood during the late 19th and early 20th dynasties averaged a value of one *deben*, or half of a *khar*.⁸⁸ In order

to make the price stated in 99.97.1298 + 99.98.0282 compatible with the average (if such is preferred), the small stroke might not indicate '1' but instead be a grain measure based on the Horus eye. It would be oddly placed for the 'one half' sign, so it might be a 'one fourth' sign with its companion below having been lost in the break.⁸⁹ The value of the sycomore fig would then be the average. If the sign is a stroke, however, the wood would be double the usual value, though this might be due to size and quality of the stick, branch, or log.⁹⁰

The price of an *nh*, perhaps here to be interpreted as 'small livestock' rather than specifically 'goat', was about two to three *deben*, any price fluctuations having to do, like the sycomore fig, with the quality or size of the animal.⁹¹ The end of line 2 is intact, yet the indistinct smudge to the left of the stroke may once have indicated an additional value, or it may be an erasure.

The author has transcribed line 3 as two *heqat* of barley. There are three signs for grain without a discernible *h* dividing the first two, but the text in this area is difficult to see.⁹²



Fig. 205: Inscription 99.94.0183



Fig. 206: Inscription 99.97.1298 + 99.98.0282



Fig. 207: Inscription 99.98.0748

The word at the beginning of line 4 must have indicated the type of grain or substance which the following process of grinding or milling refined to flour. It may well be emmer,⁹³ the counterpart of barley. The word *nd*, only the first sign of which is damaged, is usually determined with  when used as the noun 'flour'.⁹⁴ When employed as a verb, it has no determinative or shows a , , or .⁹⁵

The hieratic group prior to the 13 ½ at the end of line 4 may nevertheless be the pellet over three strokes as determinative,⁹⁶ even though the shape of the hieratic does not support such a solution, or a pot above three strokes to indicate quantity in *hin* in an abbreviated manner.⁹⁷ The current understanding is that *nd*, as an attributive passive participle, is determined with the pellet and plural strokes.

Flour is more usually measured in *khar*,⁹⁸ the designation for which would have been left out here. The grain measuring system apparently is not being employed, and the author has interpreted the quantity of capacity – not value – to be merely 13 ½ and not multiples of *khar* or *beqat*.

The total value of the barley and emmer flour might have been

tallied in *ḫar* (as a measure of value as in lines 1 and 2, not quantity) in a lost and short line 5, and it would be instructive if the grains were shown to be in line with the averages of their values as are the sycamore fig branch and small livestock.⁹⁹

99.98.0748 **Fig. 207**

...-yw(*t?*)
 ...[gb]ḥ(*w*) 30
 ...3...
 ‘...[funerary favour]s...’
 ‘...30 waterfowl...’
 ‘...’

Provenance: Shaft I, layer 24. Fabric type: Marl D, almost certainly from an amphora.

If the first sign was intended to be , the two vertical strokes have been oddly connected not by the expected horizontal bottom line but with a diagonal stroke making it seem that the second sign is intended to represent a reed leaf. If both vertical signs are in fact reed leaves, the first has not preserved a bold diagonal stroke. The surface prior to this sign appears to be darker than the surface of the sherd, and the signs once present there may have been washed off or scuffed.

The  and  are clear, while the signs after them can be interpreted in many ways, the most likely involving the  determinative and a Late Egyptian -yw(*t?*) or -tw ending. Myriad are the Egyptian words with final -yw(*t?*), but the presence of the  determinative, given the context of the ostrakon as most likely a common list of commodities or supplies, refers either to consuming food or the reason for the receipt of such offerings. As an educated guess, the author suggests that the word may be ḥsyw(*t*), material ‘favours’ or ‘blessings’ provided in a funerary context.

The remains of the first word on line 2 are distinct enough to ascertain that its two initial signs  and  have been lost, thus extending the width of the sherd to at least that much to the right. The presence of a quantity and the  and  determinatives weights the translation towards ‘waterfowl’ (as opposed to a geographical spot they inhabit), perhaps those birds that are often depicted in tomb scenes being offered to the deceased.¹⁰⁰

The only sign discernible on the last line, after the curiously thick first broken sign, is .

99.97.1441 **Fig. 208**

Provenance: Shaft I, layer 17. Fabric type: Marl D, almost certainly from an amphora.

The remains of three incomplete lines provide what seem to be four sign groups each on lines 1 and 2 with only a sign of two strokes on the third. This inscription may, with much difficulty in interpretation, be a Ramesside wine jar docket. If so, the first group on line 1 constitutes the jar (over a non-standard diagonal stroke) over the plural strokes. The next sign is the quality *nfr* or *nfr nfr*, after which the sign groups become illegible.

The second line may commence with the phrase *ḥr st* ‘upon it’, although this would not make sense in any context of the many wine docket formulae. The three connected horizontal strokes most likely are for *mw*, yet this too cannot be fitted with the following and preceding signs into any of the standard waterways and domains associated with the production of wine and oil.¹⁰¹ The top sign over the thick unidentifiable horizontal stroke is probably .

Against the supposition that this sherd contains a wine docket is the orthographically odd writing of what would be the jar determinative. Its left side may even connect with the s-curved ‘tail’ following the putative *nfr* sign. Also, the second line contains only one grouping that is often seen in wine dockets, but, as reiterated from above, it is not preceded and followed by any of the standardized words found in the formulae already cited in footnote 101.

99.96.0302 **Fig. 209**

...*hrw*(?) 8(?) *hrw n* ... *sty sz* ... (?)

... *ḥsr* 3 (*ḥqst*) *rmw tr*[=*n*] *dbn* 1000 700 30

...

‘...8 days(?). [This?] day [or: of gerund?] Sety, son of ...’

‘...3/4 *khar* and fish, which amount to 1730 + *deben*’

‘...’

Provenance: Courtyard, Square 19, layer 2. Fabric type: Marl A4, cream slipped exterior. There is a patch of black ink on the interior which spills over a break.

This sherd is an accounting or supply record like those commonly found at Deir el-Medina. After the initial two signs, there appears to be a sun sign followed by the cardinal number ‘8’. Because dates employ, with very few exceptions, a different set of hieratic signs that designate ordinal numbers on their sides, the opening words of this ostrakon do not preserve the month and day of a transfer of supplies.

Therefore, it may have a summation of the number of days over which supplies were tallied,¹⁰² referring either to what came previously (and is now lost) or what appears subsequently.

The next group emulates the form of ‘day of’, a stock introduction (following a date or commencing a new section) that precedes an infinitive of the action and the auxiliary *ir=n* that places the action in the past.¹⁰³ There is, however, no room for this lengthy grammatical ‘complex’. Often, the *n* after the *hrw* is superfluous before the adjective *pn* in ‘this day’,¹⁰⁴ which again can be followed by a verb plus auxiliary *ir=n*, a prepositional phrase such as *r-drt*, or just the name of the supplier.¹⁰⁵ Alternatively, the illegible signs, made so by the strong slightly diagonal abrading that etches the left two-thirds of the ostrakon, could possibly have recorded the title of the man whose name follows (e.g. *whr* ‘fisherman’).¹⁰⁶

The enigmatic tall character after the nearly barren gap could comprise multiple signs¹⁰⁷ or just be the seated figure of the Seth animal with human body.¹⁰⁸ The group of signs that follow would therefore form the remainder of the name ‘Sety’. The sign immediately after the seated figure can be interpreted as *l*,¹⁰⁹ but is nearly certainly *l*. In favour of the group being the verb *ii* ‘come’/ ‘arrived’ is the determinative, which appears as a clear example of *Δ*.¹¹⁰ However, if the preceding groups of signs form the name ‘Sety’, then this sign must represent the seated-man determinative.¹¹¹

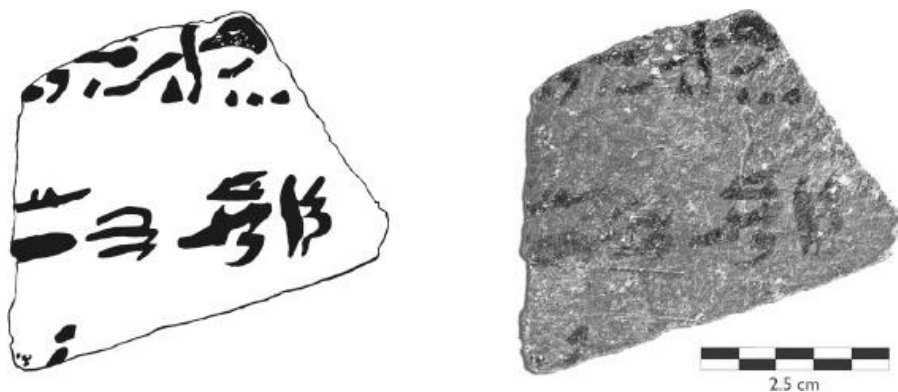


Fig. 208: Inscription 99.97.1441



Fig. 209: Inscription 99.96.0302

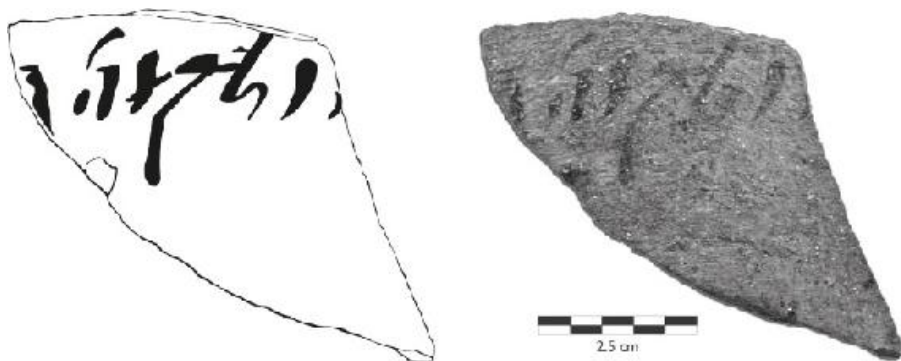


Fig. 210: Inscription 99.94.0831

The sign under the putative seated-man determinative is a perfectly formed $\mathcal{S}$, giving the filiation of this Sety, which would clinch his identity if the name of his father were preserved at the end of this line or otherwise not be in the now missing right side section of the ostrakon.

The sign following the $\mathcal{S}$ is an enigma at a marginal position. However, it appears that if the vertical sign began a name, the name was continued on the next line. The scribe could not utilize the empty space after the sign because the angle of the diagonal break (passing from the lower right to the upper left) diminishes to nearly nothing the invisible ‘bottom line’ on which line 1 of the text is written. The vertical sign appears to be $\mathcal{L}$, but this would display a malformed foot that an otherwise trained scribe would have written as a horizontal s-curve and not a triangle. Therefore, it most likely represents another sign or two. Though filiation in similar ostraka does not usually include the vertical stroke after the $\mathcal{S}$, there are instances where it is expressed and is also large.¹¹²

The second line of text must originally have begun farther to the right, where the name of Sety’s father began and ended. The ink that

had pooled on the back of the sherd spilled over the break into the initial signs of this text without obscuring them. The three dots that appear after the dark sign that otherwise might be transcribed as  indicate that it must instead be  for *khar*, the amount of a staple that was recorded in the part of line 2 that has broken away. The word or phrase between this area and the commencement of the numbers of a much larger quantity at the end of line 2 can be reconstructed most likely as *fish*, but the abraded area does not permit the precise determination of the orthographies.¹¹³ The author suggests the fish determinative followed by possibly *ir*[=*n*], which indicates that the total value also includes the fraction of *khar* of supplies that appears prior to the fish. The next highly abbreviated sign complex is obviously *deben*, preceding the sum of 1730+, which may have extended onto line 3 with single-digit amounts, i.e. 1 through 9.

The third line is illegible. The first set of signs might have spelled out another product or vegetable groceries – determined by plural strokes on their side – brought by Sety to the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina.

It is a pity that a portion of this ostrakon is missing and that the ostrakon is not dated. The spelling of this Sety's name with  is rare, with an early Ramesside example existing in hieroglyphs on a stela.¹¹⁴ The other variants of what was a mutable orthography are , , or  after the Seth figure, the ultimate seated-man determinative sometimes being morphed into a second reed leaf.

A fisherman whose name is written the same way as on 99.96.0302 appears on at least three supply ostraka from the reign of Ramesses III to IV. He is consistently referred to as the son of a Khamet.¹¹⁵ In O. Leipzig 14, this Sety, specified as fisherman, supplies the workmen's community with the commodity indicated solely by the fish ideogram. In O. DM 397, Sety, now without a title, brings more of the expected food. O. Turin 57157 records Sety bringing sticks and green groceries. This is an interesting act of diverse product supply, for in another contemporary ostrakon, an 'Amenemheb, son of Sety' provides fish while a Sety (his father?) brings 1260 sticks. Though the orthography of Sety's name diverges slightly from that of the son of Khamet in the other ostraka, they are most likely the same man.¹¹⁶

A few possibilities for other attestations of Sety, son of Khamet, among those supplying the Deir el-Medina workers' community, exist with variant orthographies of his name, the most probable being with  ;  ; and  or  .

The sign that the current author interprets in 99.96.0302 as the determinative may in fact be the diagonal strokes with the

determinative left out.¹¹⁸

99.94.0831 (from same vessel as 99.93.1115 below?).

Fig. 210

Provenance: Shaft D, layer 3 (inside chapel). Fabric type: Marl D.

No signs can be transcribed with certainty. The third sign from the right and its ‘tail’ may form the *wrt* complex of  ¹¹⁹ associated with such names as Pentaweret, not a possibility here. The sign alone may also be a  ¹²⁰ among other conjectures.

Following this, the three strokes (the last more like a dot) that appear to be associated with the arching diagonal curve ‘capping’ them might designate the *ms* or *sd* 3 signs.¹²¹ The group of three strokes could also comprise , , and . The last sign on the left is most likely an .

99.93.1115 **Fig. 211**

...(?) *ii*...

‘... Coming/Arriving...’

Provenance: Shaft A, layer 8 (inside chapel). Fabric type: Marl D, cream slipped exterior.

The oval before the grouped pair of vertical signs may be a jar, determining such a commodity or container as, for example, the *ds* jug,¹²² in which case, however, the reader would expect to see a stroke to accompany the ideogram determinative or provide the quantity of jars.¹²³ It could also be a compact way of writing *deben*.¹²⁴

The following groups might be *ii* (with the elevated  at the break), the *hmt* and stroke for ‘bronze/copper’, *wsd* ‘remainder’, or *w*.¹²⁵ ‘Static’ around the second vertical line perhaps indicates ink that marked it as more than a stroke.¹²⁶

It is possible that the sherd could be turned 180 degrees and interpreted equally well. The middle sign on the new line 1 would be the hieratic for ‘50’ or for ‘1st month’, both consonant with the vocabulary of supply lists.¹²⁷

Among the choices for the sole sign on the new second line are *mr* and *hn*.¹²⁸

99.94.1149 **Fig. 212**

...*p3* 20(?)...

‘...the twenty(?)...’

Provenance: Shaft D, layer 13 (inside chapel). Fabric type: Marl D, amphora fragment. The interior has traces of resin-like material over it, and there are traces of yellow pigment on the exterior.¹²⁹

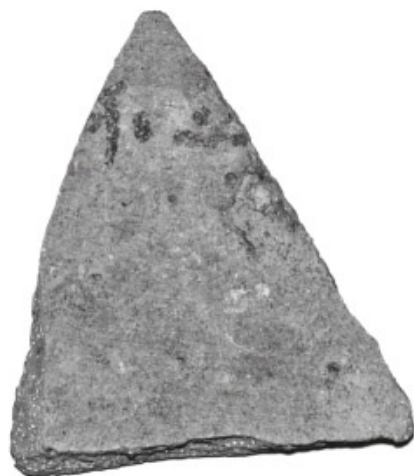
The clear hand is sadly bereft of much context. The first group is either the masculine singular definite article *ps* or begins a word or name with the remains of the second group. Otherwise, the second group is similar to the hieratic sign designating '20'.

As far back as the reign of Amenhotep III, wine jar dockets included the masculine singular definite article in the phrase '...the vineyard of...', but the bottom line of  would again deviate too drastically from the horizontal to make this read *ps k3mw*.¹³⁰

The best guess is that the phrase used the singular definite article to indicate the specific number of a masculine noun (expressed in the genitive) parallel to the multiple other examples referring to people and amounts of grain and *deben*.¹³¹



Fig. 211: Inscription 99.93.1115



2.5 cm

Fig. 212: Inscription 99.94.1149



2.5 cm

Fig. 213: Inscription 99.94.1150



2.5 cm

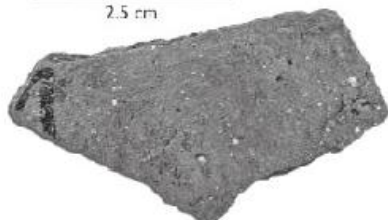


Fig. 214: Inscription 99.94.1153

Provenance: Shaft B, layer 11 (inside chapel). Fabric type: Marl D, cream slipped exterior.

With nearly all signs being vertical strokes, it is difficult to be certain whether the inscription is correctly orientated.

It is doubtful that the signs contain $\supset$ ¹³² and the obligatory praise *nh wds snb*.¹³³ The signs on the left are removed from the preceding group, and their context is too vague to transcribe them successfully.

99.94.1153 *Fig. 214*

Provenance: Shaft B, layer 12 (inside chapel). Fabric type: Marl D, amphora shoulder.

Only a bold remnant of a sign survives on this ostrakon, and it is most likely the initial *hsbt* sign of the regnal year as is written on amphorae 99.98.0390 and 99.98.0747 above.

10.3.2 Conclusion (fragmentary and intrusive dockets)

The ten ostraka complement the information on the tomb's New Kingdom history after the interment of Senneferi and his immediate family. Because of their fragmentary nature, their existence yields more information by their presence than the explicit content that is inscribed.

Located in Sheikh Abdel Qurna, TT99 and its environs were a transit area for the workmen who lived in Deir el-Medina and laboured in the Valley of the Kings, Valley of the Queens, and who visited the administrative centre in the Ramesseum as well as the resting places of famous officials of the past. The old tombs themselves would have served as convenient littering grounds for obsolete lists, agreements, etc., on the highly portable documents that could wind up anywhere. Most were already 'scrap paper' from broken jars when they were written on, and the fabric of these ostraka can be distinguished from the fabric of the jars used in Senneferi's funeral and thus labelled as intrusive.

No inscribed ostraka date demonstrably later than the demise of the Deir el-Medina community and the subsequent discontinuation of wine jar labelling and mass distribution from the Delta to Thebes, nor do they fit in with the other TT99 burials of (possibly) Senneferi's daughter and son-in-law (temp. Amenhotep II and Thutmose IV) and

those of the Third Intermediate, Saite, and Ptolemaic periods.¹³⁴

¹ The author relies on the excavators' notes for the identification of the type of ware and its dimensions. The inscriptions that are definitely intrusive accumulated at TT99 over the centuries after the 18th dynasty burial phase, abandoned by passers-by, and are not from intact jars that were included in any local burial of the Ramesside Period. The later ostraka are treated separately at the end of this chapter.

² 99.98.0746, a fragment of Amphora 1 (99.98.0742 + 99.98.0526a). Note the blank space between the last sign and the bottom of the cartouche, a feature that occurs elsewhere, viz. Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV*, 7.

³ Including the fragmentary offering lists in Senneferi's own tomb (PM I², 205 nos 12, 15).

⁴ Senenmut's parents: Lansing and Hayes, *BMTA* 32/1/2 (1937), 30 (two amphorae dated to year 7 of Thutmose III, containing wood oils, from the tomb of Ramose and Hatnefer); Wood, *Biblical Archaeologist* 50 (1987), 77. Deir el-Medina: Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médineh* (1934–1935) I, 51 fig. 25 nos 3, 15, 18; 61–64 (Oasis ware jar stamped with *nomen* and *prenomen* of Thutmose III, and decorated lentoid pilgrim flasks from tomb number 1325). Tjanuni: Brack and Brack, *Tjanuni*, Taf. 63.2/28 (wine amphora of year 2 of Amenhotep II, tomb of Tjanuni). Maya: Van Dijk, *GM* 127 (1992), 27–28 (fragmentary wine jar docket not preserving any date, but also year 9 of Horemheb on jars of fresh fat, tomb of Maya). The material helps to fill slightly the gap noted by Smith, *The Fortress of Buhen II: The Inscriptions*, 188; James, in McGovern, Fleming and Katz (eds), *The Origins and Ancient History of Wine*, 201; and Murray, in Nicholson and Shaw (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, 596.

⁵ Hayes, *JNES* 10 (1951), 35–56, 82–112, 156–183, 231–242; Hope, and also Leahy, *Excavations at Malqata and the Birket Habu 1971–1974*.

⁶ Yoshimura (ed.), エジプト王家の谷・西谷学術調査報告書 [II], Fig. 42–44. I thank Hans-Hubertus Münch for drawing this to the Editor's attention.

⁷ Griffith, in Petrie, *Tell el-Amarna*, 32–34, pls XXI–XXV; Fairman, in Pendlebury, *The City of Akhenaten* III, 143–150, 163–169; pls LXXXI–C; Černý, *JEA* 50 (1964), 37–39; Leahy, in Kemp (ed.), *Amarna Reports* II, 65–109.

⁸ Černý, *Hieratic Inscriptions*, 1–4, 21–24, pls 1–5; Lesko, *King Tut's Wine Cellar*, 22–29; Hope, in el-Khouli et al., *Stone Vessels*, 87–138; Tallet, *BIFAO* 96 (1996), 369–383.

⁹ Van Dijk, *JARCE* 44 (2008), 193–200.

¹⁰ Spiegelberg, in Quibell, *The Ramesseum*; Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 58 (1923), 25–26, and Spiegelberg, *Hieratic ostraca and papyri found by J. E. Quibell in the Ramesseum, 1895–6*; Speelers, *Recueil des inscriptions égyptiennes des musées royaux du Cinquantenaire à Bruxelles*, 145–147; Helck, *Materialien* IV, 532–540; Kitchen, in Lloyd (ed.), *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society in Honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths*, 115–123; el-Hegazi and Koenig, *Memnonia* 4–5 (1994), 55–58; Bouvier, *Catalogue des étiquettes de jarres hiératiques inédites de l'Institut d'Égyptologie de Strasbourg*, fascs 1–5; Bouvier, *CdE* 75 (2000), 15–25; Bouvier, *Les étiquettes de jarres hiératiques de l'institut d'Égyptologie de Strasbourg*, fasc. 5.

¹¹ Petrie, *Six Temples in Thebes*, 5, 21, pl. V; 15, 29, pls XIX–XX; Manuelian, *Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II*, 23 fig. 4; 42–43; Helck, *Materialien*, IV, 535; Hölscher, *Excavations at Ancient Thebes 1930/31*, 50.

¹² Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (Années 1945–1946 et 1946–47)*, 51 n. 1; 52–53 figs 38 and 39 respectively; Bavay, Marchand and Tallet, *CCE* 6 (2000), 77–86 and figs 1–7; Tallet, in Hawass (ed.), *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century* I, 495–498.

¹³ Marchand and Tallet, *BIFAO* 99 (1999), 318–319; Koenig, *RdE* 44 (1993), 55–73

(Abydos and Upper Egypt); Martin, *The Hidden Tombs of Memphis: New Discoveries from the Time of Tutankhamun and Ramesses the Great*, 98 ill. 63; Smith, *Fortress of Buhen* II, 162–179, 186–189, pls L–LI; Steindorff, *Aniba* II, 151–152.

¹⁴ Van Dijk, *GM* 127, 27–28 (Maya); Brack and Brack, *Tjanuni*, Taf. 63.2/28 (TT74, Tjanuni); Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs*, pl. XIXb (TT217, Ipuy); Koenig, *Catalogue des étiquettes de jarres*, fascs I–II (Deir el-Medina); López, *Ostraca Ieratici* II, 33 and pls 76 and 76a (57174–57176); 40–41 and pls 80 and 80a (57201–57202); 51 and pls 85–85a (57237, correcting the transcription of *nn* to *nfr nfr*) (Deir el-Medina, originally gifts from the Ramesseum).

¹⁵ See the discussion in Leahy, *Excavations at Malkata*, 5–6, from Hayes, *JNES* 10 (1951), 90, where the author suggests, but does not use, the word ‘pulp’, a description that will be employed in the present study, where it is treated as the edible dregs left over from the wine-making process.

¹⁶ Hayes, *JNES* 10 (1951), 82; see also Tallet, in Eyre (ed.), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists*, 1125–1133; and Tallet, in Andreu (ed.), *Deir el-Médineh et la Vallée des Rois*, 253–278.

¹⁷ See the discussion for 99.98.0527. The sherds from Malqata indicate that either high officials may have been required to donate produce to the royal jubilee, or perhaps their names on their donations permitted them to benefit from the religious significance of the king’s rejuvenation (Hayes, *JNES* 10 (1951), 82, 100–101; Tallet, in Grimal and Menu [eds], *Le Commerce en Égypte Ancienne*, 258). In any case, this system of supply seems not to have been required otherwise.

¹⁸ The one sign remaining on 99.94.0183 indicates the only tentative presence of Hayes’ (*JNES* 10 (1951)) sixth element, namely the title (and name) of the official who prepared the contents, but this label is most likely later than the reign of Thutmose III.

¹⁹ Tallet, *BIFAO* 96 (1996), 372.

²⁰ Tallet, in Grimal and Menu (eds), *Le Commerce en Égypte Ancienne*, 261–262.

²¹ James, in McGovern, Fleming and Katz (eds), *Origins*, 201; Murray, in Nicholson and Shaw (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, 596; Murray, in van der Veen (ed.), *The Exploitation of Plant Resources in Ancient Africa*, 161.

²² Habachi, *The Second Stela of Kamose and his Struggle against the Hyksos Ruler and His Capital*, 36.11–12; Lesko, in McGovern et al., *Origins and Ancient History of Wine*, 228–229. For an early 18th dynasty vineyard on the same site, see Bietak, *AÖAW* 122 (1985), 276–277.

²³ Stamped jar seals may have sufficed at the beginning of the New Kingdom to identify a product, and though the seals are attested, they are nevertheless rare (Smith, *Fortress of Buhen* II, 188). Meeks, in Amouretti and Brun (eds), *La production du vin et de l’huile en Méditerranée*, 28, 35 notes that a collection of elements converged in the New Kingdom to change the ways and techniques wine was produced and shipped on a massive scale, including the change of the shape of pottery to facilitate its long-distance mass transport.

²⁴ Unless the name of the vintner was to be added after the initial ink label and never was, or that name was erased when the inscription was replaced as the jar was reused. (See descriptions of Amphorae 1 and 6.)

²⁵ PM I², 23(13) (TT11), 32(6) (TT18), 38(5) (TT22), 41(8) (TT24), 72(8–9) (TT39), 103(7) (TT53), 157(5) (TT79), 164(8) (TT82), 177(7) (TT86), 180(5) (TT88), 210(10) (TT100), 228 (1) (TT110), 242(11) (TT127), 263(5) (TT155), 280(8) (TT172), 303(2) (TT200), 391(6) (TT318), 410(7) (TT342), 448 (A.5). The Theban ‘gardens’ in Abd er-Raziq, *MDAIK* 35 (1979), 227–247, especially pages 232–233, refer to those producing fresh bundles of flowers (not wine) for temple offerings in

the area.

²⁶ [Editor's note: most of the photographs used for **Fig. 191** to **Fig. 204** were taken primarily for the ceramics themselves, and not for the texts, and I must bear responsibility for their inadequacy.]

²⁷ Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie* II, 10 sign 113; Wb. I, 217.8–218.2.

²⁸ Fairman, in Pendlebury, *City of Akhenaten* III, 163, pl. XCI no. 174; Hayes, *JNES* 10 (1951), 44 nos 2, 4; 45 no. 29; 89 n. 104.

²⁹ Meeks, in Amouretti and Brun (eds), *La production du vin*, 27; Cauville, *BIFAO* 88 (1988), 21–22.

³⁰ Leahy, *Excavations at Malkata*, 30 and pl. 16, jar seal xiv.

³¹ Smith, *Fortress of Buhen* II, 172.

³² Giddy, *Egyptian Oases*, 78–79, 156–157 (table viii); Hayes, *JNES* 10 (1951), 44 no. 19; 47 no. 73.

³³ Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des Noms Géographiques* I, 155; II, 64, 169; IV, 56, 121, 225; V, 231.

³⁴ The end of the word, usually in the plural and designating 'chief of vintners', varies from ^{-w}, ^{-wy}, ^{-j}, ^{-jw}, and others. For examples, see Tallet, *BIFAO* 95 (1995), 465 document 7; Abd er-Raziq, *MDAIK* 35 (1979), 245–246, nos 14–18, 22, 24–28; Koenig, *RdE* 44, 61–71; as well as Fairman, in Pendlebury, *City of Akhenaten* III, 168(e); and Gardiner, *AEO* I, 96*–97*.

³⁵ Hayes, *JNES* 10 (1951), 82, 44 no. 6; 45 nos 23, 35; 46 no. 39; 47 no. 68(?); Koenig, *RdE* 44, 56–65; Koenig, *Catalogue des étiquettes de jarres*, fasc. II, pl. 40 nos 6332, 6335; Peet and Woolley, *The City of Akhenaten* I, pl. LXIV.27; Frankfort and Pendlebury, *City of Akhenaten* II, pl. LVIII; Smith, *Fortress of Buhen* II, 178, pl. L no. 1462; Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 58 (1923), 26–29.

³⁶ For the 'chief of vineyards' (^{hry ksmw}) or 'chief of the vintners' (^{hry ksmꜣw}) appearing at the end of dockets, see selected examples from Hayes, *JNES* 10 (1951), 46 nos 54–56; 47 no. 70; Koenig, *RdE* 44, 62–69; Koenig, *Catalogue des étiquettes de jarres*, fasc. II, pl. 40 no. 6333; Griffith, in Petrie, *Tell el-Amarna*, pl. XXII nos 5, 8, 23 (2nd), 29; Peet and Woolley, *City of Akhenaten* I, pls LXIII–LXIV *passim*; Frankfort and Pendlebury, *City of Akhenaten* II, pl. LVIII *passim*; Fairman, in Pendlebury, *City of Akhenaten* III, pls LXXXV–XCI, XCIV *passim*; Smith, *Fortress of Buhen* II, pl. L *passim*; Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 58 (1923), 26–29.

³⁷ Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie* II, 2 sign 15.

³⁸ For the two exceptions, see Hayes *JNES* 10 (1951), 46 no. 56 and Fairman, in Pendlebury, *City of Akhenaten* III, pl. LXXXVI no. 51, the latter of which Tallet, *BIFAO* 96 (1996), 377 interprets correctly as 'vineyard' by placing 'sic' above ^𓂏. For single seated man determinative after ^𓂏, refer to Fairman, in Pendlebury, *City of Akhenaten* III, pl. LXXXV no. 25, pl. LXXXVIII no. 104, pl. LXXXIX no. 113.

³⁹ One vintner is named in the corpus of dockets: '...of/by the vintner Iny' (Fairman, in Pendlebury, *City of Akhenaten* III, pl. LXXXV no. 23). The chance remains that the sign for 'chief' may have been omitted.

⁴⁰ For a near parallel with plural strokes under the seated man determinative, see Fairman, in Pendlebury, *City of Akhenaten* III, pl. LXXXVII no. 66. Alternatively, but far less likely, the ^𓂏 could be over the ^𓂏 with two diagonal strokes substituting for the otherwise attested ^𓂏 (Fairman, in Pendlebury, *City of Akhenaten* III, pl. LXXXV nos 22–25; pl. LXXXVI no. 45; pl. LXXXVIII no. 104). Note, however, that most examples with ^𓂏 (but without ^𓂏) are writings for 'vineyard', though still used in the title 'overseer of the vineyard/vintners' (e.g. Abd er-Raziq, *MDAIK* 35 (1979), 245 nos 10–11; Fairman, in Pendlebury, *City of Akhenaten* III, pls LXXXVI–XC nos 33, 37, 60, 69, 72, 87, 89, 90, 93, 103, 105, 116, 117, 136, 152; Hayes, *JNES* 10 (1951),

108, 110).

⁴¹ Strudwick, *CRIPEL* 28 (2009–2010), 240 (fig. 1), 241–242, 247. There are two middle-age couples (most probably Senneferi, his wife Taïamu and Senneferi's parents Haydjehuty and Satdjehuty), one young female, and one juvenile of undetermined sex. Nothing remains in place to verify the specific identity of any of the individuals, and the state of the remains in the chambers does not allow the excavators to suggest more than a tentative sequence of burials. Inscribed objects in these chambers of Shaft I name only Senneferi. See further in this volume, § 4.5.4 and § 11.8.2.

⁴² In this instance, the 'vizier Pentju', the probable donor, with no other information on jar 26 from Tutankhamun's tomb (Černý, *Hieratic Inscriptions*, 4, 24 no. 26). Amphorae from TT99 also held tiger nuts and an unidentified grain, most likely sesame.

⁴³ See Wb. III, 8.5; Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie* II, 25 sign 279. For attestation of the name, see Ranke, *PN* I, 409.2.

⁴⁴ Using the masculine singular genitive ⲙⲙⲙⲙ . For instances, refer to Hayes, *JNES* 10 (1951), 47 no. 67; Fairman, in Pendlebury, *City of Akhenaten* III, pl. LXXXIX no. 126. Containers of wine produced in the southern oases usually place the regnal year at the end of the inscription (Tallet, *BIFAO* 96 (1996), 379), but the New Year formula does not indicate such an origin of the vintage.

⁴⁵ If the scribe had instead really intended to record that the wine was of regnal year 38, then the occasion for which it was kept might have been the celebration of the next civil New Year. If the flask were intended to accompany the recently deceased, the date of the burial of a member of Senneferi's family in TT99 would be at most a year later.

⁴⁶ Brovarski et al. (eds), *Egypt's Golden Age*, 83 no. 63; 104 no. 88; 130–131 no. 124; 167 no. 185; and for an example of a Late Period pilgrim flask and its accompanying well wishes, see Phillips, *BMA* n.s. 3/5 (1945), 118–119.

⁴⁷ Tallet, in Grimal and Menu (eds), *Le Commerce en Égypte Ancienne*, 259; Poo, *Wine and Wine Offering in the Religion of Ancient Egypt*, 54.

⁴⁸ Because of the 'wandering' Egyptian civil calendar of 365 days, the first day of the civil year would not have coincided at this time with the heliacal rising of the star Sothis, which was July 19th (Julian), though if regnal year 38 was approximately in 1442 bc, the rise of Sothis would have preceded the beginning of the civil year (August 19th Julian) by only a month.

⁴⁹ [Editor's note: the second, poorer quality image was taken after sherd 99.98.0744 had been assigned to the vessel in the slightly better main image.]

⁵⁰ Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie* II, 69 sign lviii (second example) as opposed to II, 48 sign 538 with no strokes, which is too horizontal to look like the sign under examination. On ⲛⲁⲙ used to qualify wine with or without the book roll determinative, see Fairman, in Pendlebury, *City of Akhenaten* III, pl. XC nos 165–166; Van Dijk, *GM* 127, 27–28; Murray, in Nicholson and Shaw (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, 591; Černý, *Hieratic Inscriptions*, 21–22 nos 1, 8, 10, 12; Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 58 (1923), 26 (Wine Amphora Berlin 15283). Examples where the text is broken before a possible book roll determinative are not included.

⁵¹ Hayes, *JNES* 10 (1951), 42, 48–49, 86, 90, 96, 157–158; Leahy, *Excavations at Malkata*, 5–13, pls 1–5a; Hope, *Excavations at Malqata*, 24, 49–53, 58 *passim*; Smith, *Fortress of Buhen* II, 180–182; Fairman, in Pendlebury, *City of Akhenaten* III, 175, pl. XCVI nos 299–300 (the latter not qualified as *dbHw*); Gardiner, *AEO* II, 234*–235*; Griffith, in Petrie, *Tell el-Amarna*, 34, pls XXIV nos 69–70; XXV no. 98 (the last not qualified as *dbHw*). Note that only two dockets do not qualify the *sermet* as *dbHw*;

both were discovered at Amarna, one from the estate of the Royal Wife, the other from the estate of the Greatest of Seers (of the Aten).

⁵² Hayes, *JNES* 10 (1951), 49; model no. 103 (on page 49) represents the donations of certain named officials on pages 105–109.

⁵³ Wb. I, 370.5–8 ('chew') versus 370.9–12 ('consume'). There is a different though related question regarding the exact relationship between *sermet* determined with $\circ$ and the same word determined with $\bar{\theta}$. One may have been dried, the other mixed with water or something else to make it the loose equivalent of modern powdered milk concentrate.

⁵⁴ Leahy, *Excavations at Malkata*, 5–13, 48 nn 3–14.

⁵⁵ Hayes, *JNES* 10 (1951), 90.

⁵⁶ Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*, 161; it was Griffith (in Petrie, *Tell el-Amarna*, 34) who first noted the equivalent Coptic word.

⁵⁷ Leahy, *Excavations at Malkata*, 48 n. 9; Murray, in Nicholson and Shaw (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, 580. Such a contrast of inedible versus edible seems out of place, however, with the product named *shedeh*, which is a highly prized, cooked wine; see now also Guasch-Jané, Andrés-Lacueva, Jauregui and Lamuela-Raventós, *Journal of Archaeological Science* 33 (2006), 98–101; and Wahlberg, *GM* 230 (2011), 73–82. The example in Tallet, *BIFAO* 95, 464 (taken from Griffith, in Petrie, *Tell el-Amarna*, 34, pl. XXIV no. 65), if the reconstruction of the word *shedeh* is correct, is unique and would hint at a more varied nature of *shedeh*, or perhaps the qualifier *n wnm* '... for eating' refers to a dried residue as an additive or to be consumed by itself. If the word is to be reconstructed as the seemingly more logical *sermet*, the first sign could be the combined *t* loaf and stroke instead of *ḥ*. However, the orthography of *sermet* is otherwise only expressed with the hieratic sign of $\mathcal{A}$ ligatured over $\ominus$, followed immediately by the jar (and optional three strokes). Whereas *shedeh* can be rated as high as 'superb' ($nfr\ nfr$; Tallet, *BIFAO* 95, 465–7), *sermet* is more usually qualified as nfr and bears the phrase *n wšš* instead of the less ambiguous *n wnm*. For examples of *srmt dbḥw nfr* ('quality edible pulp'), see Leahy, *Excavations at Malkata*, pls 3a nos 7, 21, 25; 5a no. 52; Hayes, *JNES* 10 (1951), 49 no. 103. For examples of *dbḥ* without the final -w, see Hayes, *JNES* 10 (1951), 48 nos 99, 100.

⁵⁸ Holthoer, in el-Khouli et al., *Stone Vessels*, 64–67; Hope, in *ibid.*, 115–116.

⁵⁹ Bavay et al., *CCE* 6, 85 cite one example of a docket labelling the contents of a reused wine amphora as 'sweet pulp' (*srmt ndm*).

⁶⁰ Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie* II, 18 sign 200 instead of sign 200B.

⁶¹ Edel, *Die Felsengräber der Qubbet el-Hawa bei Assuan* II/1/2, 22; Murray, in Nicholson and Shaw (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, 636–637; Serpico and White, in Nicholson and Shaw (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, 402–403; Zohary, Hopf and Weiss, *Domestication of Plants in the Old World*, 158; Negbi, *Economic Botany* 46/1 (1992), 64–71; de Vries, *Economic Botany* 45/1 (1991), 27–37; de Vartavan, *Journal of Archaeological Science* 17 (1990), 478, 483, 486, 488; Manniche, *An Ancient Egyptian Herbal*, 98; Täckholm and Drar, *Flora of Egypt* II, 61–66.

⁶² Lansing and Hayes, *BMMA* 32/1/2, 8.

⁶³ *Urk.* IV, 1131.11, 13, 14; 1133.1, 6; 1136.15; 1137.11; 1140.15; 1141.6, 12.

⁶⁴ Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie* II, 28 sign 309.

⁶⁵ Wb. I, 289.1–9; Edel, *Felsengräber*, II/1/2, 16 bottom example.

⁶⁶ The dot being Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie* II, 62 sign 695, and the slant (without the curve) is *ibid.*, 62 sign 710: one plus one-eighth *heqat*. The current author does not accept such a solution.

⁶⁷ Hayes, *JNES* 10 (1951), 87.

⁶⁸ Respectively from Wb. I, 139.8, 139.9, 140.12, and Wb. Belegstellen I, 25.

⁶⁹ For the Demotic and Coptic homonymic equivalents, see Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*, 121, who identifies all of them as ‘sesame’.

⁷⁰ Manniche, *Herbal*, 70, 83, 115, 121, 136–137, 147, 153. For a radically different later writing of what is most likely the same foodstuff, see Caminos, *The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*, 149–150.

⁷¹ Serpico and White, in Nicholson and Shaw (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, 397–398; van der Veen, *Consumption, Trade and Innovation: Exploring the Botanical Remains from the Roman and Islamic Ports at Quseir al-Qadim, Egypt*, 160; Zohary, Hopf and Weiss, *Domestication of Plants in the Old World*, 113. Posener, *RdE* 28 (1976), 147 reads ‘linseed’.

⁷² Koenig, *Catalogue des étiquettes de jarres*, fasc. II, 46 no. 6249, and pl. 28. It is less likely that Ugarit would be intended without the presence of the *r* (Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des Noms Géographiques* I, 110; IV, 211).

⁷³ Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des Noms Géographiques* I, 110; III, 145.

⁷⁴ Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie* II, 63 sign v. It is doubtful that the last two sign groups represent the word for bread used as a determinative (ibid., 50 sign 554/555, but orthographically appearing more like earlier examples). For the superfluous $\triangle$ showing up even on wine stamps and seals, see Hope, in el-Khouli et al., *Stone Vessels*, 105, 108.

⁷⁵ Tallet, *BIFAO* 96 (1996), 373–374, 383. Instead of year 31 being the ‘height’ of the reign of Amenhotep III, as Tallet posits, this wine jar could represent a productive year and what was otherwise left over intact from the reign of Amenhotep III, whether drinkable or not (Murray, in van der Veen [ed.], *Exploitation of Plant Resources*, 160). One would expect a jar dated year 30 to commemorate the first jubilee in lieu of Tutankhamun celebrating his own (Tallet, *BIFAO* 96 (1996), 373 n. 23), and either one of such date was not available, or year 31 represents a conscious effort to commemorate something of unique significance that presently escapes scholarship. As mere speculation, it could commemorate the birth year of Tutankhamun’s mother, whose mummy has recently been identified as the young woman KV35YL, Akhenaten’s biological full sister (Hawass et al., *The Journal of the American Medical Association* 303/7 (2010), 638, 641; eAppendix, 3). She thus would have been around the age of 17 (barring a long co-regency with Amenhotep III) at the time of her son’s birth in year 10 of her sibling husband and died violently eight to eighteen years later, either at the end of the reign of Akhenaten or Tutankhamun. If the year 10 wine vessel is indeed from the reign of Akhenaten as Tallet (*BIFAO* 96 (1996), 375–383, especially 381–82) argues and not the sole attestation of Tutankhamun’s regnal year 10, perhaps it commemorates not so much the height of the previous major reign itself as it does Tutankhamun’s year of birth during that reign, for the date does fit nicely into the estimates of when he was born; see Reeves, *The Complete Tutankhamun*, 24; and Allen, in Brand and Cooper (eds), *Causing His Name to Live*, 12, 19. The present author concedes that such commemoration is not, as far as can be attested from the remains of despoiled royal tombs, a documented Egyptian custom.

⁷⁶ See the discussion under 99.98.0735 (Pilgrim flask 1) above and the citations in footnote 47.

⁷⁷ Gardiner, *LEM*, 49–54a; translation and commentary in Caminos, *LEM*, 198–219.

⁷⁸ Tallet, in *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century* I, 495–498.

⁷⁹ Allen, in Brand and Cooper (eds), *Causing His Name to Live*, 12, with n. 14 giving earlier references. The mention of a king’s agricultural estate(s) does not necessarily

mean that the jar docket dates to his reign, especially at the beginning of a new reign (as Allen also comprehends). Examples of the estates of earlier kings still actively producing wine in the reign of Ramesses II, in some instances into this pharaoh's fourth decade of rule, include: (deified Amenhotep I) KRI VII, 64.13; (Menkheperre Thutmose III) KRI VII, 64.16; (Menkheperure Thutmose IV) KRI VII, 51.12; (Nebmaatre Amenhotep III) KRI 65.5–7; (Djeserkheperure Horemheb) KRI VII, 58.2–5, 10, 12, 15; 59.2–4, 8–9; (Menmaatre Sety I) KRI VII, 55.7; 60.2–4.

⁸⁰ Bohleke, *JARCE* 39 (2002), 169, 171.

⁸¹ Van Dijk, *JARCE* 44 (2008), especially 196–198.

⁸² Dodson, *Amarna Sunset*, 130–131; 161 n. 131.

⁸³ See footnote 42 above.

⁸⁴ [Editor's note: while this section does not relate to the 18th dynasty use of the tomb, all the hieratic logically belongs together. The contexts from which these texts come will be properly considered in Part II.]

⁸⁵ Hayes, *JNES* 10 (1951), 82. For examples of the title and its various orthographies, see *ibid.*, 44–47 figs 4–7; 105–111 figs 17–23 *passim*. *ḥry* also appears on jar labels in titles not associated with wine, yet these are rare: *ḥry šrw* (*ibid.*, 111 fig. 23) and *ḥry mnšw* (*ibid.*, 105 fig. 17; 111 fig. 23).

⁸⁶ For a specific example of this formula from the reign of Ramesses II, see KRI VII, 51.7).

⁸⁷ Möller, *Hieratische Palaographie* II, #300, p. 27 versus *ibid.* III, #300, p. 28.

⁸⁸ Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 111.

⁸⁹ The objection might be raised that the sign designating ² *ḥqst* at the end of line 3 consists of two nearly horizontal connected lines one above the other and not two ◌, which the author advocates were written at the end of line 1. However, even within a hieratic list of the same genre as 99.97.1298 + 99.98.0282, one sees that the scribe used these two distinct styles – and a range of deviations between them – in different places for writing the same quantity: López, *Ostraca Ieratici* III pl. 118 57378, lines 2, 5, 6; less variation of form in *ibid.*, pl. 137 57429, *passim*.

⁹⁰ Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 371.

⁹¹ *ibid.*, 165–167.

⁹² Yet the absence of the preposition due to a damaged surface is exactly paralleled in Goedicke and Wente, *Ostraka Michaelides*, pl. lxxix, line 2 (O. Michaelides 10, line 2).

⁹³ Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 343, also citing Gardiner, *AEO* II, 227*–228* as corroborating evidence.

⁹⁴ Wb. II, 370.16–17; Möller, *Hieratische Palaographie* II, 42 signs 470 and 470B.

⁹⁵ Wb. II, 369.11–13.

⁹⁶ This group is attested in Gardiner, *AEO* II, 227*–228* for the noun 'flour'.

⁹⁷ Möller, *Hieratische Palaographie* II, 45 sign 498 n. 1. The dot above the ligatured group is not always present, as in an example in Bouvier, *Catalogue des étiquettes*, fasc. 2, pl. 109 no. 1052.1. The pot determinative itself can be employed as the abbreviation for the complete writing of *hin*; see Wb. II, 493.3–4. It would not be odd to have 13 ½ pots (*hin*) of something, as it is attested elsewhere in the division of bottled oil, for which, see Gardiner (ed.), *RAD*, 16 (P. Gurob, vs. 1.4–18).

⁹⁸ Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 343–344.

⁹⁹ *ibid.*, 166 Table XIII (*nbt*); 370 Table LX (*nh*); 120–122 (*it* [*m*] *it*); 343–344 (*nd*).

¹⁰⁰ The dot under the *𓆎* and over the plural strokes might be a superfluous ◌.

¹⁰¹ The Malqata corpus preserves a single formula with this group as a determinative: 'Western River (Branch of the estate of Nebmaatre, l.p.h.)' (Hayes, *JNES* 10 (1951), 44 example 10; 45 example 20; 46 examples 46, 47, 54–57; 47

examples 61, 66). Ramesside attestations are more diverse and include the sign group both as the word *mw* and as a determinative. Examples from the reign of Ramesses II include: ‘the great orchard of the Mortuary Temple...’ Formula IIB, KRI II, 674.1; KRI VII 50.1; Formula XLVII, KRI VII, 63.1; ‘which is in the waters of Pre’ Formulas IIC and XV, KRI II, 676.10; 686.8; Formula XVII, KRI VII, 55.4; Formula XLIII, KRI VII, 61.10; ‘which is in the [marshland?] in...’ Formula VI, KRI II, 679.11; ‘which is where the river is’ Formula VII, KRI II, 679.15; ‘the waters of Ptah’ Formula X, KRI II, 680.14; KRI VII, 51.9; ‘(on the bank of) the great waters’ Formula XI, KRI II, 680.16; KRI VII, 52.6; ‘(which is) on the bank/west(ern road) of the *k3*-branch’ Formula XII, KRI II, 682.1; KRI VII, 53.1, 4; Formula XXXVIII, KRI VII, 60.5; ‘in the waters of Amun’ Formula XXIX, KRI II, 690.16; Formula VIII, KRI VII, 51.3; ‘of the river of the West’ Formulas XXXI and XXXIIA, KRI VII, 56.14; 57.1; Formula XXXIIIA, KRI VII, 58.1; Formula LV, KRI VII, 64.13; Formula LVIII, KRI VII, 65.5; Formula LXIX, KRI VII, 67.8; ‘of/from/ at the canal of the West’ Formulas XXXIIB and XXXIIC, KRI VII, 57.8, 11; Formula XXXIIIB, KRI VII, 58.10; Formula XXXIV, KRI VII, 59.2; Formula XXXV, KRI VII 59.10; Formula XLVI, KRI VII, 62.12; ‘which is in the canal of Usermaatse-setepenre’ Formula XLI, KRI VII, 61.3; ‘(which is) on the bank of the *Anu*-branch’ Formula L, KRI VII, 63.11–12; ‘in the great canal of the queen’ Formula LIII, KRI VII, 64.9. Sherds of *nḥḥ*-oil also use formulae similar to those above: ‘(which is) on the bank of the *k3*-branch’ Formula II, KRI VII, 78.13–14; ‘the great orchard(s) of the [...]’ Formula III, KRI VII, 79.8; Formula VI, KRI VII, 81.3 (not ‘of the Mortuary Temple’ as expected due to the gender of the second definite article).

¹⁰² For instance, in a similar way to López, *Ostraca Ieratici*, III pl. 30 57047, vs. 1 & ‘...*in=n hrw 23*’ (III Akhet 20 to IV Akhet 12), amounting to 23 days.’

¹⁰³ Near contemporary examples are many, and the following make the point: KRI V 460.12 (O. DM 68, line 1); KRI V 469.3 (O. DM 422, vs. 1); KRI V 471.6 (O. Turin N. 57150, line 1); KRI 501.6 (O. Florence 2625, rt. 1).

¹⁰⁴ This, too, is a common phenomenon, so a couple of possibly contemporary examples will suffice: KRI VII, 316.12, 14 (O. Turin N. 57345, rt. 1, 4).

¹⁰⁵ Followed by an infinitive/noun plus auxiliary *ir=ꜥ*: KRI V, 452.7 (O. Geneva MAH 12550, rt. 1); KRI V, 469.6 (O. Turin Spr. 9611, rt. 1); KRI V, 470.15 (O. DM 424, line 1); KRI V, 471.12 (O. Nash 5, rt. 1). Followed by the prepositional phrase *r-ḏrt*: KRI V, 599.14–15 (O. Turin N. 57125, rt. 7–9). Followed by just the name of the supplier: KRI V, 484.2 (O. Gardiner 53, rt. 1); KRI V, 486.6 (O. Turin N. 57027, vs. 3); KRI V, 537.3 (O. Petrie 5, rt. 3).

¹⁰⁶ Those delivering fish are either without identification (viewed as redundant by some recording scribes?) or bear their title. See O. Leipzig 14 (KRI V, 603.16–604.5), where some of the men delivering fish are given a title and some are not.

¹⁰⁷ For example, the bottom half looks like the fowler’s trap; compare Möller, *Hieratische Palaographie* II, 41 sign 464.

¹⁰⁸ The odd curve protruding from the middle of the left side must therefore be Seth’s hair, nearly the same exaggeration of which appears in other renditions of the hieratic sign: Černý and Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca* I, pl. xxiva (3.11) (O. Leipzig 14); Goedicke and Wentz, *Ostraka Michaelides*, pl. lxvii, rt. 14 (O. Michaelides 33, rt. 14); López, *Ostraca Ieratici* III, pl. 111 57364, vs. 3; López, *Ostraca Ieratici* II, pl. 66 57150, line 3. For the best examples, which are in the name of a scribe Sethmose, refer to McDowell, *Hieratic Ostraca in the Hunterian Museum Glasgow*, pl. iv, rt. 3, 5 (O. Glasgow D. 1925.68 = O. Colin Campbell 3).

¹⁰⁹ An instance where *ḥ* looks respectably like *ḥ* is in López, *Ostraca Ieratici* I, pl. 16 57029, line 8. Also, the nearly contemporaneous P. Harris I records a similar

instance; see Möller, *Hieratische Palaographie* II, 26 sign 284.

¹¹⁰ The phrase *ty r* 'coming to'/'arriving at' in López, *Ostraca Ieratici* II, pl. 90 57282, line 1 has the determinative Δ and preposition $\curvearrowright$ that could easily be mistaken for 𓆎 and 𓆏 preceded by the name 'Sety' in an arrangement very similar to that in 99.96.0302.

¹¹¹ The hieratic sign for 𓆎 can look similar to that for Δ when the ink at the bottom of the sign is light and bold at the top: López, *Ostraca Ieratici* III, pl. 128 57396, rt. 1; *ibid.*, pl. 149 57443, vs. 5; distinct but similar to one another: López, *Ostraca Ieratici* IV, pl. 163 57480, line 3; *ibid.*, pl. 172 57527, lines 1–2.

¹¹² The best illustration for the purpose of the essay on determining this Sety's identity with those mentioned on other ostraka is in López, *Ostraca Ieratici* II, pl. 170 57157, line 1, to be discussed in further detail.

¹¹³ For instance, the diagonal sign that the author will interpret as a fish may otherwise be a piece of wood, but that would require a *t*-loaf and stroke underneath it. Many of the deliveries at Deir el-Medina consisted of 'fish 'n' sticks'. For a diagonal stick sign looking like a fish determinative, refer to McDowell, *Hieratic Ostraca*, pl. iv, rt. 8 (O. Glasgow D. 1925.68 = O. Colin Campbell 3).

¹¹⁴ KRI VII, 441.13, correcting KRI III, 242.2 (Stela Toulouse No. 605i) from the time of Ramesses II.

¹¹⁵ KRI V, [603.16–604.1,] 604.5 (O. Leipzig 14, line[s 1–2,] 11); KRI VI, 173.16 (O. DM 397, lines 1–2); López, *Ostraca Ieratici* II, pl. 170 57157, line 1.

¹¹⁶ KRI VII, 315.9 (O. Brussels E. 3211, rt. II.4). On line 4 (rt. I.3), 'Sety' is written with 𓆎𓆏𓆏 , but Kenneth Kitchen placed 'sic' above the second 𓆏 , believing it to be a mistake because Sety's name appears again on line 9 (rt. II.4) with 𓆎 substituted for the second 𓆏 . In any event, this Sety provides only sticks; perhaps he has diversified the business to be involved with the land while his son assumed fishing responsibilities.

¹¹⁷ All four ostraka date from the reign of Ramesses III. 𓆎𓆏𓆏 : KRI V, 606.16 (O. DM 689, vs. 2). 𓆎𓆏𓆏 : KRI VII, 316.2–8 (O. Brussels E. 3214), from I–III *Akhet* of an unspecified regnal year of Ramesses III, mentions a Sety without title, though the (same?) fisherman, the hieratic remnants of whose name Černý and Gardiner (*Hieratic Ostraca* I, pl. xxiva, line 3) did not believe indicated the seated Sety figure, was clearly specified by his profession. Recording the supply of fish for a number of non-consecutive days, the scribe tallies the catch of the 1st month of *Akhet* utilising *ir=n*. Note that the sum of fish is measured by its value in *deben*. 𓆎𓆏𓆏 : KRI V, 534.6 (O. DM 394, line 4). 𓆎𓆏𓆏 : KRI V, 612.13 (O. Michaelides 33, rt. 14).

¹¹⁸ However, the hieratic sign for the diagonal strokes is not normally shaped like that of the seated man. An instance where it does can be found in López, *Ostraca Ieratici* I, pl. 29 57046, rt. 3–4. An example of the two diagonal strokes appearing to be similar to the seated man is *ibid.*, pl. 13 57021, line 4. Added to these are two examples of the 𓆏 looking confusingly like the two diagonal strokes: *ibid.*, pl. 7 57006, rt. 25, and *ibid.*, pl. 25 57039, vs. 7. There are numerous other instances among the Ramesside ostraka where the determinative has been left out. A sample of them are: KRI V, 437.4 (O. Cairo CGC 25531, rt. 2); KRI V, 479.1 (O. Florence 2621, rt. 3); KRI V, 480.15 (O. DM 222, 2:10); KRI VII, 302.14 (O. Prague H.14, rt. 13).

¹¹⁹ For a very similarly-shaped hieratic parallel, refer to Černý and Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca* I, pl. xxxva (rt. 4.4) (O. Petrie 78).

¹²⁰ Möller, *Hieratische Palaographie* II, 14 sign 161B.

¹²¹ *ibid.*, 36 sign 408; 28 sign 312 respectively.

¹²² McDowell, *Hieratic Ostraca*, pl. I (O.D. 1925.66, rt. 13).

- ¹²³ See *ibid.*, (*tbw* jars) (O.D. 1925.66, rt. 10) for one of myriad examples.
- ¹²⁴ For a near parallel, see Černý and Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca* I, pl. xxxiia (rt. 2.10) (O. Petrie 1).
- ¹²⁵ Möller, *Hieratische Palaographie* II, 26 signs 283–284; 53 sign 589; 35 sign 391; 18 sign 200 respectively.
- ¹²⁶ For example, *ibid.*, 25 sign 282; 35 sign 391; 44 sign 488; 52 sign 580, the last alternative being the first sign of the word for the work crew at Deir el-Medina.
- ¹²⁷ *ibid.*, 56 sign 627; 28 sign 310 respectively.
- ¹²⁸ *ibid.*, 41 sign 465; 41 sign 466 respectively.
- ¹²⁹ The vessel from which this comes is known as having been found inside the chapel of TT99 and as such will feature in the ceramics report on Part II of this work.
- ¹³⁰ Malqata: Hayes, *JNES* 10 (1951), 45 fig. 5.23, 35. For instances of *ps k3mw* in Amarna-era wine dockets, see Peet and Woolley, *City of Akhenaten* I, pl. LXIV.27, and Fairman, in Pendlebury, *City of Akhenaten* III, pls LXXXVI.51, LXXXVII.71, XC.147. For a few select examples from the Ramesseum and the Ramesside period, refer to KRI VII, 50.5, 8; 52.9, 11; 53.13–15; 54.10, and Koenig, *Catalogue des étiquettes de jarres*, fasc. II, pl. 40 nos 6332.1, 6335.1, 6336.1. Sometimes *P3* can begin a proper name: Peet and Woolley, *City of Akhenaten* I, pl. LXIV.17, and Fairman, in Pendlebury, *City of Akhenaten* III, pls LXXXVII.79, LXXXVIII.84, LXXXIX.117, XCIV.237. It can also define a geographical location: *ps b3h* ‘the orchard...’, in *ibid.*, pls LXXXV.32; XC.156, 158, 159; XCI.190 (*shede*); *ps ndbw* ‘Tell Abu Sefah’, in Hayes, *JNES* 10 (1951), 46 fig. 6.52; *ps mw n pth* ‘the waters of Ptah’, in Koenig, *Catalogue des étiquettes de jarres*, fasc. II, pl. 40 no. 6333.1; *ps mw isbt* ‘the eastern waters’, in Fairman, in Pendlebury, *City of Akhenaten* III, pl. XCI.278 (honey); *ps rsy* ‘the south’, in *ibid.*, pl. XCIV.254, or a more specific place: *ps htm* ‘the fortress of...’, in Koenig, *Catalogue des étiquettes de jarres*, fasc. II, pl. 28 no. 6252; *ps smw* ‘the storehouse’, in Fairman, in Pendlebury, *City of Akhenaten* III, pl. XCIII.233; *ps qni* ‘the palanquin of...’, in Koenig, *Catalogue des étiquettes de jarres*, fasc. II, pl. 40 no. 6336.1. The masculine singular definite article appears on dockets to specify officials: *ps imy-r htm* ‘the overseer of the fortress’, in Hayes, *JNES* 10 (1951), 47 fig. 7.74, and special occasions for which the commodity was prepared or offered: *ps hb sd* ‘the *sed*-festival’, *ibid.*, 44 figs 4.15–16, 5.31; *ps hb sd tpy* ‘the first *sed*-festival’, *ibid.*, 48 fig. 8.91 (sermet); *ps whm hb sd* ‘the repeat (=second) *sed*-festival’, *ibid.*, 45 fig. 5.34; 51 fig. 11.136 (fat); *ps 3-nw hb sd* ‘the third *sed*-festival’, *ibid.*, 47 fig. 7.59; 51 fig. 11.142 (fat). The tithe of... *ps r-10 n* appears only at Amarna and thus cannot, at present, be entertained as a solution for 99.94.1149; Fairman, in Pendlebury, *City of Akhenaten* III, 168(f), pls LXXXIX.137, XCV.284 (honey).
- ¹³¹ Gardiner (ed.), *RAD*, 67.16 (Necropolis Journal 2.14). Refer also to the Turin Strike Papyrus (rt. 3.16–17), which states, ‘See, I have given to you these 50 sacks of emmer...’ *ptr di=i n=tn psy 50 n hsr n bdt...* (*ibid.*, 57.4). For other examples, all dating to the 20th dynasty, see KRI V, 484.6 (as a substantive) (O. Gardiner 53, rt. 6); KRI VI, 108.7 (O. DM 41, rt. 15); KRI VI 592.11 (Turin Necropolis Journal, vs. B9:1); KRI VI 645.13 (P. Turin 1884, rt. 1.14); KRI VII, 318.13 (Weight no. 1, rt. 1).
- ¹³² Möller, *Hieratische Palaographie* II, 48 sign 532.
- ¹³³ Bouvier, *Catalogue des étiquettes*, fasc. 1, pl. 86 no. 334.1.
- ¹³⁴ Strudwick, *CRIPEL* 28 (2009–2010), 242, 244.

Small finds from Shaft I and an overview of the burial assemblage of Senneferi

Nigel Strudwick

with contributions by B. Bohleke and Helen Strudwick

The reader should consult both the general notes on [p. 5](#) about presentation of the excavated material, and the excavation and archaeological descriptions in § 4.5.3. In this section this fragmentary material from Shaft I is arranged as far as possible into meaningful groups. Where fragments can be assigned to individual discrete objects, these are given their own designation: for example, ‘Box A’, ‘Vessel C’, and so on).¹ In the basic information entries for many objects, L = Length, W = Width, Th = Thickness, D = Diameter; all dimensions are in cm unless otherwise indicated.

11.1 Opening of the Mouth objects

A number of objects were found among the burial equipment of Senneferi that appear to be implements concerned with the Opening of the Mouth ritual. Much of this has been presented before, and I refer the reader to that publication for a fuller discussion.² Here I begin with a summary of the conclusions of that article, drawing attention to what is new since 2009.

11.1.1 Summary of publication status

2009 publication

Ivory objects 99.98.0518, 99.98.0601, and 99.98.0619 seem to be parts of adzes used in the Opening of the Mouth ritual, and 99.98.0608/99.98.0609, 99.98.0648, and 99.98.0650 are respectively

a *khepes*^h, a ‘finger of electrum’, and a censer for the ritual, while uncertain object 99.98.0640 might be a chisel handle. Uncertain item 99.98.0665 could be another implement from this group, and box fragments 99.98.0361, 99.98.0651 and 99.98.0656 might be from a container for these objects. In addition, fragments of an ostrakon from the burial are perhaps a guide to the ritual left with the equipment in the tomb. No similar sets of such items have yet been recorded in Theban tombs of the 18th dynasty (but see below), although there is evidence for such a box in the 26th dynasty tomb of Tjanenhebu at Saqqara,³ and occasional other items elsewhere. Depictions of such ritual equipment are common in Theban tombs, and the Senneferi material might be the first such examples noted in Thebes. Although the destroyed nature of most Theban burials prevents the making of a true comparison, intact burials have revealed no such items.

Post 2009 discoveries

These include: a *wrt hkw* implement in Moscow (below [p. 263](#)); a label for some of the Opening of the Mouth implements (99.98.0622, below [p. 263](#)); and a further possible box (99.98.0658, ‘Box H’, [p. 268](#)) for the objects. The identity of 99.98.0640 is now much less certain, but a suggestion is made for the function of 99.98.0665. Revised and expanded conclusions will be found below ([p. 271](#)) and in an article in press.⁴

11.1.2 Adzes

Three fragments of decayed ivory were found which, it is proposed, belong to adzes.⁵

99.98.0518. Adze fragment. *Shaft I, Room 3, layer 2. Ivory. L 6.7, W 4.9, Th 2.0.* [Fig. 215](#), [Fig. 216](#), [Fig. 218](#), [Fig. 219](#)

An object of decayed elephant ivory, now brown in colour, shaped and bearing hieroglyphs, originally from the head section of a model adze. It is broken off from the shaft at the rear. A number of areas of the ivory are delaminating, and the object is quite fragile.



Fig. 215: Adze fragments 99.98.0518 (left), 99.98.0619 (centre), 99.98.0601 (right)



Fig. 216: Adze fragments 99.98.0518 and 99.98.0601 together, showing the descriptive texts

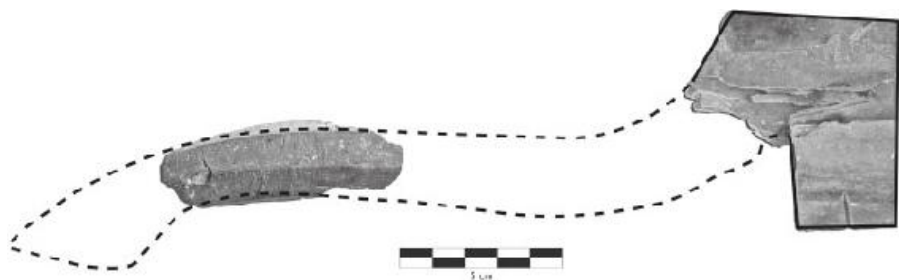


Fig. 217: Proposed shape of original adzes.
The position of 99.98.0619 is a complete guess



Fig. 218: Adze fragments 99.98.0518 and 99.98.0601 together, showing the beginning of the offering formulae

99.98.0518



99.98.0601



Fig. 219: Hieroglyphs on 99.98.0518 and 99.98.0601

On the central flat surface of the top is the text *nw imy-wt*, ‘an adze (called) *imy-wt*’, while on the rear of the object is the beginning of a

ḥtp di nswt formula which would have run down the (missing) shaft. The flat front of the object is uninscribed.

On the lower side of the head is a small notch. While nothing could evidently be attached to it, could it be a stylised representation of where a blade might have been?

99.98.0601. Adze fragment. *Shaft I, Room 3, layer 3. Ivory. L 6.3, W 6.0, Th 2.2. Fig. 215, Fig. 216, Fig. 218, Fig. 219*

An object of decayed elephant ivory, now brown in colour, shaped and bearing hieroglyphs, originally from the head section of a model adze, very similar to 99.98.0601 above. This example bears text on the front and not on the top: *nw šb wr(t) ḥkꜣw rnf*, ‘an adze of ivory, whose name is *wr(t)-ḥkꜣw*’. At the back is the beginning of a *ḥtp di nswt* formula as on the other example. Below the formula it is also broken off. There is a larger notch at the lower side of the head.

99.98.0619. Adze fragment. *Shaft I, Room 3, layer 3. Ivory. L 6.8, W 2.3, Th 1.1. Fig. 215*

A curved piece of decayed elephant ivory, now brown in colour, with shaped and bevelled sides. On the flat surface it bears the end of a column of hieroglyphs, which appear to consist of the seated dead person determinative  and the ends of *ms-ḥrw*. It seems likely that this fragment forms part of the shaft of an adze, presumably the head of which was one of the two previous objects. These adzes bore, in addition to their names, a *ḥtp di nswt* formula on behalf of the deceased, in this case presumably Senneferi.



© The Pushkin Museum, Moscow

Fig. 220: *wrt hksw* implement, Pushkin Museum Inv. I, 1a 2072 (images courtesy the Pushkin Museum)

The British Museum's wooden adze of Nehy⁶ has been used as the basis for proposing the likely shapes of these adzes (Fig. 217). The overall length of each adze might have been in the region of 26.5 cm, making them quite substantial ivory objects, and almost the same size as a wooden parallel found in one of Hatshepsut's foundation deposits.⁷ But see also 99.98.0665 (p. 263) for a possible grip or handle.

Since the 2009 article was published, a further *wrt hksw* implement has been noted, in the Pushkin Museum, Moscow, inventory number I, 1a 2072, length 11.7 cm, from the collection of Vladimir Golenisheff (Fig. 220).⁸ Olga Vassilieva indicates that the provenance is unknown, but she notes that, as a rule, Golenisheff acquired objects in Luxor.⁹

11.1.3 Other possible Opening of the Mouth items

For some of these, see Strudwick, *Schriften des Thot*, 230–234.
99.98.0648. Model finger. *Shaft I, Room 3, layer 3. Wood. L 15.5, D 1.6. Fig. 224*

A long thin stick of wood, with a flat base, bearing traces of white gesso, and finished at the one end to look like a finger with a fingernail. The shape is too long for it to come from a coffin, and it is perhaps the ‘finger of electrum’ from the Opening of the Mouth ritual.

99.98.0608. Wooden model. *Shaft I, Room 2, layer 6. Wood. L 20.6, W 8.7, Th 3.3.*

99.98.0609. Wooden model. *Shaft I, Room 3, layer 3. Wood. L 10.5, W 4.0, Th 2.4. Fig. 221*

Large part (99.98.0608) of a model of a leg of an ox (*hps*), broken at one end where it joins the hoof (99.98.0609). Together the complete object measures 26.8 cm long. The profile is modelled, as are the leg muscles. It is made of a good quality wood.

99.98.0650. Censer *Shaft I, Room 3, layer 3. Wood. L 12.0, W 4.0, Th 2.2. Fig. 223*

Uncertain object of wood, perhaps one end of a wooden censer. At one end is a papyrus umbel, from which a hand extends out; on the underside lines indicating the fingers can be seen. Some green traces remain in these lines; this colour is most probably a decay product from the copper or bronze incense container which would originally have been held by the hand. The umbel may perhaps be coated with a layer of gesso. On the upper side, there is a hole in the middle of what would be the palm of the hand. This is presumably for fixing the incense burner; some small areas of green colour are adjacent to this. The piece is split through the middle.

99.98.0640. Uncertain. *Shaft I, Room 3, layer 3. Wood. L 8.5, D 1.5. Fig. 222*

Piece of wood with a round section, which tapers from a flat end to the other broken extremity. On it are incised a series of parallel lines. Its purpose is presently uncertain; it was previously speculated as being the handle of a model chisel, such as the *mdft* implement;¹⁰ however, after a discussion with Geoffrey Killen in March 2016, this now seems unlikely, as the shape is incorrect and a normal chisel needs to have some way of attaching a blade.¹¹ It may be from a sceptre of some indeterminate type, or a furniture element.¹²

99.98.0665. Uncertain. *Shaft I, Room 3, layer 3. Wood. L 16.5, W 4.5, Th 3.5. Fig. 225*

A shaped piece of hard wood, which tapers and has a round end. Its

purpose is uncertain, but as well as being part of a regular piece of furniture, on the basis of the presence of the fragments described above, it could be associated with the Opening of the Mouth ritual. Geoffrey Killen has suggested from the shape of the wider end that it could even be a wooden handle or grip attached to an item such as the ivory adzes above.¹³ The mention of a set of ebony objects on label 99.98.0622 raises the possibility that this could be from a wood of that type.

Two further pieces of wood, presented below in the 'Uncertain' section of furniture (p. 283), may perhaps have been associated with these Opening the Mouth objects.

11.1.4 Probable label

Description, translation and comments (B. Bohleke)¹⁴

99.98.0622. *Shaft I, Room 3, layer 3. Wood. L 9.0, W 4.7, Th 0.4.* **Fig. 226**

A rectangular piece of wood bearing hieratic writing in five lines, and a 2 mm hole at one end, 1 cm from the top and seemingly to the right of the current centre, either to avoid the vertical raised ridge present there or because it had been centred. The top is intentionally rounded, and this arc is preserved through deterioration of the edge that conforms to the approximate original curve. The right edge of the label has split off at some time after the hole's creation, but if a sliver of wood has actually been lost at the right, little to no inked text accompanied the slim section. It appears, indeed, that all the lines begin well in from the right side of the label.

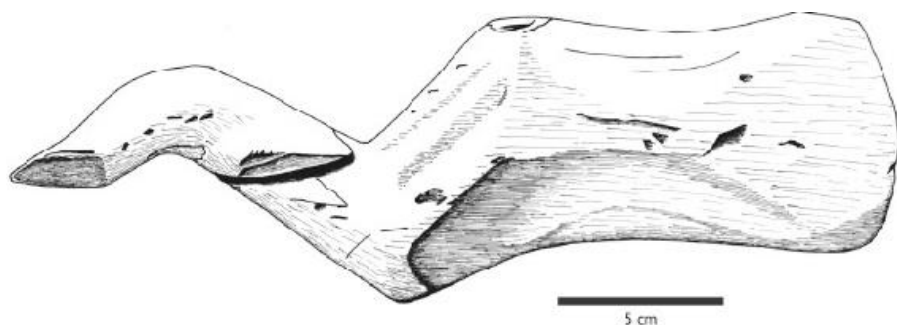


Fig. 221: Objects 99.98.0608/99.98.0609 joined

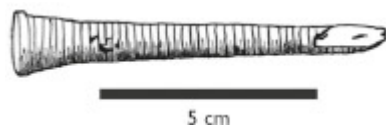


Fig. 222: Object 99.98.0640

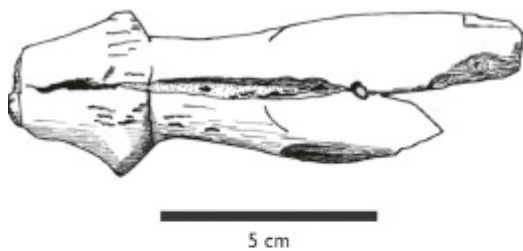


Fig. 223: Object 99.98.0650

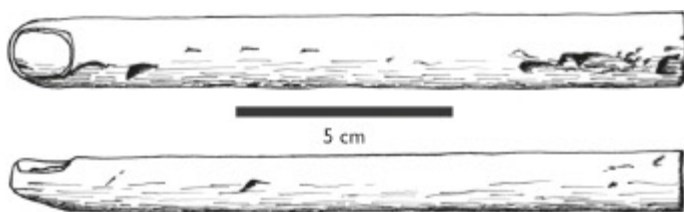


Fig. 224: Object 99.98.0648

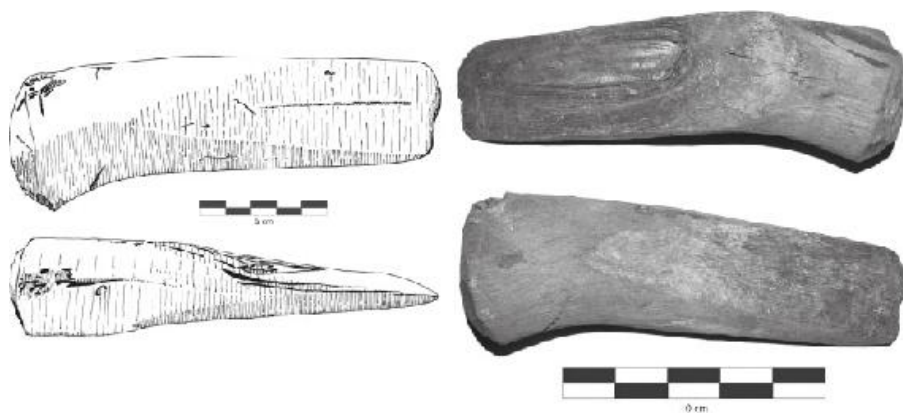


Fig. 225: Drawing and photographs of object 99.98.0665

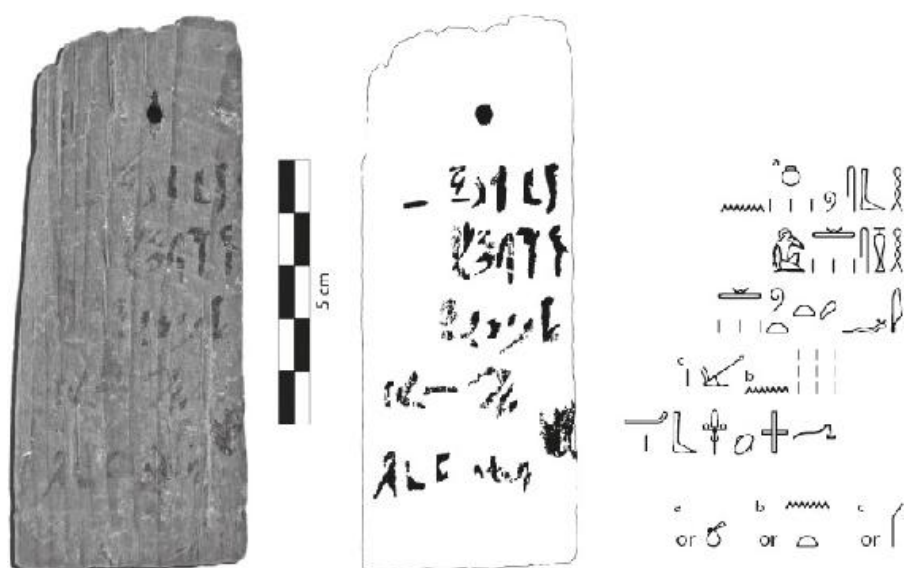


Fig. 226: Object 99.98.0622, with transcription into normalised hieroglyphs

The inscribed surface was prepared with an adze, planing from the top left downward along the grain. As the artisan moved the instrument to the right, the adze overlapped its preceding column, diminishing the width of each of the previous columns. The second to last column remains the widest, retaining clearly the horizontal gouges of the blade as it met opposition and the craftsman had to provide another staccato stroke to continue his work. The final column has dug deepest into the wood, and the tilted blade of the adze may have been the cause of the theoretical right edge splitting off prior to the application of any ink.

Horizontal gouges and vertical ridges and valleys provided an uneven surface for the scribe to add five short and hasty lines of text in black ink. The palaeography conforms to that of the reign of Thutmose III. The strokes are thick and dark, yet the ink of some hieratic signs has flaked or has been abraded. The verso of the tag remained blank, and the surface of each side received no other treatment.

No contemporary labels seem to exist, and the nearest parallels in purpose and chronology derive from the tomb of Tutankhamun.¹⁵ Černý did not identify the species of tree from which Tutankhamun's labels originated, choosing instead the generic term 'wood' for each. It is most plausible that the material for Senneferi's and Tutankhamun's labels come from acacia or sycamore fig trees, both of which are common in Egypt and produce soft wood. The surfaces of Tutankhamun's labels appear very similarly prepared to that of the

label currently under study.¹⁶

Transliteration

hbsw n

hsw

i(w)ftwt

psd n hbnj

nw imy-wt sbw

Translation

Implements for
the funerary ritual
(and) meat assembled together.
Nine (items) of ebony (and)
the adze (named) *imy-wt*, (of) ivory.

Commentary

Line 1

There appears to be a blob of ink at the current right edge of the text, but this is most likely a small crevice in the wood which is dark to the observer because of the shadow its pit creates. It is doubtful that any signs preceded those that are now present, and in ensuing lines, there are no partial signs that would parallel the position of the one here.

The 𓆎 is dissimilar to the more ornate equivalent sign directly below it. The top bulge may have been thwarted by the boundary made by the raised ridge to the immediate left of the sign. The 𓆏 sign has also been confined by its parallel raised ridge, though some faint ink marking the shorter fold of the sign is barely visible to the left of the ridge, securing the reading. The writing of the large 9 for the 𓆎 sign is unparalleled in the remainder of the text, the scribe using the more usual cursory elongated-s instead for the 9.

The first word is determined by 𓆎 or 𓆏, either option being equally plausible because they would refer respectively to the material essence or bundled nature of contents of the chest to which the label was originally attached, yielding the sense of ‘implements,’ ‘accessories,’ or ‘instruments’ in sundry material media. The signs below and after the determinative are faint but legible. The 𓆎 is either the genitive, treating *hbsw* as a masculine collective singular (e.g. ‘kit’), or the immutable dative ‘for’.

Line 2

The fourth sign from the right is interpreted, from among several choices, as 𓆎. This would place the strokes prior to 𓆎 instead of under or after it. Although odd, it conveniently forms a boxed ‘group’ of

signs, leaving the seated man to carry the central meaning of the word to avoid confusion that there might be plural ceremonies. I have chosen to interpret this word as a generic term for the ritual for which the implements were assembled. The ritual is otherwise known specifically as the ‘Opening of the Mouth’, the word *ḥsw* therefore being the catch-all for the actions, singing, chanting, dancing, and presenting done comprehensively to prepare for the burial of those important enough to afford every aspect of the final rites.

The amorphous vertical stroke which seems to follow the seated man is a shadow along the vertical ridge, and on the other side a darkened ‘rut’ multiplies the effect.

Line 3

It is difficult to believe that *i(w)* refers to anything other than the wooden model of the ox-haunch, the remains of which were found in the tomb (99.98.0608/99.98.0609, p. 263), although this concern would have been moot had it been referred to as the *ḥps* instead of merely being documented in the label as ‘meat’/‘flesh’. It is untenable that real flesh would have been included with the chest of implements, as the perishable substance would otherwise have been provided fresh ‘on the hoof’ at the ceremony itself. Although Senneferi’s tomb does contain real food, it was packaged separately (p. 277).

An alternate interpretation of the line is to reconstruct it as *iw=f twt(w)* ‘...which is complete’, a virtual relative clause with qualitative. It is unlikely that the contents of the box would be construed grammatically as undefined, and orthographic emendations would be required. It is preferable to presume that the scribe wrote what he meant precisely and not leave the reader to ‘interpret.’ Instead, I understand *twt* as a passive participle referring to the double subject ‘accoutrements’ and ‘flesh’, and to be translated as ‘which are assembled’, ‘kitted out’, or ‘boxed up’. Similarly, the word could be made into a noun and used to look forward to the next two lines, the translation then being, ‘That which is assembled together: ...’, a heading referring to the tally of lines 4 and 5.

Line 4

This line either commences a specific list of lines 4 and 5, or might continue ‘...completed (with)...’, though a preposition would be expected after *twt*. The tally of nine must act as a noun and refer to the tools in general. If *twt* were to be interpreted as ‘images’, one would expect the ‘9’ to follow it directly since there is room before the left edge of the label for the indication of quantity to fit nicely.

Note that the hieratic sign is indented as is line 5 directly below it. This phenomenon may indicate that these two lines are seen as the tally of the boxed kit or that the scribe thought the initial hieratic sign was too ‘bulky’ to write in the left margin and would have been awkwardly bisected by the vertical ridge.

The second sign group is difficult to discern because it appears initially to be a cone-shape of pen swirls. But close inspection in false colour enhancement reveals that only the bottom line and perhaps the shorter one above it are caused by ink, thus a genitive *n* or feminine *nt*. Other ‘false ink strokes’ appear throughout the label, and are abrasions, nicks, and imperfections on the surface of the wood mimicking intentional text. The cone-shaped swirls might have occurred from the scribe trying to rub down the raised ridge on the undulating surface so he could make a long vertical sign more easily and recognizably.

The ensuing sign is rejected as *hm(t)* ‘bronze’ or *ph* ‘end’.¹⁷ Because it is assumed to be *hbny* in contrast with *sbw* on the next line,¹⁸ one would expect a second ‘handle’ of the plough on the hieratic sign¹⁹ as well as an *n* underneath the plough, the reason for the absences being perhaps that the scribe was practicing an economy of strokes for his crude label, defining the word by means of a simple stroke. Otherwise, long horizontal signs are nearly absent in the label due to its vertical raised ridges and undulating surface.

Line 5

The large blob between lines 4 and 5 appears under false colour enhancement to be some damage and shadowing as well as a substantial amount of ink. Perhaps the scribe wrote a sign in an attempt to commence line 5 in the right furrow only to realize that it would not continue contiguously across the pronounced ridge and then inked it out or tried to rub off the ink. In any case, the blob is now illegible, and the first sign on line 5 does require more horizontal space than the furrow at the right edge would allow.

The first signs on this line are written on a rough surface and have been damaged or worn but indicate unequivocally the presence of the *imy-wt* adze, one of the tools explicitly used in the Opening of the Mouth ceremony and attested by at least one fragment (99.98.0518) in TT99.

The hieratic sign beginning the word *sb* looks to be  20 rather than  but this is, in any case, an attested alternative writing.

The last group mimics clearly the hieratic for ‘20’, but it must be that the tooth sign was written diagonally instead of horizontally above the stroke. This modification is again because of the troughs

and ridges on the surface that do not favour the standard writing of long horizontal signs.

Whereas a fragment of a *wr-ḥkꜣw* adze (99.98.0601), a putative member of the ceremonial kit, was found in the tomb, it is curiously not recorded on the label. Since the inclusion of such a precious item could hardly have been forgotten, one might suppose that the label was ‘page 1 of 2’ of the contents, though it would be necessary to explain why this adze was not included on the back of the current label. Instead, it must have been packed in another chest.

To what was the label attached? (Bohleke and Strudwick)

Could the label have been attached to a box in the assemblage? None of the fifteen comparable labels in the tomb of Tutankhamun published by Černý were still attached to a container, but were rather ‘[f]ound scattered all over the floor of the tomb’.²¹ As observed above, no contemporary examples are known to us from private tombs.²² The location of the Tutankhamun examples apart from their boxes can be explained by them having been tied to a knob on the lid of a chest or the corresponding knob located on the side of the box. In fact, a sixteenth round-topped label is described in Carter’s index cards with the words ‘This came from the knob at one end of the chest.’²³ The rapid and opportunistic robberies in the tomb no doubt explain their find spots.²⁴ When the robbers cut the string or roughly ripped the lid apart, the label would have been jettisoned. When the priests tidying up the Annexe hurriedly re-stuffed boxes, they wrote the contents of the boxes in ink on the lids and usually near the securing knobs, where the information would be expected. Three box knobs were found in TT99 (p. 283), and two possible boxes are Box H (immediately below) and Box A (p. 279).

The label refers to a set of ten objects, nine of ebony (not further specified) and specifically the *imy-wr* adze; none of the surviving objects discussed above is clearly made of ebony.²⁵ It seems that Senneferi’s Opening the Mouth tools may have come in multiple packages, which might include items later stolen from the tomb. Another option is that the extant label was attached to a cloth bag with a subset of items, and it might have been that this and any other such bags were placed inside a box as discussed above (see Fig. 227 for a depiction of this in TT217).

A brief overview of 18th dynasty labels

The labels so far mentioned come overwhelmingly from royal tombs in both branches of the Valley of the Kings, and Senneferi’s is at present the only one known from a private tomb. The wooden labels

of the 18th dynasty fall into two groups, those naming persons and those indicating the presumed contents of the boxes or bags to which they were attached. Those naming individuals are presently restricted to the examples from KV40, and these presumably indicate ownership of the objects to which they were attached in a location which seems to have contained multiple burials.²⁶ It is probably best for the present to set these aside as they are very much still subject to study by the excavating mission from Basel.²⁷

This leaves us with labels naming items: the Opening of the Mouth equipment on the TT99 label, *bqqt* oil on the Amenhotep III labels,²⁸ and a great variety of material from the tomb of Tutankhamun.²⁹ The latter labels are in fact no more or less than alternatives to or variations on the hieratic texts written directly on some of the boxes.³⁰ Including the box inscriptions, the Tutankhamun material includes jewellery, personal items, clothing and linen, shabtis, loaves, a headrest, incense, gold and silver vessels, to name a few items. Černý's text indicates how the text of the box inscriptions sometimes equates with the contents, but often does not, presumably in part due to repacking after robberies in the tomb. The absence of most of the gold items in the texts is particularly noticeable.³¹

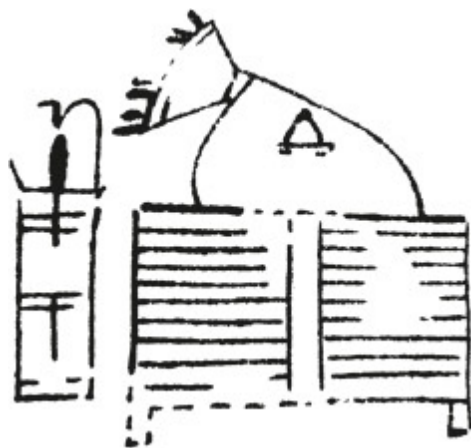


Fig. 227: Bag inside a basket or box (TT217).
After Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs*, 69, pl. XXXVII

While the function of many of the Tutankhamun items is unclear, the only ones that can be to any extent associated with a ritual such as libation or even the Opening of the Mouth could be the *nmst* vessels in box C54, sixteen of which vessels (and seventeen lids) were actually still in the container.³²

11.1.5 Probable box

The 2009 article noted above mentioned one possible box for these objects, although the association is not specified in its text, and thus it is considered with other furniture (Box A, see [p. 279](#)). The following box fragment, identified since 2009, was termed Box H, and seems clearly associated with the Opening of the Mouth.

99.98.0658. Box fragment. *Shaft I, Room 3, layer 4. Wood. L 4.6, W 2.4, Th 0.7. [Fig. 228](#)*

Small fragment of box with carved sunk hieroglyphs filled with blue paint. The surviving signs read: ... *rk* and ... *zrk*.

The wood is thinner and more delicate than that used for the other boxes in the tomb. Such thin walls are characteristic of small boxes, used for jewellery or toilette items,³³ or may just be thinner wood used for a lid.



Fig. 228: Object 99.98.0658, Box H

The fragmentary texts clearly suggest the purpose of this box. *rk*, ‘your mouth’ and *zrk*, ‘your son’ clearly evoke the Opening of the Mouth ritual. The role of the son, when not taken by other priests, is an essential one in the ritual.³⁴

It is thus suggested with some confidence that this may have come from a box used to contain the Opening of the Mouth ritual items identified here, either in bags or loose.³⁵

It is unclear whether this text was actually a spell from the ritual or a more generic label referring to the ritual done by the son, as no parallel objects have so far been noted. If this suggestion is correct, the hieroglyphs were more likely in columns than lines.

It cannot be excluded that this fragment and the three termed Box A

below (p. 279) might be the lid and sides of the same box, and indeed belong with Box B (p. 280), but this cannot yet be proven.

11.1.6 Related ostraka

The following seven fragments of an ostrakon fit together, and show scenes apparently from the Opening of the Mouth ritual. The vessel is made of a greyish marl clay, which bears significant areas of a yellow wash or pigment, suggested by Pamela Rose to be an Upper Egyptian marl, probably A4. The figures are drawn with a brush in black paint. All feature in [Fig. 229](#) and [Colour pl. 46A](#).

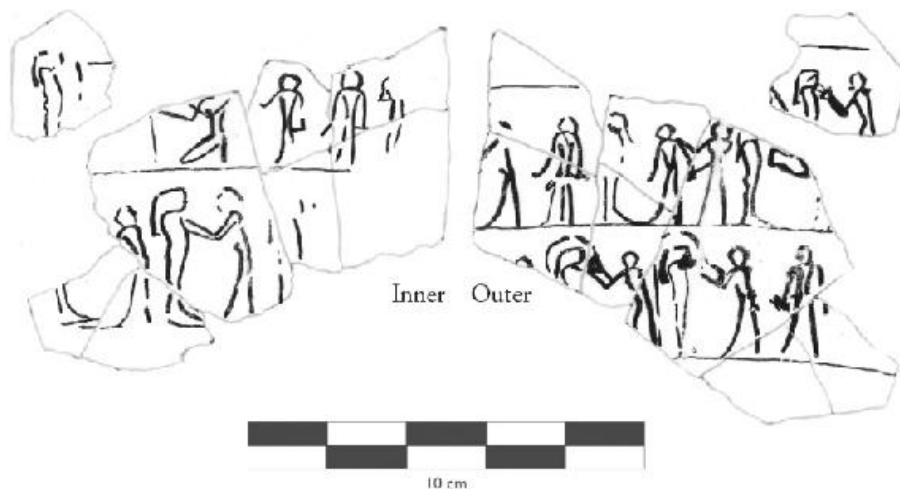


Fig. 229: Drawings of objects 99.98.0362, 99.98.0433, 99.98.0578, 99.98.0625, 99.98.0626, 99.98.0654, 99.98.0726 and 99.998.0382 (the latter is the isolated fragment), with a diagram of how they fit together

99.98.0362. Ostrakon (figured). *Shaft I, Corridor, layer 11.*

99.98.0433. Ostrakon (figured). *Shaft I, Staircase shaft, layer 3.*

99.98.0578. Ostrakon (figured). *Shaft I, Room 3, layer 1.*

99.98.0625. Ostrakon (figured). *Shaft I, Room 2, layer 5.*

99.98.0626. Ostrakon (figured). *Shaft I, Room 2, layer 5.*

99.98.0654. Ostrakon (figured). *Shaft I, Room 3, layer 4.*

99.98.0726. Ostrakon (figured). *Shaft I, location not noted.*

The following fragment is, from the style of the drawing, probably from the same ostrakon but cannot be joined to the above.

99.98.0382. Ostrakon (figured). *Shaft I, Corridor, layer 12. Marl clay? L 3.0, W 3.2, Th 0.6. [Fig. 229](#)*

Together these fragments form an ostrakon decorated on both sides

with scenes of men standing before mummiform figures. All figures are rapidly sketched, with the male figures little more than stick figures.³⁶ Most of the scenes are not capable of specific identification; references below to 'Otto' refer to scenes in his *Mundöffnungsritual*.³⁷

The outer (convex) side bears two registers. The upper register contains parts of three scenes, from left:

a. A mummiform figure has been lost; in front of it two men face left. The first has one arm extended forward, presumably presenting something to the mummy. The second has his right arm extended forward and his left by his side holding something, perhaps the rectangular object held by lector priests in such scenes.³⁸

b. A mummy facing right, in front of which are two men facing left. The first man bends forward slightly with his right arm forward, while the second man holds the first's left arm with his right hand and places his left hand on the first man's left shoulder. This pairing reflects Otto's scene 31 in the Opening of the Mouth ritual, in which the 'son who loves' the deceased is brought in by the *sem* priest.³⁹

c. To the right is another right-facing mummy and the front part of a man presenting the *hps* to it. A model of such an object has been found in the tomb, and it belongs probably to either Otto scene 25 or 44/45.

The lower register also shows parts of three scenes, from the left:

a. A small black blob marks the very top of the head of a priest in the first scene, the rest of which is lost.

b. A mummy faces right, with a man facing left before it, pouring a libation over the mummy.

c. Another mummy faces right, with two men before it. Another black line over the mummy indicates that the first figure is pouring another libation over it, while the second stands with his hand by his side, perhaps holding an object in his right. Presumably he is the lector priest who often stands at the back in such scenes.⁴⁰

The inner (concave) side also shows parts of two registers of scenes, less well-preserved than the other side. There is considerably more yellow pigment on this side. In the upper register are the remains of one scene:

a. To the left was originally a mummy. To the right are figures of one kneeling and three standing men. The kneeling man has both arms held before him, while the first standing man appears to have his right arm raised, and the other two men stand with arms to their sides. Otto scene 65A is perhaps the best candidate for this depiction: in that, a man holds up two pots before the mummy, with a priest behind with one hand raised in invocation to the deceased to partake

of his offerings.

In the lower register are parts of three scenes:

a. To the left was another mummy. To the right a man leans forward to the left, possibly presenting something to a mummy. It is not possible to identify this scene further.

b. To the right is another mummy facing right, in front of which is a figure leaning forward with both hands on the mummy, perhaps presenting something (not discernible) to its mouth.

c. Probably the outline of another standing mummy.

The **isolated fragment** shows on the inside a standing mummy, and on the outside a man ministering to another mummy. It seems likely that its original position was somewhere close to where it is in the images, and was perhaps part of the upper surviving register.

Thus together, these fragments suggest the following composition: one side shows a mummy facing right with some unclear lines before it. The other shows very clearly the upper part of a mummy facing right with a man leaning forward before it presenting something to it. The crudeness of the sketch at this point means that the object is unclear, but it could be one of the adzes or fingers discussed above, or other items such as the *psškf* or the feather (Otto scenes 37 and 39).

Although the subject-matter is very different, the style of the figures on these ostraka can be compared with that on a flake of stone found (out of context) in TT79⁴¹ and those from the area of TT71.⁴²

In addition the following two fragments may come from another such ostrakon. The drawing style is different (much finer lines) and the figures appear to face right and the mummies to the left. The marl fabric is browner than the earlier examples. They were, however, found in the Courtyard and elsewhere, so they could be completely unrelated.

99.97.0055. Ostrakon (figured). *Courtyard, square 23, layer 2. L 4.5, W 5.9, Th 1.0. Fig. 230*

Part of two figures face right, the left of which is particularly faint. Both seem to their left arms held before them and their right raised as if to offer. Whether they are holding anything is unclear.

99.98.0725. Ostrakon (figured). *Specific provenance in TT99 uncertain. L 5.7, W 5.5, Th 0.9. Fig. 230*

This ostrakon bears parts of two registers of figures probably engaged in Opening of the Mouth activities. The upper register bears parts of three figures facing right. That at the left appears to have his left arm raised before him in the manner of the lector priest in many parts of

the ritual. The figure to his right appears to hold something below waist level, with a curved line moving down towards the baseline, as if pouring something on the ground; this is not immediately apparent in Otto's scenes. The third figure seems to be leaning forward, perhaps offering or presenting something to a mummy now lost.

The lower register is little clearer, bearing parts of three figures facing right. There is a black area of paint at the left very left, but there are no clues as to what it is. The middle figure is holding up a *hps*. The third figure holds his left arm up, perhaps presenting something unclear; his right arm is before him. This piece may have been reshaped for use as a spade sherd.



Fig. 230: Similar ostraka to previous 99.97.0055 (left) and 99.98.0725 (right)

The first group of ostraka cannot have come from a regular pot, as such vessels would not have been decorated on the inside. Rather it would appear that a large piece of a broken pot was taken, perhaps painted yellow, and then decorated on both sides. I am unaware of similar examples from a burial context. However, the first group's proximity to the Opening of the Mouth objects published above suggests to me that they were intended to accompany those items, and together they would ensure the perpetuation of a revivification ritual for eternity.

11.1.7 Summary of archaeological contexts

Table 18: Summary of contexts of Opening the Mouth objects from TT99

<i>Object type</i>	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Object numbers</i>
Adzes (various)	Room 3	99.98.0518, 99.98.0601, 99.98.0619
Finger	Room 3	99.98.0648
Model ox leg (<i>hps</i>)	Room 2/3 (join)	99.98.0608, 99.98.0609
Censer	Room 3	99.98.0650
Uncertain items	Room 3	99.98.0640, 99.98.0665
Ostrakon	Room 2/3, Staircase shaft and Corridor	See p. 268 ff
Label	Room 3	99.98.0622
Box H fragment	Room 3	99.98.0658
Box A (possible)	Room 3, Corridor	See p. 279

Apart the two ostrakon fragments just described, found in the Courtyard, all the above objects were found in the Shaft I complex, three in the Corridor, one on the Staircase shaft, three in Room 2, and fourteen in Room 3. The ostraka were the most scattered of all across contexts, but the preponderance of objects with a Room 3 provenance strongly suggests that this was the original location of the container(s) in the tomb; indeed, only one of the identifiable ritual objects (the larger fragment of the ox leg) was elsewhere, in Room 2. This is summarised in [Table 18](#).

It cannot of course be excluded that it was originally in Room 2, and was cast into Room 3 by robbers. As ever, we are hampered by the lack of intact comparable tombs and by the lack of parallels to these objects, although some indication of the layout might be given by the bipartite division of the burial chamber of Yuia and Tjuiu, with the coffins in the main chamber (which would be our Room 2) and the ceramics mainly at the far end, with some other burial goods.⁴³

11.1.8 Images of the Opening of the Mouth in TT99

As there are at least three scenes in the tomb decoration and because of the wider implications for Egyptian rituals, relevant discussion has been moved to further articles.⁴⁴

11.2 Jewellery

11.2.1 Beads

Shaft I produced a mixture of tubular faience beads and a small number of disc beads. Given the portability and distribution of beads

over the entire TT99 complex, it is essential to attempt to distinguish between those which may have belonged to the original burial and those which are intrusive, the latter resulting from previous emptying and refilling of the shaft.

369 tubular and spacer beads were found in the fill of the principal shaft, and several in the upper layers of the Corridor fill, but the number retrieved decreased to zero as the burial chamber was approached. While it cannot be excluded that collars of the 18th dynasty employing tubular beads were originally present in the tomb,⁴⁵ only the following eight beads and fragments came from the chambers at the end of the Corridor.

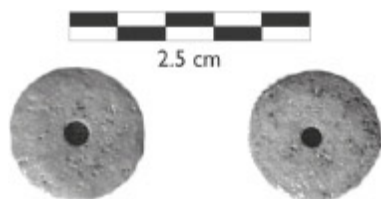


Fig. 231: Beads 99.98.0652a and 99.98.0727



Fig. 232: Bracelet B (left) and Bracelet A (right)

99.98.0428. Shaft I, Staircase shaft, layer 2. Faience (blue). Th 0.3, D 0.5.

A blue discoid bead.

99.98.0621. Shaft I, Room 3, layer 3. Faience (blue). L 0.4, D 0.3.

One triple circular bead (dimensions above) and one single bead, 0.3 x

99.98.0647. *Shaft I, Room 3, layer 3. Faience (blue). Th 0.2, D 1.5.*

One and a half large disc beads.

99.98.0652a. *Shaft I, Room 3, layer 4. Faience. D 1.5. Fig. 231*

One complete (illustrated) and one half disc bead.

99.98.0727. *Shaft I, Room 3, layer 1. Faience. D 1.4. Fig. 231*

Disc bead of faience.

Most of the above are of the large disc or lenticular type, made of blue-green faience, and measuring 1.4–1.5 cm in diameter. They would have come from strings of similar beads worn around the neck, perhaps as faience imitations of the elaborate gold *shebiu* collars shown on many statues, and well-attested in the 18th dynasty.⁴⁶

A further eight fragments of similar disc beads were found at TT99 outside the context of the Senneferi burial. These included one fragment in the filling of Shaft I, the Courtyard, Shaft G and Shaft H; one fragment was found in Room 1 of the latter shaft. While none of these provenances are in themselves necessarily significant, they are all outside the tomb chapel, making it possible that jewellery composed of such beads could have originated in Shaft I and become spread around the local area.

11.2.2 *Faience bracelets*

A small number of fragments of faience from bracelets were found in the burial shaft of Senneferi, while one further fragment came from Shaft H in the Courtyard. It has been possible to reduce the Senneferi fragments into two distinct objects, with possibly a third. I give a summary of the locations from which the fragments came, and the number of fragments without dimensions.

99.98.0309	Shaft I, Corridor, layer 6	1
99.98.0468	Shaft I, Room 2, layer 3	1
99.98.0514	Shaft I, Room 3, layer 2	1
99.98.0591	Shaft I, Room 3, layer 1	1
99.98.0638	Shaft I, Room 3, layer 3	3
99.98.0645	Shaft I, Room 3, layer 4	2

Bracelet A Fig. 232

An almost complete bracelet made of deep blue faience. The inner diameter is approximately 9 cm and the outer 10.3 cm. It is composed of fragments from the Corridor of Shaft I, one from Room 2, and four others from Room 3.

Bracelet B Fig. 232

Just under one half of a blue to slightly green faience bracelet, much less deeply coloured than the previous. The inner diameter is approximately 8.9 cm and the outer 10.3 cm. Both fragments were found in Room 3.

Such bracelets (or perhaps armlets)⁴⁷ can be made of gold as well as of faience, and it is quite possible that, in the highest status burials at least, the surviving faience examples could have complemented golden ones which were removed by ancient or modern thieves.⁴⁸ Faience bands could also be imitations of gold bands seen on the forearms of certain statues.⁴⁹

Parallels to these objects are well known from the 18th dynasty.⁵⁰ If so, they could also bring the associations of faience with rejuvenation and new life to these objects, in a form which would have been more affordable. Lilyquist observes that these objects have not apparently been found on mummies;⁵¹ if she is correct, then perhaps their purpose in the tomb was as much symbolic as a piece of adornment, and thus it was not necessary that they be placed on the body. However, it may have been that a simpler version of the golden bracelet was made from a simple strip of gold and placed on a mummy.⁵² Such items form part of the funerary equipment presented to the deceased, and as such, did not perhaps need to be placed on the mummy (see Wall 13, p. 129).

11.2.3 Summary of archaeological contexts

This restricted range of jewellery fragments came principally from Room 3. The very limited evidence makes it difficult to decide whether these items were placed on the mummies or stored in boxes.

11.3 Stone and other non-ceramic vessels

Almost complete profiles of two vessels have survived, along with parts of two others, plus parts of three lids. Most of them have been reassembled from fragments; in the following, preference is given to the reconstructed dimensions of the whole vessel rather than to the individual fragment sizes.

11.3.1 Vessels

Vessel A (alabaster) Fig. 233, Colour pl. 45A, Colour pl. 45B

A vessel of plain yellow unveined Egyptian alabaster (calcite), the profile of which is preserved to the top of the shoulder. It is 18.4 cm high. It might have been a jug with a single handle, as there are sufficient areas missing and the neck is not preserved. An early 18th dynasty example belonging to Menkheperresoneb appears to be the best parallel.⁵³ The incomplete profile of this vessel was reconstructed from fragments, all found in Room 3;⁵⁴ the intact object was most probably originally placed there.

The vessel bears a single column of very roughly incised hieroglyphs, only the end of which survives: ... *wsir imy-r sdsutwy sn-nfri ms-brw*, ‘the Osiris, the overseer of seal-bearers, Senneferi, justified’.

There was a thick orange-brown residue on the interior (Colour pl. 45B), quite greasy to the touch, and whenever the object became warm (as when being photographed for example) it gave off a rather sickly fragrant odour. It is thus likely that its original content was an incense or fragrant oil.⁵⁵ There are stains on the breaks from the contents, suggesting that the vessel was smashed well before the contents had dried out and solidified, suggesting that the initial damage to the object took place not too long after the original burial.

Vessel B (alabaster) Fig. 234

This rather squat, broad-based and wide-mouthed globular vessel is made of an attractive whitish-yellow Egyptian alabaster (calcite) with evident white horizontal veins. Sufficient fragments of this vessel survived for much of the profile to be reconstructed. Since it is composed of fragments all except one found in Room 3,⁵⁶ as with vessel A, the evidence points to its original location as being in that room. This vessel also bears the remains of a residue. This is white in colour and much thinner than that in vessel A; it was oily to the touch when warm, when it also gave off a slight fragrance.

The shape is not unlike piriform vessels (see comments on vessel D below); a possible parallel for the shape, bearing the name of Hatshepsut, was found in royal tomb KV20,⁵⁷ while there is a similar shape in the Tomb of the Three Princesses.⁵⁸

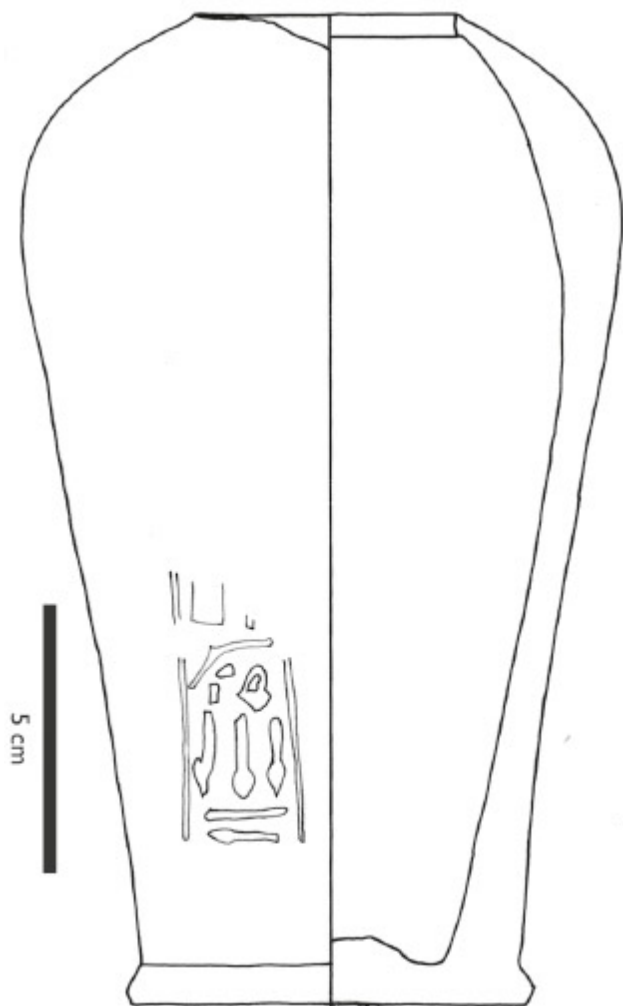


Fig. 233: Reconstruction of alabaster vessel A

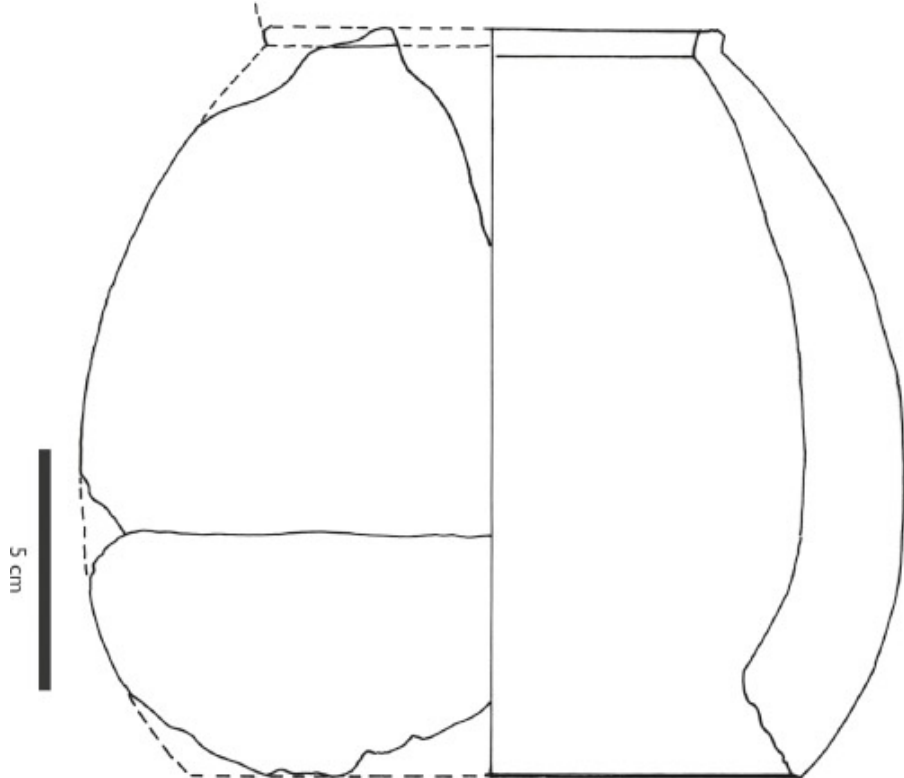


Fig. 234: Reconstruction of alabaster vessel B

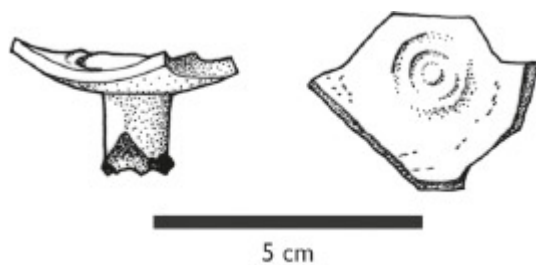


Fig. 235: Fragment of alabaster vessel C



Fig. 236: Kohl stick (object 99.98.0657)

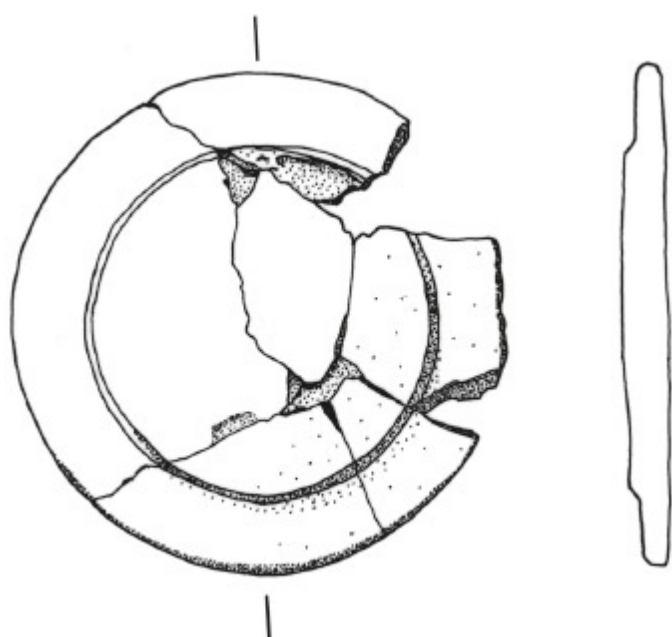
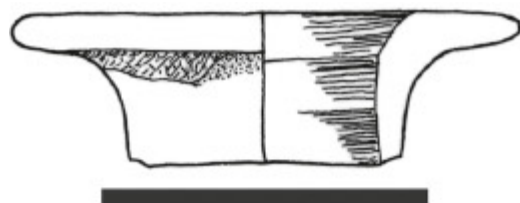


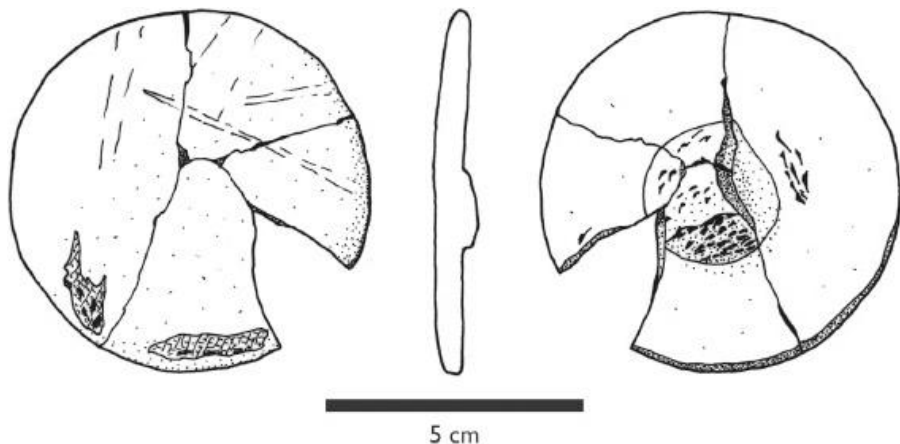
Fig. 237: Lid A



5 cm



Fig. 238: Rim from Vessel D



5 cm

Fig. 239: Lid B



Fig. 240: Lid B located on rim of Vessel D

Vessel C (alabaster) [Fig. 235](#)

A fragment of a finely-made very white and thin-walled Egyptian alabaster (calcite) vessel,^{[59](#)} from the base of the body, part of the foot still being present; the mark from the drill used to bore out the vessel is very evident. It is not impossible that lid C below came from this object.

Vessels with similar stands or feet (most rather less delicate than this one) belong in categories termed goblets,^{[60](#)} squat jars,^{[61](#)} or the like.^{[62](#)} A parallel with a fine stand support would appear to be Cairo

Vessel D (serpentinite/serpentine) Fig. 238

A number of body fragments of hard greenish-black stone (in addition to the two lids described below) were unearthed. For New Kingdom vessels, the most likely identification for this material appears to be forms of serpentinite/serpentine.⁶⁴ The fragments include rim, shoulder, body and base fragments, and although most could not be joined, they all appear to be from a jar, perhaps originally piriform in shape;⁶⁵ the clearest element of this is the rim which is drawn here. Below the rim are traces of mud from a sealing.⁶⁶ The body fragments possibly belonging to this vessel mostly bear traces on the inside of a black residue (not analysed).

The provenances of these fragments suggest,⁶⁷ if they are all from the same vessel, that it might have originally been in Room 3 when it was damaged, and further broken in the Corridor (two joining fragments on the rim came from each of these locations).

11.3.2 Lids

Lid A (serpentinite/serpentine?) Fig. 237

Lid of highly polished greenish-black stone, diameter 7.5 cm. The thickness at the edge is 0.3 cm, and in the middle 0.7 cm. The diameter of the jar mouth it would have closed was a minimum of 5.2 cm; it is thus too large to have belonged with the serpentinite Vessel D.⁶⁸

Lid B (serpentinite/serpentine?) Fig. 239, Fig. 240

Four fragments belonging to a lid of a stone vessel, of a greener material than the previous example. Diameter 7.0, cm thickness 0.4 cm; diameter of central boss 2.8 cm. On its top surface are the remains of mud or fibrous binding or sealing of the jar on which it was placed (see above).⁶⁹

The stone of this lid seems very similar to that of vessel D above, and it does fit, as seen in **Fig. 240** (two more fragments of this lid were identified after this photo was taken and are in the drawing), although the boss of a lid can of course be much smaller than the mouth of the vessel with which it is associated. In addition, the marks of its original binding are very similar to those of vessel D.

The small central boss on the lid might also suggest that it came from a vessel like a kohl pot,⁷⁰ and part of an applicator was found in Room 3 (99.98.0657 immediately below); no thick fragments typical of such jars have been found.

Lid C

99.98.0350. *Shaft I, Corridor, layer 9. Alabaster.*

This is part of a disc of fine white Egyptian alabaster (calcite), which when complete would have had a diameter in the region of 5.5 cm, almost certainly from the lid of a vessel from the raised profile on the underside. It covered an aperture of about 4.5 cm. The whiteness and fineness of the alabaster are not unlike that of vessel C above.

11.3.3 Cosmetic items

99.98.0657. *Kohl stick. Shaft I, Room 3, layer 4. Ebony? L 4.0. Fig. 236*

Rounded end of a broken kohl stick or applicator.

There are no certain kohl jars surviving from TT99 to complement this applicator (but see discussion above). These items are very common components of elite 18th dynasty burials.⁷¹ Their presence and that of other cosmetics might have been intended, as suggested by the rubric to Book of the Dead spell 125, to prepare the dead to enter the presence of Osiris ‘painted with black eye paint and anointed with myrrh’.⁷²



Fig. 241: Cattle bone from Shaft I, Room 3

11.3.4 Summary and contexts

Remains of a minimum of four vessels of alabaster and serpentinite/serpentine? have survived, one of which could possibly have been the vessel to which the kohl stick belonged.

Stone vessels form a very common element of 18th dynasty private burials; almost all intact burials of that period have contained a number of them.⁷³ The majority of fragments seem to have come from Room 3, from which some broken fragments were removed and ultimately deposited in the Corridor. This number of fragments from

the Corridor might suggest that stone vessels, either because of their intrinsic value or because of the value of their contents were of particular interest to robbers; perhaps these ones were dropped in a hurry to leave. Broken examples have been discovered in other robbed tombs, including those close in date and social status to Senneferi.⁷⁴

11.4 Food containers and provisions

Parts of up to three wooden containers for food were found in the course of the excavations. These objects were hollowed out from larger pieces of wood, and quite possibly originally had lids (hence we cannot discern the number of containers these represent), pegged to the lower part. There are abundant traces of resin over these examples, and, in addition to the magical and ritual significance this material bore, the resin may have also been intended to seal the containers.⁷⁵ The exteriors and possibly the interiors were gessoed and painted (yellowish- or creamish-) white, although this colouring has now largely disappeared.

Such containers with lids are known at least from better-preserved examples in the burials of Tutankhamun,⁷⁶ Yuia and Tjuiu,⁷⁷ Maiherpri,⁷⁸ and that of Seniu (possibly) at Deir el-Bahari.⁷⁹ The food in those burials was wrapped in linen.

11.4.1 Containers

99.98.0611. Food container. *Shaft I, Room 2, layer 6. Wood. L 10, W 14, Th 5.5. Fig. 242*

Part of a container for food, made of a light coarse wood, painted yellowish-white on the outside, and perhaps with a thin layer of creamish gesso inside. Five further small fragments of it were found at the same time. There is a peg hole in the top for joining to the upper/lower half. Around the top are traces of resin.

99.98.0623. Food container. *Shaft I, Room 2, layer 5. Wood. L 25.0, W 16.1, Th 6.0. Fig. 243*

Part of a coarse wood container for food items, hollowed out on the inside and painted creamish-white.

99.98.0684. Food container. *Shaft I, Room 3, layer 4. Wood. L 33.5, W 16.0, Th 4. Fig. 244*

An almost complete lower or upper part of a container for food with a smoothed exterior and traces of cream paint on it. There are streaks of resin across the centre. A small fragment (7 x 3.5 cm) of the same kind of object was also found in this context.



Fig. 242: Food container 99.98.0611



Fig. 243: Food container 99.98.0623

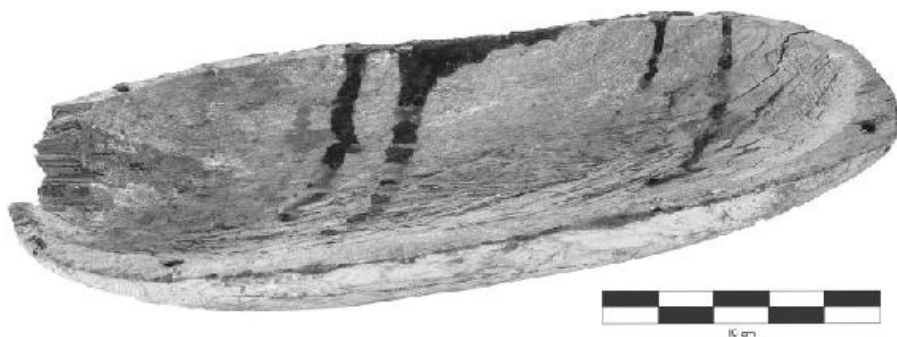


Fig. 244: Food container 99.98.0684

11.4.2 Provisions

Food items were extremely limited among the finds. One cattle bone

was identified among the osteological material by Tony Waldron in Room 3, and it seems reasonable that this might have been part of a food offering left with the dead ([Fig. 241](#)). Five dom palm nuts were found in the Corridor of the shaft, and one in Room 2. From the presence of such nuts in other tombs, it is reasonable to assume that they could have been part of the original burial.⁸⁰ The various storage jars and amphorae must have contained consumables (Chapter 9), and labels on some of the smaller vessels indicate the presence in them of at least of wine, beer, almonds and fruit (§ 10.2.1).

11.5 Secular and religious furniture

The term ‘furniture’ is used here to covers all boxes, beds and similar whether of a religious or secular nature. The line between religious and secular in an Egyptian tomb is blurred due to the difficulty of telling whether an item was used in life or made specifically for burial. In addition, the material to be described is so badly damaged that the function of an individual fragment is often unclear. Thus this section will incorporate fragments which almost certainly come from the canopic box in addition to those from more conventional chests and containers.

The evidence from Senneferi’s burial consists exclusively of fragments, mostly of boxes. Meaningful fragments have been divided into groups for each box or other item. These pieces usually do not join, and as the context and pieces are very broken, many of the groupings are highly speculative. It is rarely possible to speculate on the specific category. There is the additional possibility that some pieces listed here as coming from boxes (notably black resin-covered ones) may actually have originated in coffins (Chapter 8).

Furniture was an important component of elite burials of the 18th dynasty,⁸¹ but has received relatively little in the way of detailed study; the reader is referred to works by Baker⁸² and, in particular, Killen.⁸³

11.5.1 Non-specific boxes

Box A ([Fig. 245](#))

99.98.0361. *Shaft I, Corridor, layer 11. L 9.3, W 6.0, Th 1.3.*

99.98.0651. *Shaft I, Room 3, layer 3. L 11.0, W 6.0, Th 1.6.*



Fig. 245: Fragments of Box A

99.98.0656. Shaft I, Room 3, layer 4. L 10.5, W 6.0, Th 1.2.

Three fragments at least from this box have survived, bearing a column of text filled with blue/green pigment. The box seems to have been made from a series of horizontal pieces of wood. Two fragments certainly join to form the beginning of the inscription, and the third is

a candidate for the end of the same inscription. The amount missing is unclear and would depend on the number of epithets of Osiris which were there (if any) in addition to the two still visible. From the square edges at the extremities, it would seem that this would provide the complete height of a side or a lid of a box. As arranged in the photograph, the length/height of this part of the box would be at least 35 cm.

Assuming the two incomplete signs on the bottom fragment are , as box texts tend to be minimalist, the remaining text reads: *hṭp di nswt wsir ntr ʕ [hnty] imntyw n k3 n imy-r sd3wty sn-nfr m3-brw*; ‘an offering that the king gives and that Osiris gives, the great god, /// [foremost] of the westerners, for the *ka* of the overseer of seal-bearers Sennefer, justified.

The purpose of this box cannot be ascertained, but the thinness of the wood suggests that it would not have been large. The presence of the offering formula has led the present author to suggest that it might be a candidate for a container for the Opening of the Mouth objects discussed earlier.⁸⁴ It is thus perhaps to be linked with the wooden fragment 99.98.0658 discussed above as possible Box H (p. 268). It may even be the opposite side of Box B, immediately below, suggesting a complete length in the region of 35 cm.

Box B (Fig. 246)

99.98.0530. *Shaft I, Room 3, layer 2. L 35.5, W 5.2, Th 1.5.*

A section of probably the complete side of a wooden box, suggested by the dovetail joints at either end.⁸⁵ In the centre is a short section of a vertical column of text, *ntr ʕ hqs dt*, ‘the great god, ruler of eternity’, presumably part of an offering formula naming Osiris (compare box A above).

The similarity of this to box A begs the question as to whether they are from opposite sides of the same object. The style of the hieroglyphs is comparable. Comparison indicates that the text column on box A is perhaps 2 mm wider, but this may be within the tolerance for inscriptions on the same box.

Box C (Fig. 247)

This is probably from a plain white box, and although it has similarities with Box B, it is probably not from the same container. Such boxes are common parts of 18th dynasty funeral furniture, for example from the tomb of Ramose and Hatnefer,⁸⁶ or that of Tutankhamun.⁸⁷ Plain boxes are also found, such as from the tomb of Kha.⁸⁸

99.98.0346d. Box fragment. *Shaft I, Corridor, layer 9. Wood. L 24.9, W 4.9, Th 2.0.*

A piece of plain flat wood, possibly from a box; it bears a coating of white gesso.

Box D (Fig. 248)

These fragments are characterised by being made of thin wood, with incised texts filled with white gesso in vertical columns; the box appears to have been coated with now fragile resin. However, it cannot be excluded that some fragments may actually be from black coffins.

99.98.0663c. *Shaft I, Room 3, layer 3. L 21.0, W 3.1, Th 0.9.*

Bears the bottom of the name of Senneferi.

99.98.0663d. *Shaft I, Room 3, layer 3. L 6.2, W 2, Th 7.*

A black fragment of wood, incised with an unclear text, filled with gesso.

Box E (Fig. 249)

99.98.0666. Box fragment. *Shaft I, Room 3, layer 4. Wood. L 17.5, W 1.8, Th 2.8.*

Wooden box fragment, coated with black resin on one side, the other side red, with part of deeply incised hieroglyphs:  at the left,⁸⁹ and possibly further text decoration at the right. It is evidently the lower part of a container. It cannot be excluded that it comes from the canopic box.

Box F

Presumably box fragments, these are characterised by a yellow background with decoration in red and blue, but not in any highly recognisable pattern. Boxes bearing colour, monochrome or polychrome, are not uncommon, such as those of Kha,⁹⁰ Maiherpri⁹¹ and Perpauti;⁹² the blue colour may be from hieroglyphic inscriptions. They are too fragmentary to be reconstructed into any actual boxes.

99.98.0327b. Box fragment ? *Shaft I, Corridor, layer 7. Wood, paint. L 20.4, W 3.0, Th 2.8.*

99.98.0346c. Box fragment ? *Shaft I, Corridor, layer 9. Wood.*

99.98.0364c. Box fragment ? *Shaft I, Corridor, layer 11. Wood. L 33.0, W 7.5, Th 2.0.*



Fig. 246: Box B, fragment 99.98.0530



Fig. 247: Box C, fragment 99.98.0346d



Fig. 248: Fragments of Box D

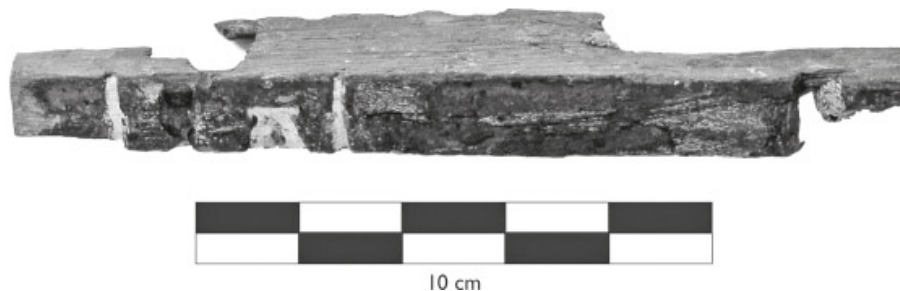


Fig. 249: Box E, fragment 99.98.0666

99.98.0379d,e. Box fragments. Shaft I, Corridor, layer 12. Wood.

99.98.0429. Box fragments ? Shaft I, Staircase shaft, layer 2. Wood.
 L 21.5, W 2.0, Th 2.0 and L 7, W 2.5, Th 1.2.

Box H

See [p. 268](#) for discussion of this fragment (99.98.0658) as a possible box for Opening of the Mouth implements; compare comments on Box A above.

Possible box fragments, origin uncertain

99.98.0364a. Box fragment. *Shaft I, Corridor, layer 11. Wood. L 11.0, W 4.0, Th 2.8.*

Black with yellow decoration (one hieroglyph, either *Sms* or *gnwt*)

99.98.0420. Box fragment. *Shaft I, Room 2, layer 1. Wood. L 13.0, W 5.0, Th 1.9.*

A flat piece of wood with hieroglyphs incised and filled with blue paint. Adjacent to the text is shiny black resin, which is also present on the reverse. (Text = *ib* ?)

99.98.0457. Box fragment ? *Shaft I, Room 2, layer 3. Wood.*

Wood fragment bearing white paint, probably part of a box.

99.98.0669. Box fragments. *Shaft I, Room 3, layer 3. Wood. L 18.5, W 6.4, Th 2.7 and L 12, W 11.5, Th 3.1*

Two pieces of thick coarse wood with linen/plaster/yellow paint on one side. Possibly from a yellow box.

11.5.2 Canopic box or chest

The existence of a canopic box of Senneferi is indicated firstly by the canopic jars themselves ([p. 195](#)). Evidence for the box is more fragmentary, but strongly suggested by the remains of a wooden item with a sledge base, represented by sledge fragments 99.98.0379 and 99.98.0525b ([Fig. 250](#)),⁹³ as well as by a long piece of wood with tenons at the ends and slots in the top (99.98.0462, [Fig. 252](#)). A number of possible further fragments have been identified, and they have been so grouped either by being associated with a sledge, or because of the presence of resin on the fragments, since it would appear resin was applied to this box. It cannot be excluded that some of the other fragments described on these pages, notably Box E, come from this same chest.

There are a number of known intact or reconstructed canopic boxes or chests from the 18th dynasty, such as those of Hatnefer,⁹⁴ Ruyu,⁹⁵ Maiherpri,⁹⁶ Yuia and Tjuiu,⁹⁷ Wadjren,⁹⁸ Neby,⁹⁹ and Amenemhat (BM EA 35809, unpublished). The latter has a sledge runner width of 7 cm, which is not unlike that below; the reconstructed box of Ruyu is perhaps most like the box of Senneferi.

The wood of which this is made is quite reddish. Most of the fragments bear traces of black paint or resin to give the usual finish of these boxes. The hieroglyphs are sunk into the wood, well carved, and filled with, it appears, a mixture of Egyptian blue and a white substance (see [Colour pl. 47A](#)). It appears from some examples, such as 99.98.0607b, that the blue was underneath the white as the latter has disappeared. Others, such as 99.98.0607a and 99.98.0679b, exhibit a mixture of both.

Sledge fragments ([Fig. 250](#))

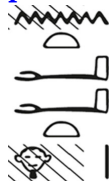
The following two fragments join to produce the curved end of a sledge runner. The flat end of the pieces is clearly shaped for a joint, and there is a small dowel hole on one side for pegging onto another part of the sledge or chest; clearly the side of the base of the box was not made of one piece of wood as with many of the examples noted above.

99.98.0379. *Shaft I, Corridor, layer 12. Wood. L 13.0, W 12.0, Th 5.0.*

99.98.0525b. *Shaft I, Room 3, layer 2. Wood. L 23.8, W 3.5, Th 6.3.*

Certain text fragment

99.98.0679b. *Shaft I, Room 3, layer 4. Wood. L 10.2, W 8.5. [Colour pl. 47A](#)*



Fragment of wood bearing sunk hieroglyphs forming part of a vertical column of text. The hieroglyphs are filled with blue paint, but it appears that the background to them was left the natural colour of the wood. The edge outside the column dividers, however, was painted black. This small section of text is almost identical to part of two examples on the canopic box of Ruyu, where it forms part of a protective address by Isis and Serqet.

Other possible canopic box fragments

99.98.0346a. *Shaft I, Corridor, layer 9. Wood. L 32.5, W 3.0, Th 1.8. [Fig. 251](#)*

Box fragment covered with black resin; parts of one column of text with possibly part of a deceased person determinative in sunk relief.

99.98.0462. *Shaft I, Room 2, layer 3. Wood. L 53.5, W 4.7, Th 3.5. [Fig. 252](#)*

Long piece of carved wood with tenons at the ends and a slot in the top. Probably one of the four sides of the base frame of the canopic chest; the width is the same as that of sledge fragments 99.98.0379 and 99.98.0525b above. The tenons at the ends would have joined the remainder of the frame, and the slot on the top would have helped attach the box itself. The length is very close to my estimate of 58 cm for the box of Ruyu, or the 52 cm of that of Hatnefer.¹⁰⁰

99.98.0465a. *Shaft I, Room 2, layer 3. Wood. L 45.0, W 3.0, Th 2.1.*

A fragment of wood with a hieroglyph  at one end and the head of a jackal at the other, carved in sunk relief, covered with black resin. This is suggestive of a canopic box bearing carved figures of protective deities.

99.98.0465b. *Shaft I, Room 2, layer 3. Wood. L 55, W 2.5, Th 3.1.*

A long thin fragment of wood bearing two hieroglyphs  in sunk relief, covered with black resin. **99.98.0465c.** *Shaft I, Room 2, layer 3. Wood. L 30.4, W 3.8, Th 1.8. Fig. 251*

A piece of carved wood, covered with black resin, with the bottom part of the hieroglyph of a seated man.

99.98.0607a. *Shaft I, Room 2, layer 6. Wood. L 28.0, W 6.0, Th 1.8. Fig. 251*

A piece of wood, covered with black resin, bearing the name Senneferi in sunk relief, filled with white paint or gesso. This fragment might fit on the long fragment 99.98.0462 above.

99.98.0607b. *Shaft I, Room 2, layer 6. Wood. L 11.3, W 3.3, Th 1.6. Fig. 251*

A piece of wood, covered with black resin showing the end of the side, or corner of a box, bearing part of the hieroglyph of a seated figure and a vertical mark which is either a column divider or *ms(-hrw)*.

99.98.0607c. *Shaft I, Room 2, layer 6. Wood. L 12.5, W 3.1, Th 2.*

A piece of wood, covered with black resin: probably a fragment of a chest and possibly part of a text, perhaps in raised relief.

99.98.0685. *Shaft I, Room 3, layer 4. Wood. L 11.0, W 1.5 and L 8.6, W 2, Th 1.8.*

Two fragments of wood bearing black paint and with carved hieroglyphs (unclear), perhaps filled with blue paint.

11.5.3 Knobs

New Kingdom boxes of all types, including canopic chests, employed knobs on the lids and body to enable them to be sealed shut.¹⁰¹

99.98.0357a. *Shaft I, Corridor, layer 10. Wood. L 5.0, D 4.5.*

Knob from box, with curved top, and a peg, the upper part of which is tapered. It bears very slight traces of white paint. It is not dissimilar to 99.98.0525a.

99.98.0525a. *Shaft I, Room 3, layer 2. Wood. L 4.2, D 3.8. Fig. 253*

A knob similar to 99.98.0357a.

99.98.0610. *Shaft I, Room 2, layer 6. Wood. L 5.1, Th 1.0, D 3.5. Fig. 254*

A knob from a box, painted black.

11.5.4 Other furniture from Shaft I

Braces

Chairs and stools are quite common in interments of the New Kingdom.¹⁰² Such white-painted braces probably come from the simpler types of seat which had joints which needed bracing, as the more elaborate chairs made of stronger and better wood did not use them.¹⁰³

99.98.0357b. *Shaft I, Corridor, layer 10. Wood. L 21.0, W 3.0.*

Wooden brace from furniture, painted white. There are dowels and dowel holes in both arms for fixing to furniture.

99.98.0379a. *Shaft I, Corridor, layer 12. Wood. L 10.5, W 3.7, Th 1.7. Fig. 256* (left)

Furniture brace.

99.98.0461a. *Shaft I, Staircase shaft, layer 3. Wood. L 10.0, W 3.7, Th 1.8. Fig. 256* (right), **Fig. 257**

A brace from an item of furniture, with a white plaster coating. Probably from the same item as the previous.

Uncertain

99.98.0665a. **Furniture fragment?** *Shaft I, Room 3, layer 3. Wood. L 28.0, W 3.7, Th 2.2.*

Piece of harder wood, perhaps from item of furniture.

99.98.0462a. **Furniture fragment.** *Shaft I, Room 2, layer 3. Wood. L 18.5, D 4.3. Fig. 255, Fig. 256*

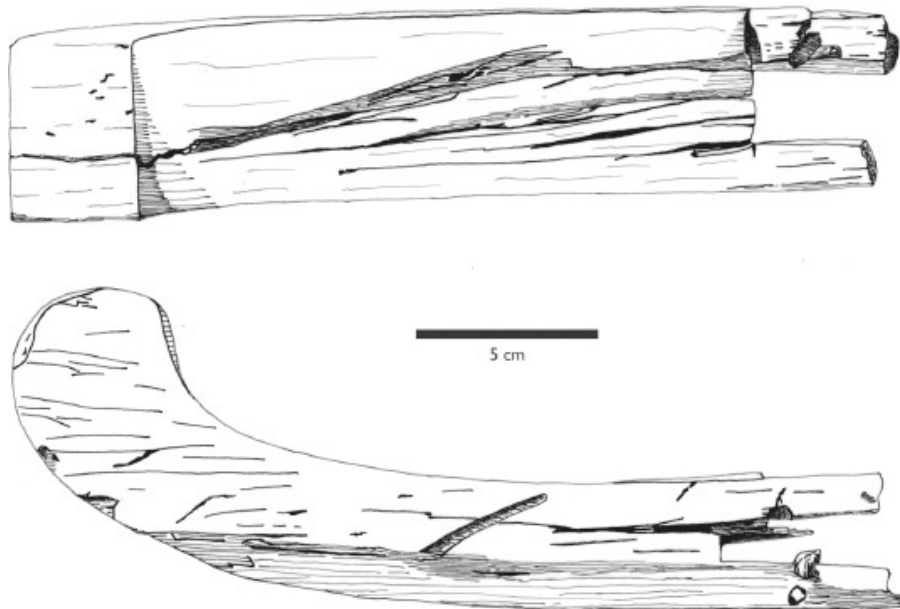


Fig. 250: Fragments of sledge of canopic box 99.98.0379 and 99.98.0525b



Fig. 251: Selection of possible canopic box fragments

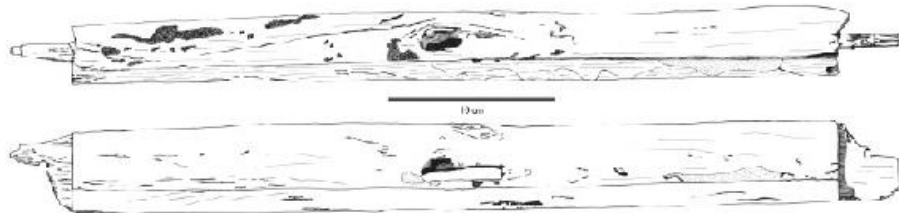


Fig. 252: Wooden fragment 99.98.0462, possibly from base of canopic box

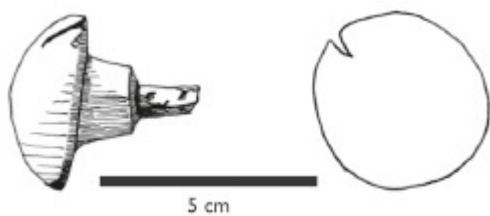


Fig. 253: Knob 99.98.0525a

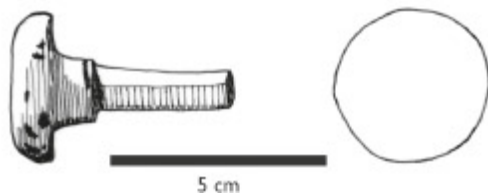


Fig. 254: Knob 99.98.0610

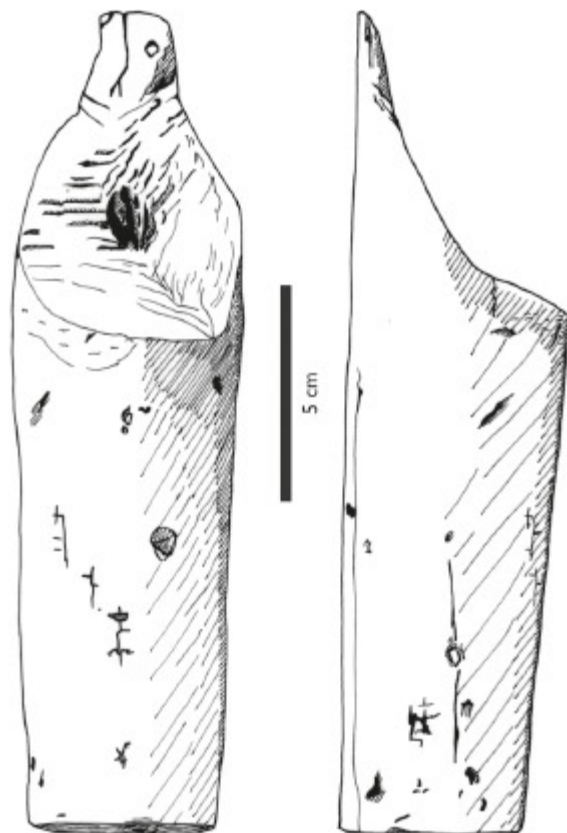


Fig. 255: Uncertain object 99.98.0462a



Fig. 256: Furniture fragments Top: 99.98.0462a. Bottom: 99.98.0379a (left)

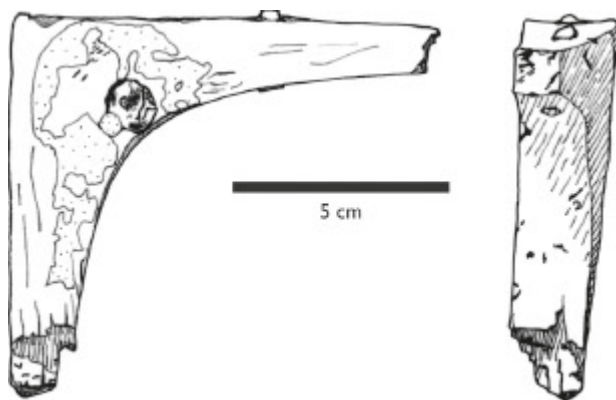


Fig. 257: Brace 99.98.0461a

Piece of carved wood, perhaps from furniture. A rounded and slightly tapered item, it has a hole at the top for fixing and also a hole down the middle; it has possibly been burned. Its shape is not right for a leg of an item of furniture, nor is there any evidence of fixings substantial enough for it to have borne any weight. The diameter is measured at the flat bottom.

It is not implausible that these two latter items might have belonged in some way with the Opening of the Mouth implements described earlier.

99.98.0525b. Furniture fragments. *Shaft I, Room 3, layer 2. Wood. L 23.8, W 3.5, Th 6.3.*

A piece of wood, probably from furniture.

11.5.5 Summary and contexts

The highly fragmentary furniture just presented from the burial of Senneferi includes the following classes of items:

Plain and decorated boxes:	5 at least
Canopic chest:	1
Simple chairs:	1 at least

Although the range of objects is particularly difficult to discern, this material suggests the number of major items of furniture is in line with Smith's survey for the burial of a member of the elite of the level of Senneferi.¹⁰⁴

As for their find spots, they seem to be fairly evenly divided between Rooms 2 and 3 and the Corridor. This suggests that they most

likely originated in Rooms 2 and 3 and in the course of the various robberies the burials have suffered over the years were smashed, with some being dumped in the Corridor and others left in the original rooms.

11.6 Figured, hieroglyphic and other ostraka

This short section covers several ostraka found within the burial chambers of Senneferi, and which by their location seem to not to have arrived there from later depositions (see archaeological report [p. 76](#)). It is not suggested that they were deposited here deliberately, but that they rather seem to have made their way into the chambers around the time when Senneferi and his family were interred here.

11.6.1 Hieroglyphic ostraka

An intriguing ostrakon of probable 18th dynasty date was found in Shaft C inside TT99 (object 99.95.0297). An edition of it has been published by Haring,^{[105](#)} and a short summary will appear in Part II of this publication.

99.98.0437. Ostrakon. *Shaft I, Staircase shaft, layer 2. Marl clay. L 5.8, W 6.0, Th 1.2.* [Fig. 258](#)

A fragment of a very cream-coloured vessel, bearing parts of at least four columns of hieroglyphs written with a brush; to the left are traces, either of a sketch or further hieroglyphs. The fabric is very soft and distinctive in texture, and similar plain pieces were found among the ceramics in Shaft I.^{[106](#)}

¹ *mꜣꜣ šꜣms ...*

² *ssndm nw r hwt-nṯr nt imn? ...*

³ *hwt-kꜣ nt dꜣf? ntt m ...*

⁴ *... pr-ꜣ ? ꜣnh [wꜣꜣ snb ?] / pr-ꜣnh ...*

¹ Watching the following of ...

² *ssndm* wood of the area of? the temple of Amun? ...

³ soul chapel of his body/estate which is in ...

⁴ ... House of Life/Pharaoh I.[p.h.] ...

The beginning of the first column is very suggestive of the caption to a tomb scene of the tomb-owner watching or inspecting activities, and it suggests that it might have related to a scene of a tomb owner inspecting materials to be used for embellishing the temple of Amun. Texts relating to such embellishment and using similar phrases (including the mention of *ssndm* wood), although different in nature,

are found in TT73 and TT100,¹⁰⁷ and it seems possible that this could perhaps be a sketch/layout for a wall.¹⁰⁸ Although such a text has not yet been identified in TT99, we should nonetheless not exclude the possibility that it might have been a preparatory sketch for a scene now lost, given the amount of decoration now lost from the Chapel ('watching' texts are found on Wall 6 and Pillar AE).

11.6.2 *Figured ostraka*

The reader's attention is also drawn to the possible ostraka representing the Opening of the Mouth, considered above on p. 268.

There are many publications of figured ostraka, and it is not the intention to compare the examples below in detail. Attention is drawn, however, to a small cross-section of examples that have been found in the areas of some of the private tombs, although, as here, in most cases a link between them and the monument in question cannot be proven. I quote examples from TT11/12,¹⁰⁹ TT71,¹¹⁰ TT79/87,¹¹¹ and TT196.¹¹²



Fig. 258: Ostrakon 99.98.0437

99.98.0389. Ostrakon (figured). *Shaft I, Corridor, layer 14. Limestone. L 6.0, W 8.0, Th 1.5. Fig. 259*

99.98.0450. Ostrakon (figured). *Shaft I, Room 2, layer 2. Limestone. L 9.5, W 6.5, Th 2.0. Fig. 259*

Two fragments of limestone which join to form one figured ostrakon 17.9 cm in length, decorated on both sides with sketches in black ink or paint.¹¹³ On the side with the more extensive scene we see, from the right, a person kneeling before an offering table, behind whom is

another even sketchier figure before a table, with no offerings indicated on it; to the left of this figure is a standing one holding up a jar (probably a *hꜣz* vessel) and pouring a libation over the table before the kneeling figure. Two further figures stand to the left, the first with one arm raised and the other in front, and the second with both hands raised.

The reverse apparently bears similar scenes. At the right, facing right, is a headless figure kneeling with its left hand to its breast and the right raised behind. To the left is a probable standing figure.

It is very likely that both sketches represent parts of the offering ritual, as found in 18th dynasty tombs, frequently under an offering list.¹¹⁴ Whether this is a practice sketch for a tomb scene or an artist's doodle is impossible to say. However, TT99 probably had such a scene under the large offering list on Wall 14 (p. 134), and we must not forget the presence of ritual objects in the burial itself.

99.98.0723. Ostrakon (figured). *Shaft I, Room 3, layer 1. Marl clay. L 5.2, W 4, Th 0.6. Fig. 260*

99.98.0724. Ostrakon (figured). *Shaft I, Room 3, layer 3. Marl clay. L 6.4, W 5.4, Th 0.6. Fig. 260*

These two fragments probably belong together. They bear part of a male face with a short beard on it in black ink. The fabric of these two fragments cannot be attributed to any of the vessels discovered in this context; the only vessels found with any sort of hieroglyphic or figured decoration are the canopic jars (p. 195) and the fabric of these is different. As both fragments came from the burial chamber of Senneferi, it is reasonable to suppose the original presence of another vessel with decoration, or at least a large decorated sherd (compare the Opening of the Mouth ostrakon).

11.6.3 Summary of archaeological contexts

The presence of most of these ostraka in the lower parts of the Shaft I complex suggests that these objects are not later intrusive additions, but were somehow deposited there during the period in which the tomb was used for burials. One seems to be a sketch for a typical tomb text, perhaps more logically to be expected in the Courtyard or shaft fill (note that the example above from TT79 was found in the courtyard of that tomb). The inadvertent introduction of such a fragment in the earlier 18th dynasty, for example while the tomb was being built, cannot be ruled out. The presence of the figured stone ostraka might be similarly explained, unless of course they played some role in the burial ritual, not unlike that speculated above for the



Fig. 259: Figured ostrakon 99.98.0389 and 99.98.0450 (both sides after joining)



Fig. 260: Figured ostraka: left: 99.98.0724; right: 99.98.0723

11.7 Other items from Shaft I

11.7.1 *Papyri*

The papyri of Senneferi are discussed in § 7.1.

11.7.2 *Mummy shroud*

The mummy shroud of Senneferi is considered in § 7.2.

11.7.3 *Textiles other than the shroud*

Very little linen was found in this burial area despite the presence of several persons buried there. The following text is adapted from Rosalind Janssen's official report on the 1998 excavation season.¹¹⁵

Janssen commenced work on the textiles with examining sample bags of linen from the 1998 excavations. The first was from the top 25 cm, towards the rear of Room 3. The linen was in four perceivable grades ('royal linen' was absent), with weaves of the types 'tabby', 's-spun', 'z-spun', and '2-plied'. The features observed on several more interesting fragments included a typical New Kingdom twisted knotted fringe, a rolled hem secured with whipping stitches; the same weaver's mark was noted on two samples, and one sample was naturally crimped.

She also examined a relatively undamaged sample of linen from a depth of approximately 25–50 cm in Room 3. It included three grades of linen, plus a tiny fragment of 'royal linen'; typical New Kingdom long twisted plied fringes were observed. The most spectacular piece

was a fragment 70 cm long by 12 cm wide with a 15 x 7 cm patched area made from a finer linen, secured on two faces with rolled hems and careful whipping stitches. Janssen states that patching has previously been believed to be a Coptic phenomenon, so a firm New Kingdom context would make this very important.

11.7.4 Basketry

A small number of basketry fragments were found in the underground chambers of the burial of Senneferi.

99.98.0467. *Shaft I, Room 2, layer 3. L 35.0, W 12.0.*

Three fragments of basketry. A large piece of a basket (details above), a smaller similar one (about 8 cm long), and a rounded one of a different fibre.

99.98.0516. *Shaft I, Room 3, layer 2.*

Nine pieces of organic material from a basket, bound together with palm leaves.

99.98.0595. *Shaft I, Room 3, layer 1. L 2.5, W 1.2.*

Small piece of basketry made of organic material bound together.

99.98.0672. *Shaft I, Room 3, layer 3.*

Numerous basketry pieces made of organic material and palm leaves.

99.98.0682. *Shaft I, Room 3, layer 4.*

Numerous small fragments of basketry made of organic material bound together with palm leaves.

None of this material enables much further information to be gleaned, as no appropriate expert was available at the time. Baskets were of course a common feature of elite 18th dynasty burials,¹¹⁶ and their presence in Senneferi's burial should be expected.

11.7.5 Gold leaf

Some 60 or so tiny fragments of gold leaf were recovered from the Senneferi burial chambers, roughly evenly divided between Rooms 2 and 3 (99.98.0503, 99.98.0537, 99.98.0598, 99.98.0600, 99.98.0620). The most likely source of these fragments is gilding from a coffin (see [p. 185](#)), and they could be leftover material from an ancient robbery in which stripping any gold off objects was one of the principal aims.

11.7.6 Jar sealings

Very few fragments of possible jar sealings were located. Pamela Rose

has considered the limited evidence for the sealing of the amphorae and the large silt jars in Chapter 9 above (see particularly [p. 192](#), [p. 206](#), [p. 207](#) and [p. 210](#)); stone vessel D (above [p. 276](#)) also shows marks from sealing.

11.8 The burial assemblage of Senneferi

Nigel and Helen Strudwick

11.8.1 Overview of burial equipment found

Chapter 7 to Chapter 10 present the components of the burial assemblage in Shaft I, clearly the final resting place of both Senneferi and several members of his family, whose physical remains are discussed in Chapter 13. The sequences of possible burial are considered in § 4.5.4. Although it seems certain that at least five persons were buried in that complex, the only name among them is that of Senneferi. Why nothing has clearly survived that can be assigned to the others is unclear; theft is one explanation, but it still does not clarify why only Senneferi's name is found. Little is known about the occupants of Theban tombs other than the tomb owners, although there are parallels for anonymous interments at this same time.¹¹⁷ Such burials in TT99, it has been suggested above, may have been effected in Room 1 ([p. 78](#)). As a result, we are only in a position to consider further the burial of Senneferi himself.

Table 19: Summary of Smith's types of tomb equipment as applied to the burial of Senneferi

Object category	Present?	Observations and notes	Tomb area			Book page
			Co Ss	R2	R3	
Coffins	X	Black type. Percentages here are for all fragments, not just those in Chapter 8, and so may include some misidentified pieces of boxes	51%	17%	32%	Chapter 8, p. 181
		Significant diagnostic fragments in Chapter 8 only	17%	21%	62%	
Masks	?	Two headdresses found are included in coffin fragments above				
Canopic chests and vessels	X	Only the fragments considered here	15%	62%	23%	p. 252
Shabtis						
Statues						
Funerary papyri	X	See list of locations in Table 13 on p. 178	1%	25%	74%	Chapter 7,
Mummy shroud	X				100%	p. 162
Fertility symbols						
Jewellery	X	A minimal amount	42%	5%	53%	p. 271
Game boxes						
Bouquets and garlands						
Furniture	X	Not including boxes or canopic chests		50%	30%	p. 253
Boxes	X	Not including the canopic chest	50%	7%	43%	p. 279
Baskets	X	The full number was not recorded		X	X	p. 289
Toilet sets	X	Probably—only one fragment of a kohl stick; the small stone vessel fragments could have come from such a set			X	p. 276
Professional equipment						
Staves						
Sandals						
Clothing		Linens and metals may have been stolen				
Large metal vessels						
Large stone vessels	X	Includes smaller examples	35%	5%	60%	p. 273
Provisions	X	See also the storage jars and the hieratic labels on them (Chapter 9 and Chapter 10)		Traces		Chapter 9 Chapter 10
Containers for provisions	X			57%	33%	p. 277
Amphorae	X	Based on sherd count in Chapter 9; see also Table 14, to Table 17 starting p. 220. A considerable number of sherds were found in the Corridor, perhaps this is where some vessels removed from Rooms 2 and 3 were broken?	34%	32%	34%	Chapter 9, p. 256
Painted storage vessels		(Not really common at this date)				
'Flowerpots', bowls, plates	X		18%	25%	57%	Chapter 9, p. 214
Other ceramics	X	These sherds are too numerous to count. See tables beginning p. 270				Chapter 9
Additional categories from TT99 evidence						
Ritual equipment	X	See Table 18 on p. 271		5%	95%	p. 270

Present? some evidence of its existence in TT99

Tomb area Co Ss = Corridors and Staircase shaft; R2 = Room 2; R3 = Room 3

In an 1992 article, Smith studied the finds from a number of intact, or largely intact, burials of the 17th and 18th dynasties.¹¹⁸ He divided the artefacts therefrom into three broad categories, each of which is further broken down into artefact types: 'Objects for the tomb' (for example, coffins, shabtis, papyri), 'Objects of daily life' (such as furniture, toilette sets, professional equipment) and 'Provisions and their containers' (consisting mainly of food items and ceramics). Smith noted that some types, such as jewellery, may actually fit into more than one category.¹¹⁹

We have allocated the objects found in the burial of Senneferi to Smith's individual object types, and **Table 19 on p. 290** summarises the results in the 'Present?' column. One additional type has been

added, that of 'Ritual equipment' to include the presently unparalleled Opening of the Mouth items, while 'Funerary papyri' has been divided to add the mummy shroud.

However, we do not make Smith's division into the three functional groupings outlined earlier. This is largely because we believe that research suggests that these categories are not necessarily so distinct; in particular, even so-called 'daily life' objects may have had some religious function in the burial (see, for example, the brief discussion of cosmetic items on [p. 276](#) or Senneferi's depicted funerary equipment on

[p. 121](#)). A similar argument can be made for ceramics (see Pamela Rose's discussion of this issue on [p. 193](#)). It may be safer to adopt a neutral position of assuming burial items were specifically acquired for the tomb rather than taken from those used in life.

A majority of Smith's object types are present in the Shaft I burials. The lack of some of the smaller, portable or more valuable items (metal vessels, linen) can easily be accounted for by (ancient) theft.¹²⁰ The evidence available certainly suggests that Senneferi's burial would not have been atypical for what (little) is known from the period.

Nonetheless, investigation of Senneferi's burial contents is severely hampered by not only the destruction the assemblage has suffered, but also the lack of well-excavated and contextualised intact burials of persons of the same social status.¹²¹ With the exception of the intact burials in the Valley of the Kings, all of which are somewhat later than Senneferi's, no high official's burial has been found intact. The opulent funerary equipment of Hatnefer hints, however, at what might have been available to high-status persons in the early to middle Thutmoside period.¹²²

11.8.2 Burial sequence and distribution of objects

The highly disturbed nature of the deposit in Rooms 2 and 3 of Shaft I largely precludes detailed proposals for the original layout of the chamber. In that light, we make some speculative remarks on this subject, accompanied by the diagram in [Fig. 261](#).

The two rooms of the principal burial complex of TT99 measure approximately 4×3.5 m (Room 2, area 14 m²) and 3×2.5 m (Room 3, area 7.5 m²). These chamber sizes are fairly typical of the earlier 18th dynasty, both of the less important officials whose burials have survived intact¹²³ and those of Senneferi's peers that have not.¹²⁴ The tombs of Ramose and Hatnefer and Neferkhuit and his family

show how crowded (or not) a burial place could be.

The burial of Neferkhuit suggests that the interment of the principal occupant might be effected in the chamber furthest from the entrance. In that tomb and in those of Ramose and Hatnefer and Kha, the coffin or coffins seems always to be placed furthest from the entrance,¹²⁵ and so it is a reasonable to suggest that they, as the largest items of burial equipment, were the first objects to be brought into the underground chambers. These burials further suggest that pottery may have gone in next, and then boxes and other items.

It may thus be proposed that Senneferi's coffin set was placed at the side or back of Room 3, and that his was the first interment in this tomb area. Further evidence is provided by the presence of the mass of mummy linen found at the centre/ back of the chamber (**Fig. 74 on p. 77**). In the same area of the chamber was found a substantial part of the shroud of Senneferi decorated with Book of the Dead texts (see **p. 175** and **Table 13 on p. 178**). It seems mostly logical that the rifling of Senneferi's mummy took place in this location, indicating that the coffin set was placed in here. After the coffins were inserted, the quantity of ceramics in this chamber suggests that it was the principal area in which Senneferi's large group of these was placed (Rose, **p. 191**). When they were added, there is likely to have been very little space remaining, even if the large silt jars were stacked (Rose, **p. 210**). Thus some other items might have been placed in there, but larger ones, such as the canopic chest, may have had to be placed at the entrance or even in the depression in Room 2.

Large silt jar (of approximately 40 cm diameter (other ceramics are not shown))

The coffin outline is based on the single coffin of Nefertiti in Hayes, *BMAA* 30 (1935), part 2, Fig. 1; the canopic box is based on that of Ruyi in the same illustration, as are two boxes, all placed arbitrarily

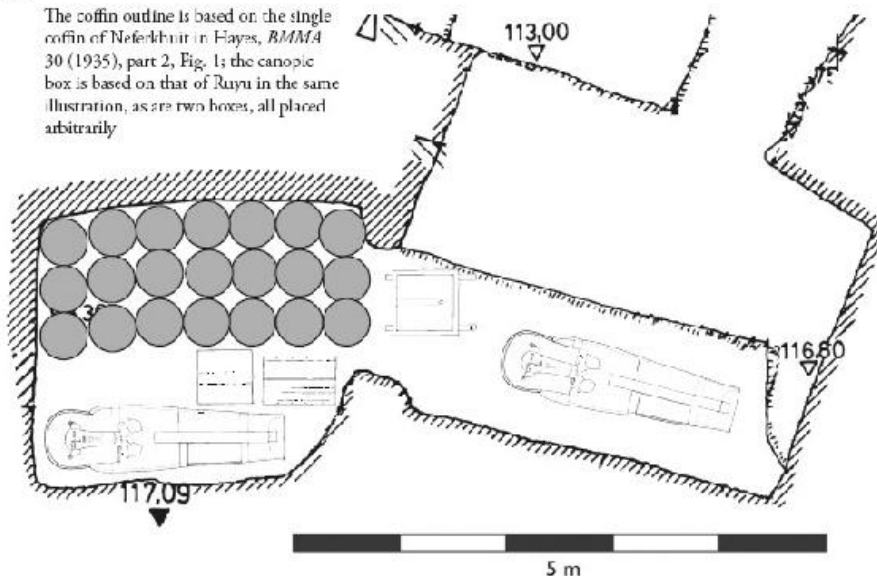


Fig. 261: Plan of Rooms 2 and 3 with some suggested positions of objects after all burials complete and before robbery

The selection of coffin fragments presented by John Taylor in Chapter 8 seems to come primarily from Room 3 and then Room 2, suggesting that the location of all the coffins was in those two rooms. These fragments, 29 in all, seem evenly distributed as to lid and case elements.

On the basis of Room 3 only being able to take one set of coffins, the other coffin or coffins must have been placed in Room 2; although we cannot prove the identity of the occupant, it is surely likely to have been Taiaamu, Senneferi's spouse. Given the rather rough and sloping nature of the part of Room 2 nearest the doorway from the Staircase shaft (Section W–X, [Pl. 4A](#), [Fig. 66 on p. 73](#)), it seems more plausible that a further coffin would have been placed in the depression in the floor. This may have required some rearrangement of Senneferi's assemblage, perhaps even a much tighter packing of objects in Room 3, which may have resulted in breakage of some ceramics. This might explain the evidence of contents of some of the jars on sherd breaks ([Rose, p. 191](#)).

It is probably futile to attempt further reconstruction. We have attempted to illustrate the basics of the scenario just described in [Fig. 215](#); as well as two coffin assemblages and a canopic box, the only sizable items certainly attested, this figure includes the 21 definite large silt jars, although there could have been as many as 24 ([Rose, p.](#)

210). The canopic box is placed in Room 2 as a preponderance of the identified fragments came from there.

Does any of the above shed any light on the history of robbery in TT99 (see p. 81 ff)? If Senneferi's coffins were first opened in the 19th century ad, we would expect that the mummy shroud would have been a prime candidate for theft. Therefore, it is likely that Senneferi's coffin (set) was opened in antiquity, perhaps at the end of the New Kingdom, the shroud removed and the body dumped on the ground on top of the pots, stripped of amulets, and left. Whether the coffin (set) was left in that position until the 19th century cannot be said for certain. What is clear, on the basis of the amount of wood fragments found not in Room 2 or Room 3 but in the upper part of the tomb (89% as against 11%, plus the specifically coffin fragments in Table 19), is that a number of coffins were dragged out of the lower burial areas into upper areas for examination/breaking up, but it is not possible to determine whether this occurred in antiquity or only more recently.

¹ A particular note of thanks is due here to Geoffrey Killen, who has discussed with Helen Strudwick and the author several matters concerned with the wooden objects presented in this chapter.

² Strudwick, in Backes et al. (eds), *Ausgestattet mit den Schriften des Thot*, 213–238, hereafter Strudwick, *Schriften des Thot*.

³ Bresciani et al., *La tomba di Ciennehebu*, 68–72, pls 25–26, 45–54.

⁴ Bohleke and Strudwick, forthcoming.

⁵ Strudwick, *Schriften des Thot*, 214–218.

⁶ EA 15779, length 10.2 cm (Seipel, *Ägypten. Götter, Gräber und die Kunst*, 225 (295a).

⁷ MMA 27.3.398, Roehrig et al. (eds), *Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh*, 145 (76k).

⁸ It is published in Pavlov and Hodjash *Egypetskaya plastika malych form*, ill. 205 (in Russian; not seen).

⁹ All this information, and permission to reproduce the photographs here, was provided by Dr Vassilieva, to whom I am most grateful.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, 231–232.

¹¹ A normal chisel has a plainer handle (Roehrig et al., *Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh*, 144, Cat. 76f, g).

¹² Geoffrey Killen has suggested comparison with Pitt Rivers Museum 1890.26.105, which he believes is from a broken foot end of a stool or stand leg. I thank him for his comments and suggestion; the object (albeit somewhat larger, at 14. mm in length) will be found online at <http://objects.prm.ox.ac.uk/pages/PRMUID198885.html> (accessed 18 May 2016).

¹³ Personal communication, March 2016. The shape bears some resemblance to that of a more conventional adze (for example, Roehrig et al., *Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh*, 144, Cat. 76e).

¹⁴ This entry incorporates much of Bohleke and Strudwick, forthcoming.

- 15 Shortly before this book went to press, the labels mentioning ^{b3qt} oil from the tomb of Amenhotep III in the Western Valley were noticed (Yoshimura (ed.), エジプト王家の谷・西谷学術調査報告書 [II], Fig. 42–43 (236–238)). I thank Hans-Hubertus Münch for drawing this to the Editor’s attention.
- 16 Černý, *Hieratic Inscriptions*, 15–16 (nos 61–75); 27–28; Plates IX (nos 61–66) and X.
- 17 Merymery’s tomb list (Leiden AP. 6) of Opening of the Mouth accessories (Strudwick, *Schriften des Thot*, 219, fig. 6) mentions a *iwfn ph*, but this cannot be what the scribe of the current label has intended.
- 18 Wb. II 487,10.
- 19 Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie* II, 42 sign 468 (giving no examples for the 18th dynasty).
- 20 Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie* II, 52 sign 578 (giving no examples for the early 18th dynasty).
- 21 Černý, *Hieratic Inscriptions*, 15.
- 22 Peter F. Dorman is certain (personal communication) that no similar items are known from the tomb of Ramose and Hatnefer, the parents of Senenmut. A number of wooden labels seemingly of the 18th dynasty have recently come to light in KV40, but these appear to be name labels rather than those indicating contents of boxes or jars (Bickel and Paulin-Grothe, *EA* 45 (2014), 21–24).
- 23 Černý, *Hieratic Inscriptions*, 10 §51.
- 24 Reeves, *Valley of the Kings*, 68.
- 25 This issue is considered in more detail in Strudwick and Bohleke, forthcoming.
- 26 Bickel and Paulin-Grothe, *EA* 45 (2014), 42.
- 27 A different type of label was found by Rhind in his excavations in Thebes. These were probably tags placed on reburials of 18th dynasty individuals in the 21st dynasty (Dodson and Janssen, *JEA* 76 (1989), 125–138).
- 28 Yoshimura (ed.), エジプト王家の谷・西谷学術調査報告書 [II], Fig. 42–43 (236–238).
- 29 Černý, *Hieratic Inscriptions*, 15–17.
- 30 *ibid.*, 7–15.
- 31 For example, Černý, *Hieratic Inscriptions*, 9 (49), 12 (53), 14 (59). There is, however, some gold in *ibid.*, 11–12 (52).
- 32 Text, Černý, *Hieratic Inscriptions*, 9 (48); image of box, Carter and Mace, *The Tomb of Tut-ankh-Amen* I, pl. XXXVII.
- 33 Such as MMA 36.3.199 and University of Pennsylvania E 14198 (Roehrig et al. (eds), *Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh*, 254–255 (187–188)) or two boxes found in the Carnarvon excavations in Thebes (Carnarvon and Carter, *Five years’ explorations at Thebes*, 53, pl. XLV (1), XLVI (1)). Such very small boxes do not typically bear hieroglyphs; one example which does, but is probably a different type to those mentioned previously as it contained a loincloth, is that of Maiherpri, Boston MFA 03.1036ab (Roehrig et al. (eds), *op. cit.*, 74).
- 34 Otto, *Mundöffnungsritual* II, 13.
- 35 Similar phrases are found in Scenes 14 and 45, which use the expressions *mddn(i) nk rk* and *ink z3k*, ‘I am your son’ (Otto, *Mundöffnungsritual* I, 36 (14c), 102–103 (45c), II, 65–66, 106). I thank Briant Bohleke for drawing my attention to the text in Scene 45.
- 36 For a discussion of ostraka with sketched stick figures, see Dorn, *MDAIK* 61 (2005), 7–11. Our ostrakon fits his first type, in showing more than an isolated detail from a wall scene and having more than a single register line.
- 37 In particular to the diagram of TT100 in his Abb. 1.
- 38 A specific identification of this episode is not possible; a rectangular object, often

- the *ḥt*, is held by many priests in Otto, *Mundöffnungsritual* II, Abb. 1.
- ³⁹ *ibid.*, 90–91, Abb. 1.
- ⁴⁰ The libation scenes are most probably to be equated with the two scenes Otto 2 and 3, which show respectively the libation of the deceased with the *nmst* and *ḏšrt* vessels.
- ⁴¹ Guksch, *Nacht-Min*, 177, Abb. 78, Taf. 47c (79/25).
- ⁴² Hayes, *Ostraka and name stones*, pl. I (6), II (8a). For more examples, not all from 18th dynasty contexts, see Dorn, *MDAIK* 61 (2005), 8–9.
- ⁴³ Reeves and Wilkinson, *Complete Valley of the Kings*, plan on p. 176.
- ⁴⁴ The first of these is Bohleke and Strudwick, forthcoming.
- ⁴⁵ A later 18th dynasty example of Theban origin is Brooklyn 40.522 (Brovarski et al. (eds), *Egypt's Golden Age*, 234 (307); Eggebrecht (ed.), *Ägyptens Aufstieg zur Weltmacht*, 234–235 (166)).
- ⁴⁶ For example, those found in the burial of the three wives of Thutmose III: Lilyquist, *The tomb of three foreign wives of Tuthmosis III*, 136–137; Roehrig et al. (eds), *Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh*, 196 (109). Another example is Toronto ROM 922.8.56 (Brovarski et al. (eds), *Egypt's Golden Age*, 238–239 (316)). The types of early 18th dynasty beads are noted in Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt* II, 179, 181. The discussion by Patch, in Roehrig et al., loc. cit., raises the possibility that such strings of beads could complement the gold *shebiu* collars rather than substitute for them.
- ⁴⁷ Egyptian term probably *ḥ* or *iwḥ* (Wb. I, 169, 51). Two examples in the British Museum (EA 66840, 68841: Andrews, *Ancient Egyptian Jewellery*, 183 (169)).
- ⁴⁸ Patch, in Roehrig et al. (eds), *Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh*, 196 (110).
- ⁴⁹ Lilyquist, *The tomb of three foreign wives of Tuthmosis III*, 138; Bryan and Kozloff, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, 198–199.
- ⁵⁰ For example, Lilyquist, op. cit., 138–139, 202, fig. 121, with further parallels. One is illustrated in colour in Roehrig et al. (eds), *Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh*, 196 (110a: MMA 26.8.140).
- ⁵¹ *The tomb of three foreign wives of Tuthmosis III*, 138.
- ⁵² The mummy of Kha apparently had such a strip of gold around the upper arms (Patch, in Roehrig et al. (eds), *Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh*, 196 (110)).
- ⁵³ MMA 12.182.34, Lilyquist, *Egyptian Stone Vessels*, 62, fig. 154.
- ⁵⁴ 99.98.0499 (two fragments) Room 3, layer 2; 99.98.0649 (three fragments) Room 3, layer 3; 99.98.0653 (three fragments) Room 3, layer 4.
- ⁵⁵ It has not proved possible to analyse the residues in this or in vessel B. See Serpico, in Nicholson and Shaw (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, 430–474 for general information on these substances. See the tomb of Kha, for example, for sealed stone vessels containing oils (Schiaparelli, *La tomba intatta dell'architetto Cha*, 155–157; some vessels, Trapani, in Kóthay (ed.), *Art and Society*, 162–163, pl. 33–34).
- ⁵⁶ 99.98.0531 (three fragments) Room 3, layer 2; 99.98.0649 (two fragments) Room 3, layer 3; 99.98.0653 (two fragments) Room 3, layer 4; 99.98.0628 (one fragment) Room 2, layer 5.
- ⁵⁷ Lilyquist, *Egyptian Stone Vessels*, 33, fig. 63 (Cat. 53). Compare also Florence 3255 (Guidotti, Vasi, 171).
- ⁵⁸ Lilyquist, *The tomb of three foreign wives of Tuthmosis III*, 141, Fig. 124 (Cat. 53).
- ⁵⁹ 99.98.0198, from Corridor layer 3, width 4.0 cm.
- ⁶⁰ Brovarski et al. (eds), *Egypt's Golden Age*, 132–133 (128).
- ⁶¹ Lilyquist, *Egyptian Stone Vessels*, 53, fig. 145 (AA) with name of Amenhotep II.
- ⁶² See Aston, *Ancient Egyptian Stone Vessels*, 150–151 (types 172–174).
- ⁶³ von Bissing, *Steingefässe*, 62–63, Taf. IIIa. Some not dissimilar examples in

Steindorff, *Aniba II*, 143–144, Taf. 93.

⁶⁴ Aston, *Ancient Egyptian Stone Vessels*, 56–59; examples in most other dark stones are rare in the New Kingdom.

⁶⁵ For example, Lilyquist, *Egyptian Stone Vessels*, fig. 51 (name of Amenhotep I); group of examples from the tomb of the Three Princesses, Lilyquist, *The tomb of three foreign wives of Tuthmosis III*, 144–5, 211, Figs 133–4. Other examples von Bissing, *Steingefässe*, Taf. III; Guidotti, *Vasi*, 172–173.

⁶⁶ Pamela Rose comments on the sealing of the ceramic vessels in Chapter 9, mentioning mud sealing traces on p. 210.

⁶⁷ Including Corridor, layers 12, 9, 8, 7, 4 and Room 3, layers 2, 3.

⁶⁸ Fragments found in Room 3, layer 2 (99.98.0532) and layer 3 (99.98.0660).

⁶⁹ Fragments from Corridor, layer 4 (99.98.0287) and layer 7 (99.98.0322); Room 3, layer 2 (99.98.0532) and layer 3 (99.98.0660).

⁷⁰ Examples are legion, although ascertaining mouth diameters is rarely possible from publications. For example, Schoske, *Schönheit*, 107–109 (70–81); Brovarski et al., *Egypt's Golden Age*, 218. Examining a selection of such objects in the British Museum, the average diameter of the boss underneath the lid is in the region of 1.5–1.8 cm, with the hole in the body of the jar averaging in the region of 2 cm.

⁷¹ In the burials of Hatnefer and Kha (Roehrig et al. (eds), *Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh*, 218 (142: MMA 36.3.62); Donadoni et al., *Il Museo Egizio di Torino*, 150 (the latter a glass kohl tube)). See also, for example, Schoske, *Schönheit*, 108–109 (82–83); Brovarski et al., *Egypt's Golden Age*, 218. Kohl jars do not specifically seem to be mentioned in Smith, *MDAIK* 48 (1992), but they usually are found in baskets or boxes with toilet items. A later 18th dynasty example was found in Tomb H adjacent to TT32 (Schreiber, *The mortuary monument of Djehutymes II*, 37 (13), pl. XXVII (13)).

⁷² Faulkner and Andrews, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead*, 33–34.

⁷³ Survey in Smith, *MDAIK* 48 (1992), 210.

⁷⁴ For example, of alabaster in TT79: Guksch, *Nacht-Min*, 170–171, Abb. 70.

⁷⁵ D'Auria et al., *Mummies & Magic*, 142.

⁷⁶ Summarised in Reeves, *The Complete Tutankhamun*, 205–207; the inscriptions will be found in Černý, *Hieratic Inscriptions*, 17–18.

⁷⁷ Davis, *The tomb of Iouiya and Tuiyou*, pl. XXX–XXXI; Quibell, *Tomb of Yuua and Thuiu*, 46–47, pl. XXII–XXIII (CG 51084–51101).

⁷⁸ Daressy, *Fouilles de la vallée des rois (1898–1899)*, pl. VI.

⁷⁹ D'Auria et al., *Mummies & Magic*, 141–2 (81); Brovarski et al., *Egypt's Golden Age*, 111–12 (94).

⁸⁰ Smith, *MDAIK* 48 (1992), 210–11; actual examples, Schiaparelli, *La tomba intatta dell'architetto Cha*, 163.

⁸¹ See the survey of burials in Smith, *MDAIK* 48 (1992), 205–6.

⁸² Baker, *Furniture in the ancient world*.

⁸³ Killen, *Ancient Egyptian Furniture II*.

⁸⁴ Strudwick, in Backes et al. (eds), *Ausgestattet mit den Schriften des Thot*, 234.

⁸⁵ Similar joints visible, for example, on the box of Maiherpri (Boston MFA 03.1036ab: Roehrig et al. (eds), *Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh*, 74).

⁸⁶ For example, a box for linen, MMA 36.3.56: Lansing and Hayes, *BMMA Jan 1937 Part II*, 31, fig. 37; <http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/548979?ft=36.3.53ab&pg=1&rpp=20&pos=4> (accessed 23 March 2016).

⁸⁷ Griffith Institute, Carter no. 068 (Cairo JE 61455; <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/carter/068.html> (accessed 23 March 2016)), 270 (Cairo JE 61501, 61471; <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/carter/270.html> (accessed 23 March 2016)).

- ⁸⁸ Schiaparelli, *La tomba intatta dell'architetto Cha*, 123.
- ⁸⁹ Wb. III, 180 gives words beginning *ḥg* (there appears to be no other combination) as either associated with a vessel or with a place of festival.
- ⁹⁰ Donadoni *et al.*, *Il Museo Egizio di Torino*, 150.
- ⁹¹ Boston MFA 03.103a–b: Eggebrecht (ed.), *Ägyptens Aufstieg zur Weltmacht*, 271 (215).
- ⁹² Bologna KS 1970: Roehrig *et al.* (eds), *Hatshepsut: from Queen to Pharaoh*, 47–48 (25).
- ⁹³ The size would seem to preclude it being the sledge of a large box coffin (such as in the tomb of Yuia and Tjuiu, Cairo CG 51001: Davis, *Iouiya and Touiyou*, pl. VI, XII; Quibell, *Yuia and Thuiu*, pl. I, VII).
- ⁹⁴ MMA 36.3.53ab: Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt* II, 227, fig. 134; Lansing and Hayes, *BMMA* Jan 1937 Part II, 30, fig. 36.
- ⁹⁵ From the tomb of Neferkhuit, reconstructed in Hayes, *BMMA* 30 (1935), part 2, 24–25, Fig. 6. I estimate the dimensions of the box from the plan in Fig. 1 as about 58 cm square.
- ⁹⁶ Cairo CG 24005, Daressy, *Fouilles de la vallée des rois (1898–1899)*, 8–11, pl. III; Hawass, *The lost tombs of Thebes*, 235.
- ⁹⁷ Cairo CG 51012–51013, Davis, *Iouiya and Touiyou*, 11–12, 23–25, pl. X, XVI; Quibell, *Yuia and Thuiu*, pl. XIV–XV.
- ⁹⁸ Turin CG 19007–19009, 19009a: Eggebrecht (ed.), *Ägyptens Aufstieg zur Weltmacht*, 306–307 (259).
- ⁹⁹ BM EA 35808: Taylor, *Death and the Afterlife*, 70–71; Serpico and White, in Davies (ed.), *Colour and Painting*, 35, colour pl. 8 (3).
- ¹⁰⁰ MMA 36.3.53ab, <http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/548979?sortBy=Relevance&ft=36.3.53> (accessed 11 June 2016).
- ¹⁰¹ See Killen, *Ancient Egyptian Furniture* II, *passim*. Compare material from our previous excavations in Khokha: Strudwick, *Amenhotep*, 156 (§10.2.8).
- ¹⁰² Compare material from our previous excavations in Khokha: Strudwick, *Amenhotep*, 156 (§10.2.8).
- ¹⁰³ The elaborate chairs of Yuia and Tjuiu, for example, are not braced (Davis, *Iouiya and Touiyou*, pl. XXXIII–XXXVI). Some other examples, Killen, *Ancient Egyptian Furniture* I, pl. 85–8.
- ¹⁰⁴ *MDAIK* 48 (1992), 205–206.
- ¹⁰⁵ *JNES* 74 (2015), 189–196.
- ¹⁰⁶ Shaft I layers 33, 26, 24; Corridor, layer 8 (two); Staircase shaft, layer 3.
- ¹⁰⁷ Säve-Söderbergh, *Four eighteenth dynasty tombs*, 2, pl. II; Davies, *Rekh-mi-rē'*, 51, pl. LIII.
- ¹⁰⁸ Compare an ostrakon found in TT79: Guksch, *Nacht-Min*, 43, 177–178, Abb. 79, Taf. 47f. Also relevant are two ostraka bearing parts of the 'Duties of the Vizier' text, found in the area of TT29 (Tallet, in Warmenbol and Angenot (eds), *Thèbes aux 101 portes*, 153–163), which surely relate to that same text in the TT29 wall decoration.
- ¹⁰⁹ Menéndez, *SAK* 37 (2008), 259–275.
- ¹¹⁰ Hayes, *Ostraka and Name Stones*, 15–16, pl. VIII.
- ¹¹¹ Guksch, *Nacht-Min*, 120 Abb 11, 177 Abb. 78.
- ¹¹² Graefe, *Padihorresnet*, 177, Taf. 97 (Kat. 367–369).
- ¹¹³ Conforming to Dorn's first type of ostraka with stick figures (*MDAIK* 61 (2005), 7).
- ¹¹⁴ Such as TT81 (Dziobek, *Ineni*, Taf. 17b) or TT82 (Davies and Gardiner, *Amenemhēt*, pl. XVIII, XXI). cf. Spiegel, *MDAIK* 14 (1956), 190–207.
- ¹¹⁵ <http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/tt99/report98/textile.html> (accessed 18 May

2016).

¹¹⁶ Smith, *MDAIK* 48 (1992), 206.

¹¹⁷ For example, six persons in addition to Senenmut's parents in their tomb (Lansing and Hayes, *BMMA* 32 (1937), Part 2, 31, fig. 26, 27) and five persons other than the five more elaborate known members of Neferkhuit's family in their tomb (Hayes, *BMMA* 30 (1935), part 2, 18).

¹¹⁸ Smith, *MDAIK* 48 (1992), 193–231. Further less specific comments on intact tombs will be found in Näser, in Kümmel et al., (eds), *Körperinszenierung – Objektsammlung – Monumentalisierung*: 445–472 and in Tarlow and Stutz (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of Death and Burial*, 643–661.

¹¹⁹ Smith, *MDAIK* 48 (1992), 202.

¹²⁰ Strudwick, in Creasman (ed.), *Archaeological Research in the Valley of the Kings*, 344–345.

¹²¹ The data sample is in Smith, *MDAIK* 48 (1992), 194–195.

¹²² Lansing and Hayes, *BMMA* 32 (1937), Part 2, 22–35.

¹²³ Ramose and Hatnefer, 3 x 2.5 m (7.5 m²; Lansing and Hayes, *BMMA* 32 (1937), Part 2, 24, Fig. 27); the chamber of Neferkhuit, 3 x 2m (6 m²) and his wife 3.5 x 3m (10.5m²; both Hayes, *BMMA* 30 (1935), part 2, Fig. 1). The first of these chambers was packed with burials and equipment, whereas the last two were relatively spaciouly disposed. All dimensions are approximate.

¹²⁴ The burial chamber of TT61 measures 4 x 4 m (16 m², Dziobek, *Gräber des Vezirs User-Amun*, 17), while that of TT87 was at its maximum 3.1 x 5 m (15.5 m² max., Guksch, *Nacht-Min*, 73).

¹²⁵ See note 123 above; Kha, Donadoni Roveri, in Moiso (ed.), *Ernesto Schiaparelli e la tomba di Kha*, Figs on pp 131 and 141.

The ceramics from Shaft H

Pamela Rose

12.1 Introduction and overview

In Shaft H, only the ceramics from Room 2 and the lower layers of the shaft below the level of the entrance to Room 1 were examined and recorded in detail. The pottery from the remaining contexts, layers 1–10 in the shaft and all the layers in Room 1, was badly disturbed and contained large amounts of both ‘modern’ and late Roman material (see [Fig. 262](#)), and it was not considered a good use of the available time to document it. In the recorded contexts the pottery was mainly New Kingdom in date, but covered a longer time span than that from Shaft I.

Far less of the assemblage could be refitted into significant parts of vessels than was possible in Shaft I, and even in cases where reconstruction was possible, large parts of the vessels were usually missing (see [Table 20 on p. 295](#) for the distribution of sherds of the individual vessels amongst the contexts studied). This, and the presence of small quantities of late pottery in most of the contexts, suggests that repeated activity in the tomb resulted in the removal of many sherds belonging to the burial(s), and the introduction of other material, either deliberately or by accident during ancient and/or modern exploration. Certainly the presence of a small amount of late Roman pottery in Room 2 demonstrates that nowhere in the tomb escaped disturbance, and increases the possibility of the presence of sherds introduced from outside. Having said that, it is not easy to suggest which pieces these might be. A few sherds covered with a thin mud coating (Cat. nos 29, 37, 52), probably the result of exposure to water, may fall into this category, as one would expect a consistent coverage of the remaining pottery if the shaft itself had been subject

to water damage. A biconical jar (Biconical jar 3, Cat. no. 24) is heavily burnt, unlike any other vessel found from Shaft H, and may also have been introduced from outside.

Within the 18th dynasty assemblage (for the dating see below), it is possible to distinguish a group of vessels that appears to be related to cultic activity rather than forming part of the burial repertoire. This group consists of wavy-necked jars (Cat. nos 6–17), small offering dishes (Cat. nos 42–51), beer jars (Cat. nos 25–32) and drop-shaped jars (Cat. nos 34–35). These types are known to be associated with rituals taking place at the time of and after the burial (although, as the pottery from Shaft I shows, beer jars also formed part of the burial assemblage there).¹ According to Seiler, cult pottery can be characterised as consisting of plain, and hastily and cheaply-made domestic types, as well as some miniature vessels. It is usually found at the base of the shaft accessing the burial chambers, and in the tomb courtyard. Unfortunately, in Shaft H the mixing of deposits makes it impossible to demonstrate the original location of the cult pottery with any accuracy.

The relative abundance and good preservation of the cult pottery throws into relief the poverty of the rest of the assemblage from Shaft H, at least some of which formed part of the items provided for the burial(s) there. This material forms a striking contrast with that from Shaft I. In Shaft H there were few marl clay wares, no large silt jars, only one ‘flowerpot’ and one flange-rimmed bowl, and no preserved canopic equipment. It is unlikely that any such vessels (and particularly the large silt jars, the size and weight of which would have made them hard to remove intact) would have been so completely removed as to leave no traces in the form of sherds; their absence suggests strongly that these types did not form part of the Shaft H assemblage. Instead, in Shaft H there are large numbers of small silt vessels, mainly open forms, and vessels that show traces of wear from previous usage. Probably because of the absence of marl clay vessels, there is almost no evidence for inscriptions. Only one sherd has what may be a trace of a jar label (Biconical jar 2, Cat. no. 23), but this is so small that it may be an accidental mark. Neither is there evidence for the remains of vessel contents or for the closure of the mouths of any of the vessels. Thus, in summary, the Shaft H burial pottery is a far less rich, and presumably less prestigious, group than that from Shaft I.

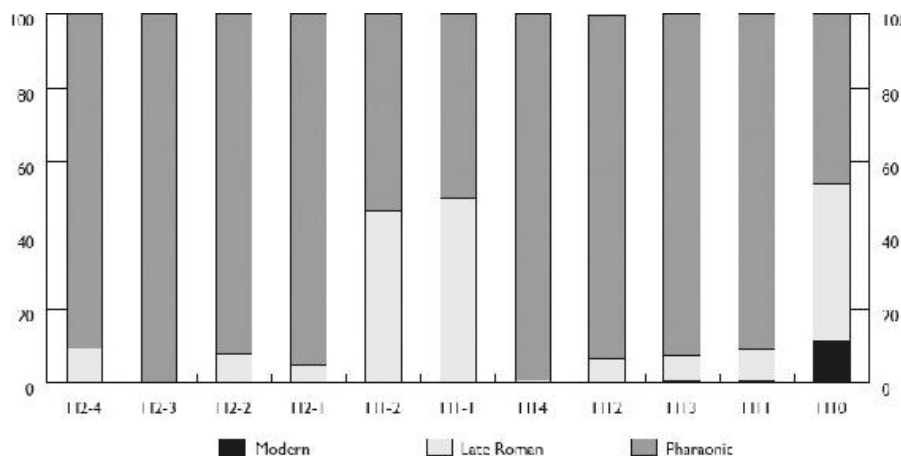


Fig. 262: Shaft H dating (weight)

12.2 Dating

The dating of the Shaft H material covers a wider time span than that from Shaft I, and extends from the middle to the late 18th dynasty, and possibly a little later. Within this broad period, two phases of use can be identified, but it is not possible to narrow them down further to suggest the number of generations over which Shaft H was used for burials, or whether it was in continuous use from its beginning to the last identifiable interment.

Most of the pottery belongs to Aston's Phase 2B,² which he assigns to the period from the reign of Amenhotep II to that of Thutmose IV, and to Bourriau's middle/mid to late 18th dynasty phase.³ The long-necked marl clay jars (Cat. nos 1–2), an amphora (Cat. no. 4) and the wavy-necked jars (Cat. nos 6–17) fit well with Aston's dating, although others of his characteristic types are absent, such as vessels painted in imitation of stone. This may perhaps be taken as a further indication of the relative poverty of the Shaft H burial(s) at this time.

Other dating criteria that relate to this phase of use are stylistic. Red-splashed decoration is present on several vessels (Cat. nos 18, 55, 56, 58). This style is dated to the period from the reign of Thutmose III into that of Amenhotep II,⁴ and suggests a dating for some of the activity in Shaft H close to that of the Shaft I burial. Blue-painted decoration, however, found in this phase on two wavy-necked jars (also on what may be an intrusive vessel Cat. no. 37), is not seen in Shaft I. The style is first securely attested in the reign of Amenhotep II but becomes more common later.⁵ Whether the blue-painted jars and the red-splashed bowls reflect differences in date within the general phase, and different usages of Shaft H, cannot be established with

certainty.

The second phase represented by the pottery is a little later in date and belongs to Aston's Phase 3A, dated from the reign of Amenhotep III to that of Horemheb.⁶ This group includes the amphora (Cat. no. 3) which is of a form associated with the late 18th and 19th dynasties,⁷ the biconical jars (Cat. nos 22–24), and the beer jars with upturned rims (Cat. nos 25–27). The same dating may apply to the elongated Nile silt jar necks (Cat. nos 18–20). These do not feature as a form characteristic of Aston's phase 3A, but can be seen in contemporary assemblages at Amarna and Saqqara.⁸ However, Cat. no. 13, which from its form belongs with this type, has what seems to be red-splashed decoration. This, as noted above, has an earlier date, making this vessel fragment difficult to fit into the general chronological scheme. It may be that rare examples of the style continued to occur after its heyday.

Cat. no.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
Context	101	102	103	104	105	106	107	108	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116	117	118	119	120	121	122
Phase																						
H1-1																						
H1-2																						
H1-3																						
H1-4																						
H1-5																						
H1-6																						
H1-7																						
H1-8																						
H1-9																						
H1-10																						
H1-11																						
H1-12																						
H1-13																						

Cat. no.	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44
Context	101	102	103	104	105	106	107	108	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116	117	118	119	120	121	122
Phase																						
H1-1																						
H1-2																						
H1-3																						
H1-4																						
H1-5																						
H1-6																						
H1-7																						
H1-8																						
H1-9																						
H1-10																						
H1-11																						
H1-12																						
H1-13																						
H1-14																						

Cat. no.	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65
Context	101	102	103	104	105	106	107	108	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116	117	118	119	120	121
Phase																					
H1-1																					
H1-2																					
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H1-9																					
H1-10																					
H1-11																					
H1-12																					
H1-13																					
H1-14																					

Table 20: Shaft H distribution of vessel sherds across contexts

Whether the two phases represent continual use of the shaft cannot be demonstrated, although it seems likely. Unfortunately, too little closely dated pottery is known from which to ‘freeze-frame’ assemblages and thus examine more closely the nature of the transition between the ceramics of the middle and the late 18th dynasty. It is clear however that a significant change occurs,

apparently over a relatively short period of time.⁹

A few vessels (Cat. nos 33, 36, 52) may date to the later New Kingdom. Whilst silt jar 4 (Cat. no. 36) is only represented by a small rim fragment and may perhaps have entered the tomb at a later date, silt jar 1 (Cat. no. 33) is surprisingly well-preserved, suggesting that it was placed in the tomb more or less intact, either in association with a burial that is otherwise unattested, or, perhaps, brought in by a tomb robber for unknown reasons. Bowl 2 (Cat. no. 52), also well preserved, can be paralleled at dates corresponding to the use of Shaft H as suggested above, but is undoubtedly much more popular in the late New Kingdom.

That this late use is connected to the earlier, probably familial, use of Shaft H is unlikely. From the meagre remains preserved, it appears to be an isolated occurrence, and there is no evidence for activity in Shaft H between the late 18th dynasty and the late New Kingdom. The late material probably represents an unconnected reuse of the shaft.

12.3 The Courtyard Pottery

As noted above, cult pottery found in tomb shafts may relate to ritual activities carried out above ground, in the tomb courtyard and perhaps chapel. In the light of the Shaft H finds, we should therefore briefly consider the Courtyard pottery, although this will not be dealt with here in detail.

The huge quantity of pottery recovered from the Courtyard during the excavations necessitated sampling the ceramics, rather than processing them fully. This was done by gridding the Courtyard area (Fig. 54 on p. 65) and then selecting fifteen of the 40 resulting squares for study. The squares were chosen in order to give an overview of the whole area, and did not concentrate on any particular part of the Courtyard. All the processed assemblages were found to be chronologically mixed, the pottery ranging from the 18th dynasty through to recent times. It does not appear that pottery from squares nearest to the mouths of shafts H and I bore any closer resemblance to the pottery from inside the shafts than that from other parts of the Courtyard. The only patterning in the distribution noted was that, not unexpectedly, there was a greater concentration of New Kingdom sherds at the base of the stratigraphic sequence throughout the Courtyard (Fig. 263).

The New Kingdom sherds were small and fragmented, and consisted primarily of Nile silt wares, few of which were easily typeable. The non-Nile silt ware fragments were most commonly from amphorae, and included vessels of marl clay, oasis wares and vessels of Canaanite

origin. Whilst marl clay and (perhaps) oasis ware amphorae formed part of the burial assemblages in Shaft I and perhaps Shaft H, the presence of Canaanite vessels in the Courtyard, rather than in the tombs themselves, is noteworthy. It is of course possible that Canaanite jars were selectively removed from the burial material because of the value of their contents, but it is more likely that they, with their contents, were used primarily in the Courtyard activities. At least one Canaanite fragment had traces of a resin coating on its interior: one of the principal goods imported in such jars was pistacia resin, widely used in cult activities¹⁰ (see also [p. 70](#) for the use of resin on the walls of Room 2 in Shaft I). There were few examples of the distinctive decorated marl clay vessels such as were found in Shaft I (but these did include a fragment of canopic jar lid, see Shaft I, Canopic lids).

Thus the New Kingdom pottery from the Courtyard appears to reflect material other than that removed from the burials. In keeping with this observation, the only joins observed between vessels from the Courtyard and Shaft H were from a single wavy-necked jar 9 (Cat. no. 14), a few sherds of which were found in the Courtyard whilst most of the vessel came from the Shaft H. Since only one vessel is involved, it is likely that the distribution results from the repeated clearing and refilling of the shafts. Few other sherds from wavy-necked jars were identified from the Courtyard and there does not seem to have been a major presence of such vessels there. Thus if they were associated with courtyard rituals, they seem to have been deposited wholesale into the shaft afterwards.

It is likely that some of the Courtyard pottery was associated with funerary feasting that would have taken place there. Fragments of bread cones, which were found consistently in small quantities throughout the Courtyard deposits, were probably associated with the latter, as may have been the heavily burnt Biconical jar 3 (Cat. no. 24), and, perhaps, the burnt vessel Marl jar 2 from Shaft I (Shaft I, Cat. no. 30, [p. 204](#)).

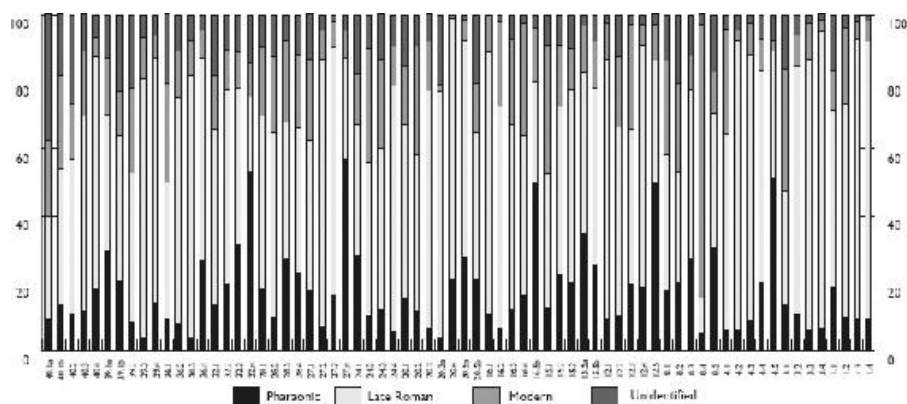


Fig. 263: Courtyard dating (weight)

12.4 Terminology

‘H’ indicates the designation of the burial complex (Shaft). When followed directly by a number, it indicates the number of the Room, and a following dash separates it from the layer number within the room, thus H2-3 is Shaft H, Room 2, layer 3. See § 4.5.2 for more detail on the chambers of the complex. Conventions relating to dimensions follow those set out for Shaft I (§ 9.3.4).

In the light of the issues of chronology and disturbance outlined above, it is not possible to provide an assessment of the number of vessels of each type originally present. Further comments on the dating of Shaft H will be found on [p. 69](#) above.

References to parallels and their dating are included where useful in the catalogue below. The comparanda cited are not comprehensive, and are drawn principally from Upper Egyptian assemblages.

12.5 Fabrics

For the fabrics, see Shaft I (§ 9.3.1). Nile D is more common in the Shaft H assemblage than in Shaft I, and suggests that the use of this fabric may have chronological significance. In general, the Nile silt fabrics were more highly fired and harder than those of Shaft I.

12.6 Catalogue

12.6.1 Marl clay wares

These are very rare in the Shaft H assemblage. Many individual marl sherds (i.e. not belonging to the vessels described below) were found to have been used for digging. These were probably brought into the

tomb for this purpose rather than originating in the assemblage.

12.6.1.1 Long-necked jars

1. Long-necked jar 1 (Ill. 1)

Fabric Marl A3 ([Colour pl. 41.1](#))

Surface The surface is self-slipped. Three narrow grooves were incised around the neck before firing.

Description Long-necked jar with externally thickened rim and rounded base. The rim does not join, but is very probably from the same vessel. There are very light vertical smoothing marks on the neck and shoulder.

RD 10.1 MD 18.2 H greater than 48.2

Provenance H-10, H-12, H-13, H2-1, H2-2, H2-3

Comparanda This can be dated to Aston's phase 2B.¹¹ Similar marl clay forms, although less slender than the current example, are known from the Theban region, and are suggested to date from the reign of Amenhotep II to that of Thutmose IV.¹² A closely similar form in a Nile silt ware, with red slip and blue banded decoration, came from TT74,¹³ and has the same date range.

2. Long-necked jar 2 (Ill. 2)

Fabric Marl A3 ([Colour pl. 42.2](#))

Surface This is cream slipped, and the slip was painted on with vertical strokes. Four bands were incised around the neck before firing.

Description Rim and neck of long-necked jar with externally thickened rim. The present example has a markedly broad shoulder compared to the neck.

RD 8.2

Provenance H-11, H-12, H-13, H-14, H2-2

Comparanda See Long-necked jar 1 (Cat. no. 1)

12.6.1.2 Amphorae

3. Amphora 1 (Ill. 3)

Fabric Marl F ([Colour pl. 42.8](#))

Surface This has a cream-slipped exterior.

Description Fragments of a slender amphora in two non-joining parts, the base and the upper body. The neck, rim, centre base and one handle are missing. The base is mould-made, and much of the area above it on the interior is hand smoothed and shows diagonal strokes resulting from joining the base to the lower body.

MD 21.4 H 53.9+

Provenance H-12, H-13, H2-1, H2-2, H2-3

Comparanda This can be dated to Aston's phase 3A.¹⁴ The slender

form of the amphora indicates a later 18th dynasty to 19th dynasty date.¹⁵

4. Amphora 2 (Ill. 4)

Fabric Marl D ([Colour pl. 42.7](#))

Surface This has a cream-slipped exterior, firing dull red over much of the surface.

Description Amphora, reconstructed from three non-joining sections. The neck, rim and handles are missing. The base was separately made, and its forming technique, with the interior showing wheel throwing marks throughout, contrasts with the finish of the bases of amphorae of the late 18th dynasty such as Cat. no. 3. This technique is reminiscent of that used for Canaanite amphorae, but the fabric is Egyptian. The walls are irregular in thickness and the vessel is warped. A separate handle may belong to this vessel but cannot be attached.

MD 32.5 H 58.9+

Provenance H-13, H2-1, H2-2

Comparanda This can be dated to Aston's phase 2B.¹⁶ There is a good parallel for the vessel from TT74, dating from the reign of Amenhotep II to that of Thutmose IV.¹⁷

As well as the vessels noted above, fragments of an amphora of Marl A2 were found, but no diagnostic pieces were recovered and it could not be reconstructed. It had a ridge around the base of the neck. The sherds came from H2-2 and H-13.

12.6.2 Oasis wares

Only one base was identified, and a single shoulder sherd. This may reflect a similar situation to that postulated for some of the vessels from Shaft I, that they are later introductions into the tomb, whether deliberate or accidental.

5. Oasis amphora 1 (Ill. 5)

Fabric The fabric is not a close parallel for those known from Amarna,¹⁸ nor for those from Dakhla.¹⁹ It is pink at the outer part of the section, light brown at the inner surface, containing abundant fine and medium-sized white particles, sparse opaque red particles and fine sand ([Colour pl. 43A.3](#)).

Surface The vessel has a cream-slipped exterior.

Description Amphora base, rounded. It appears to be mould made. The upper part of the preserved piece shows horizontal wheelmarks and may mark the point at which the base was attached to the body. It is similar to the base from Shaft I (Shaft I, Cat. no. 48).

12.6.3 Nile silt wares

12.6.3.1 Wavy-necked jars

This is the most common type found in Shaft H, and at least nineteen such jars were identified there. All the vessels are made from fabric Nile B2, and all have a distinctive firing pattern: the interior did not oxidise because of the constricted mouth and neck of the form, so remained dark grey in colour, and only a narrow band at the outer surface became oxidised.

The vessels are rapidly and somewhat carelessly shaped. Their lower bodies are thick, heavy, and poorly finished, although they do not show the vertical trimming to shape noted, for example, on vessels of this type from other locations.²⁰

In keeping with their rough and ready shaping, the outer surface is often carelessly decorated. Commonly it has a thick white chalky coating onto which banded decoration is painted. In some cases it is clear that both the surface coating and the decoration were applied after the vessels were fired. This is extremely unusual for 18th dynasty ceramics and again reinforces the impression of rapid, and cheap, production of the type. Pre-firing decoration is only certain for the two vessels that make use of blue paint, and in both these examples the decoration is painted over a cream slip. The cream slip appears identical to the cream slip used for more common blue-painted vessels.

As mentioned above, Seiler suggests that such vessels were manufactured solely for use in cult activity performed on behalf of the dead in ceremonies carried out at the top of the shaft, alongside types used in daily life.²¹ Finds from the tomb of a royal nurse in the Ramesseum suggest that such vessels were deliberately thrown down the shaft as part of the funerary ceremonies.²² A shaft and, to a lesser extent, courtyard location also fits examples of wavy-necked jars from TT104, dated to the reign of Amenhotep II,²³ and TT253, where the type was associated with Shaft X and Room Y at its base, dated to a period before the reign of Thutmose IV.²⁴ The association between the type and the tomb shaft – very possibly deliberately thrown into the shaft from above – may well correspond with the situation in Shaft H, although the jar fragments found their way into all layers of the fill of Room 2, presumably as a result of robbing, whereby material in the base of the shaft became mixed with, or was pushed into the chamber. The fact that fragments of one vessel, wavy-necked jar 9 (Cat. no. 14) were found in the chamber, the lower layers of Shaft H, and in the fill

of the Courtyard in the immediate area of the shaft mouth may not be significant, as the repeated emptying of the shaft may account for the distribution.



Fig. 264: Wavy-necked jar 2 (Cat. no. 7)



Fig. 265: Wavy-necked jar 3 (Cat. no. 8)

In terms of dating, wavy-necked jars are characteristic of Aston's phase 2B,²⁵ and this dating fits the other examples cited above. Wavy-necked jars are found soon after or even contemporaneously with the date of the Shaft I burial: Seiler²⁶ records wavy-necked jars associated with decorated marl clay single-handled jars of the type common in Shaft I (Shaft I, Cat. nos 11–18) from the mid-18th dynasty. She further notes the association of such jars with vessels stamped with cartouches of Thutmose III and Hatshepsut.

In addition to the vessels listed below, neck and base fragments suggest the presence of at least seven more vessels of this type.

6. *Wavy-necked jar 1* (Ill. 6; [Colour pl. 44D](#))

Fabric Nile B2

Surface The exterior is cream slipped with horizontal blue and red bands on the neck, executed before firing.

Description Neck, rim and shoulder of wavy-necked jar.

RD 4.4

Provenance H2-2, H2-3

7. Wavy-necked jar 2 (Ill. 7; [Fig. 264](#))

Fabric Nile B2

Surface The vessel is uncoated and appears undecorated.

Description Wavy-necked jar with a heavily scraped lower body.

RD 5.4 MD 11.9 H 22.5

Provenance H-12, H-13, H2-1

8. Wavy-necked jar 3 (Ill. 8; [Fig. 265](#))

Fabric Nile B2

Surface The exterior is white slipped, with worn decoration on the neck, apparently consisting of alternating red and black bands. Both the slip and decoration were probably executed after firing due to their fugitive nature.

Description Wavy-necked jar. There are traces of dark brown deposit on the exterior.

RD 3.8 MD 10.2 BD 1.6 H 26.3

Provenance H-12, H2-1, H2-2

9. Wavy-necked jar 4 (Ill. 9)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface The vessel body is uncoated, and decorated with black and red bands on the neck and upper body. There are possible traces of white on the upper neck. The decoration was probably executed after the vessel was fired.

Description Wavy-necked jar in two non-joining parts.

RD 5.4 MD 8 BD 1.6 H c17

Provenance H2-1, H2-2, H2-4

10. Wavy-necked jar 5 (Ill. 10; [Colour pl. 44E](#))

Fabric Nile B2

Surface This has a white coating over the exterior, and red banded decoration on neck. The coating and decoration were applied after firing.

Description Wavy-necked jar, centre of base missing.

RD 4.5 MD 9 H 18.9

Provenance H-12, H-13, H2-1, H2-2

11. Wavy-necked jar 6 (Ill. 11)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface The shoulder, neck, and just over rim top are cream slipped, and the lower exterior is uncoated. The neck is decorated with red and black bands, perhaps executed before firing.

Description Wavy-necked jar, base missing. In the drawing, the lower section on the right side is added from further around the pot. The lower body is heavily scraped.

RD 5.7 MD 9.5 H 17.7 +

Provenance H-12, H-13, H2-2, H2-3

12. Wavy-necked jar 7 (Ill. 12)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface This is uncoated but some reddish discolouration on the upper interior may come from a coating at the vessel rim.

Description Miniature wavy-necked jar, rim and unknown length of the upper neck missing.

H 8.4 + MD 4.3

Provenance H-14, H2-1, H2-2

13. Wavy-necked jar 8 (not illustrated)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface This is unslipped, and is decorated in black and red. It is unclear if the decoration was applied before or after firing.

Description Fragment of wavy-necked jar.

Provenance H-12, H-13, H2-2

14. Wavy-necked jar 9 (not illustrated)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface This is cream slipped, and is decorated before firing in blue and red.

Description Fragment of wavy-necked jar.

Provenance H-12, H-13, H-14, H2-1, H2-2, H2-3, H2-4. Joining fragments of this vessel came from the Courtyard excavations, Square 16, layers 5B and 3

15. Wavy-necked jar 10 (not illustrated)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface This has a white-coated surface and is decorated in black and red, both executed after firing.

Description Very similar in form to wavy-necked jar 4 (Cat. no. 9).

Provenance H2-1, H2-3, H2-4

16. Wavy-necked jar 11 (not illustrated)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface This has a white-coated surface, and is decorated in red and

black, both executed after firing.

Description Fragment of wavy-necked jar.

Provenance H-14, H2-1, H2-2

17. Wavy-necked jar 12 (not illustrated)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface This has a white-coated surface, and is decorated in red and black. It is unclear if the coating and decoration were applied before or after firing.

Description Fragment of wavy-necked jar.

Provenance H-13, H2-2

12.6.3.2 Long-necked jars

These are similar in character to the marl clay vessels described above (Cat. nos 1 and 2), but all Nile silt examples show a marked elongation of the neck. This feature is found on vessels from Malqata,²⁷ Karnak,²⁸ Amarna,²⁹ and Saqqara,³⁰ and suggest a late 18th dynasty date for them. A similar example from Rifa was dated to the period from the reign of Amenhotep II to Thutmose IV, but its decoration suggests a later date, into the reign of Amenhotep III or later.³¹

18. Long-necked jar 1 (Ill. 13)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface The rim is red-slipped; below this, on the uncoated neck and shoulder (or perhaps on a dull red slip), are small spots of red paint apparently intended as deliberate decoration. These are difficult to see on the neck, which is discoloured, but are clear on the shoulder.

Description Neck of long-necked jar, with externally thickened rim. The rim does not join the neck, but details of fabric and surface treatment strongly suggest they belong to the same vessel. The vessel neck is warped and this explains the apparent difference in diameter between the rim and neck. The length of the area missing between the rim and the neck fragment is unknown.

RD 9.5

Provenance H-13, H2-1, H2-2

Comparanda For the form see the introduction to this section. The red-splashed decoration, however, suggests an earlier date, although the spots are finer than most examples of the style.³²

19. Long-necked jar 2 (Ill. 14)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface The exterior is red-slipped to the top of the rim.

Description Neck and rim of long-necked jar with modelled rim.

RD 10.4

Provenance H-11, H-12, H-13, H2-1, H2-2

20. Long-necked jar 3 (Ill. 15)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface The exterior is cream slipped.

Description Rim and neck of long-necked jar with externally thickened rim. The neck and rim sections do not join, but appear to come from the same vessel; the length of neck now missing between them is not known. The cream slip may be an attempt to imitate a marl clay vessel.

RD 10–10.8

Provenance H-12, H-13, H2-2

21. Long-necked jar (?) 4 (Ill. 16)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface This is red-slipped on both the exterior and interior.

Description Externally thickened rim of long-necked jar (?). The fact that the red slip extends so far down the interior may indicate that this fragment comes from a different type of vessel, but what this might be is unclear.

RD 9.6

Provenance H2-2

12.6.3.3 Biconical jars

These well-known vessels are characteristic of Aston's phase 3A.³³

22. Biconical jar 1 (Ill. 17; Fig. 266)

Fabric Nile D

Surface The exterior is red-slipped.

Description Biconical jar, centre of base missing.

RD 13.8 MD 17 H greater than 31.2

Provenance H2-2, H2-3

23. Biconical jar 2 (Ill. 18)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface The exterior has a dull red-brown slip.

Description Biconical jar neck. A trace of black at one broken edge may be the remains of a jar label, as the edge of the black is too uneven to suggest decoration. It may however be post-depositional damage.

RD 10

Provenance H-12, H-13, H2-2

24. Biconical jar 3 (Ill. 19; Fig. 267)

Fabric Nile D

Surface This is uncoated.

Description Biconical jar. The lower body is heavily scraped. The exterior is blackened from burning; the interior is also blackened and is eroded towards the base. On the interior are traces of adhering matter. This vessel looks very much as if it was used as a cooking pot. No other vessels from Shaft H were similarly blackened, and because of this, the jar is unlikely to have originated from the burial assemblage. It may have come from the Courtyard where it was perhaps used as a cooking vessel in funerary feasts, and entered the tomb during later activity.

RD 9.8 MD 15.2 H 27–27.4

Provenance H-12, H-13, H2-1, H2-2 (most sherds came from shaft contexts)

12.6.3.4 ‘Beer jars’

Two types of beer jar rim are represented in the Shaft H assemblage. One has a restricted mouth (for example, Beer jar 4, Cat. no. 23), and the other has an upturned rim (for example, Beer jar 1, Cat. no. 20). There are fragments of at least five vessels of the former type, although only two are represented by anything like substantial parts of the diameter, and none could be fully reconstructed. Several show traces of a dark grey coating on the interior.³⁴ There are fragments of at least four vessels with upturned rims. There are grounds for thinking that there may be a chronological distinction between the two rim shapes, at least as seen in the Theban necropolis, so that examples with restricted mouths are more commonly found in earlier contexts than the vessels with upturned rims.³⁵ Only beer jars with restricted mouths were found in Shaft I (Shaft I, Cat. no. 70), and are found in a number of other 18th dynasty tombs into the period up to the reign of Thutmose IV.³⁶ Both types occur together at Malqata, but without any indication of relative frequency of the types,³⁷ in the tombs of the Vallée des Trois Puits, where the lack of information on their precise location there makes them difficult to assess chronologically,³⁸ and in deposits from the funerary temple of Merenptah.³⁹ However, from the end of the 18th dynasty, up-turned rims predominate. In Shaft H it is noteworthy that the beer jars with upturned rims are often of fabric Nile D, and is another suggestion of their slightly later date.



Fig. 266: Biconical jar 1 (Cat. no. 22)

There are at least ten complete beer jar bases, and fragments of approximately nine more. The base area is usually poorly finished and often has deep finger impressions around the edge. Bases can be string-cut from the wheel or hand finished. The latter technique leaves an uneven surface with some shallow finger indents and no clear slicing marks. The angle at which the wall meets the base is either sharp and well-defined, or markedly curving.



Fig. 267: Biconical jar 3 (Cat. no. 24)

25. Beer jar 1 (Ill. 20)

Fabric Nile D

Surface This is uncoated.

Description Beer jar with upturned rim and rounded base. The lower body is heavily scraped to shape.

RD 9.8 H 23.2 MD 15.3

Provenance H-12, H-13, H2-1, H2-2, H2-3

26. Beer jar 2 (Ill. 21)

Fabric Nile D

Surface This is uncoated.

Description Beer-jar fragment with upturned rim.

RD 9.8

Provenance H2-1, H2-2

27. Beer jar 3 (Ill. 22)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface This is uncoated.

Description Beer jar fragment with upturned rim.

RD 8.8

Provenance H-13, H-14, H2-1, H2-2

28. Beer jar 4 (Ill. 23)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface This is uncoated. There are traces of red material, perhaps pigment, at the rim on the interior, although its significance (if any) is obscure.

Description Beer jar fragment with restricted mouth.

RD 12

Provenance H2-2

29. Beer jar 5 (Ill. 24)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface This is uncoated; the exterior is covered with a thin layer of mud.

Description Beer jar fragment with restricted mouth.

RD 8.6

Provenance H-12

30. Beer jar 6 (Ill. 25)

Fabric Nile D

Surface This is uncoated.

Description Beer jar base. There are finger marks around the base, and the underside is cracked.

BD 6.8

Provenance H2-1

31. Beer jar 7 (Ill. 26)

Fabric Nile D

Surface This is uncoated.

Description Possible beer jar base. The base is oval and shows string cutting marks on the underside.

BD 6–8 cm

Provenance H-12

32. Beer jar 8 (Ill. 27)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface This is uncoated. Splashes of gypsum are present on the exterior but are probably accidental.

Description Beer jar base with finger marks and depressions around the edge. There are prominent wheelmarks on the interior. The base is roughly formed by hand. The underside of base appears worn from use.

MD 13.7

Provenance H2-3



Fig. 268: Silt jar 1 (Cat. no. 33)

12.6.3.5 Silt jars

33. Silt jar 1 (*Ill. 28; Fig. 268*)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface This is uncoated

Description Long cylindrical jar with thickened upright rim. The vessel is warped; the rim diameter illustrated here is the maximum measurement.

RD 10–13.2 MD 21.6 H 44.4 +

Provenance H-12, H-13, H-14, H2-1, H2-2, H2-3

Comparanda Most parallels suggest a dating for the type late in the New Kingdom,⁴⁰ although a relatively similar jar is dated to the late 18th to 19th dynasty in the funerary temple of Merenptah.⁴¹ It may be that the vessel does not fit into the sequence of use suggested for the burials in Shaft H and belongs to a separate, later, reuse of the tomb.

34. Silt jar 2 (Ill. 29)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface The exterior is red-slipped, and the slip runs just over the rim top. A narrow uneven groove runs around the shoulder, and splits over part of its length into two. Over the slip a whitish layer, perhaps gypsum, can be seen around the neck and on small areas on the body, and although the white is carelessly applied, it may well be decoration. This is better seen on the second sherd of the same vessel also illustrated here.

Description Small drop-shaped jar with externally thickened rim (see also Cat. no. 35). The base is missing. This and the following vessel are miniature versions of larger vessels, and can be considered as part of the cult pottery assemblage.⁴²

RD 7 MD 11.8

Provenance H-12, H-13, H2-2, H2-3

Comparanda Examples of white decoration on similar types of vessels are known from Deir el-Medina.⁴³ Closely similar forms are also known from other Theban tombs.⁴⁴

35. Silt jar 3 (Ill. 30)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface The exterior is red-slipped. A thick whitish coating covers the rim and runs onto the shoulder, perhaps forming vertical stripes.

Description Rim of drop-shaped jar with externally thickened rim (see also Cat. no. 34).

RD 7.6

Provenance H-13

36. Silt jar 4 (Ill. 31)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface This has a thin red slip.

Description Rim of jar with restricted mouth. The modelled rim is

unusual.

RD 7

Provenance H-13

Comparanda This is such a small fragment that parallels are hard to identify. It can be compared to vessels from Elephantine dated to the late New Kingdom,⁴⁵ and thus may be a later introduction into the tomb.

37. Silt jar 5 (*Ill. 32; Colour pl. 43B*)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface This is cream slipped over the entire exterior, stopping at the rim top. Brush strokes are clearly visible in the slip. The decoration, apparently only in blue and red, is eroded and partly obscured by a post-depositional thick grey mud coating. As far as is visible, the decoration consists of red horizontal bands, wider horizontal bands of blue, and what appear to be traces of blue petal bands. There is no evidence for the use of black paint as detailing around the petals or elsewhere.

Description Drop-shaped jar. A non-joining base fragment shows that it was rounded.

RD 12 MD 16 H 25.9

Provenance H-12, H-13, H-14, H2-1, H2-2, H2-3

Comparanda There are many parallels for this vessel which can be dated from the late 18th into the 19th dynasty.⁴⁶

38. Silt jar 6 (*Ill. 33*)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface The exterior is red-slipped, and runs just over the rim top.

Description Rim of jar with vertical neck and slightly everted lip.

RD 9

Provenance H-12

Comparanda The fragment is too small to date confidently. Similar rim forms include an example from TT74,⁴⁷ and jars from the tomb of Amenemhat.⁴⁸

39. Silt jar 7 (*Ill. 34*)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface This is uncoated.

Description Neck of beaker (?) with bevelled exterior edge. There appears to be a groove at the bottom of the sherd.

RD 7.4

Provenance H-10, H-12, H2-1

40. Silt jar 8 (*Ill. 35*)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface This is uncoated.

Description Jar base. The lower body is heavily scraped, and the base is cracked and uneven.

BD 3.5

Provenance H2-2

41. Silt jar 9 (Ill. 36)

Fabric Nile D

Surface This is uncoated.

Description Jar base. The exterior is heavily scraped, and there is a large crack on the interior. The underside of the base is worn, presumably from use.

BD 2.3

Provenance H2-3

12.6.3.6 Bread cones (not illustrated)

Six fragments of coarse silt (Nile C) bread cones were identified, two from H-12 and four from H2-2. Two had simple rounded rims, and an internal diameter of about 4 cm. No bases were preserved.

12.6.4 Open forms

12.6.4.1 Offering dishes

These are small, poorly made, and often asymmetrical vessels. Examples can be found throughout the New Kingdom.⁴⁹

In Shaft H the dishes come mainly from the shaft and probably formed part of the cult pottery rather than part of the burial equipment.⁵⁰

42. Offering dish 1 (Ill. 37)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface This is uncoated.

Description Small, poorly-finished dish with flaring walls and flat, string-cut base.

RD 15.4 BD 5.2 H 4.3

Provenance H-10, H-11

43. Offering dish 2 (Ill. 38)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface This is uncoated.

Description Small, asymmetrical dish with flat string-cut base.

RD 11.7 BD 5.2 H 3.5–3.8

Provenance H-10, H-11, H-12, H-13, H2-2

44. Offering dish 3 (Ill. 39)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface This is uncoated.

Description Small poorly-finished dish with flared rim and flat string-cut base.

RD 13.7 BD 4.5 H 3.1

Provenance H-11

45. *Offering dish 4 (Ill. 40)*

Fabric Nile B2

Surface This is uncoated.

Description Small poorly-finished dish with simple flared rim and flat string-cut base. The dish is warped and asymmetrical.

RD 14.4 BD 5.3 H 3.4

Provenance H2-1

46. *Offering dish 5 (Ill. 41)*

Fabric Nile B2

Surface This is uncoated.

Description Small poorly-finished dish with simple flared rim and flat string-cut base.

RD 13.3 BD 4.7 H 2.9

Provenance H-10, H-11

47. *Offering dish 6 (Ill. 42)*

Fabric Nile B2

Surface This is uncoated.

Description Rim of small dish with flared rim.

RD 12

Provenance H-12

48. *Offering dish 7 (Ill. 43)*

Fabric Nile B2

Surface This is uncoated.

Description Dish or lid with flared rim; a non-joining flat base fragment may belong to it (not illustrated).

RD 8

Provenance H2-1

49. *Offering dish 8 (Ill. 44)*

Fabric Nile B2

Surface This is uncoated.

Description Small dish with flaring rim and string-cut base. There are conspicuous turning marks on the interior.

RD 10 BD 4.3 H 2.6

Provenance H-13, H2-1

50. *Offering vessel 9 (Ill. 45)*

Fabric Nile D

Surface This is uncoated.

Description Miniature cup with uneven, string-cut flat base.

RD 8.1 BD 3.9

Provenance H-12

Comparanda Although less common than the shallow offering dishes, the slightly deeper form is also well known from the mid-18th dynasty and later.⁵¹

12.6.4.2 Bowls

Bowls and dishes were common in the Shaft H assemblage, although it is not possible to quantify how many were originally present. One point to note, in comparison with the bowls from Shaft I, is that there are more open forms with out-turned rims in Shaft H. These became more common in the later part of the 18th dynasty and give a further indication of the relatively later date of the Shaft H burials in comparison with those from Shaft I.

51. *Bowl 1 (Ill. 46)*

Fabric Nile B2

Surface The bowl is red-slipped on all surfaces, and the interior shows traces of horizontal burnishing strokes.

Description Simple-rimmed dish with small flat spot base.

RD 11.4 H 3.3

Provenance H-13

Comparanda. There are late 18th dynasty parallels for the form from Amarna, but the decorative style there is polished rather than burnished.⁵² The use of streaky burnish on the interior of the vessel suggests a date earlier in the 18th dynasty.

52. *Bowl 2 (Ill. 47)*

Fabric Nile B2

Surface This is uncoated.

Description Small conical bowl. The surfaces have a thin layer of black residue over them, which may suggest the vessel is a later introduction into the tomb (cf. SH15).

RD 12 H 4.6

Provenance H-10, H-11, H2-1

Comparanda A parallel from Amarna suggests a late 18th dynasty date;⁵³ a similarly-shaped vessel from TT87 is assigned to the mid-18th dynasty.⁵⁴ The form is however much more common in the late New Kingdom and may perhaps be of that date, especially given the residue coating the surfaces which marks the vessel out from other

pieces in the assemblage.⁵⁵

53. Bowl 3 (Ill. 48)

Fabric Nile D

Surface This is uncoated, with a red rim band.

Description Dish with simple rim, and non-joining rounded base (the latter is not illustrated).

RD 14

Provenance H2-1

54. Bowl 4 (Ill. 49)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface This is uncoated, with a red rim band and a little red spotting over the interior.

Description Simple-rimmed bowl with flat base.

RD 18.6 BD 6 H 5.

Provenance H-13

Comparanda The use of red-splashed decoration dates the bowl to the period from the reign of Thutmose III into that of Amenhotep II.⁵⁶

55. Bowl 5 (Ill. 50)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface This is uncoated, with a narrow red rim band, and red spotting over the interior.

Description Carinated bowl with simple rim, base missing.

RD 15

Provenance H-12, H-13, H2-2

Comparanda The use of red-splashed decoration dates the bowl to the period from the reign of Thutmose III into that of Amenhotep II.⁵⁷

Parallels for the form are known from TT74, dated to the reigns of Amenhotep II to Thutmose IV,⁵⁸ and K91.4 in Dra' Abu el-Naga, dated to the reign of Thutmose III.⁵⁹

56. Bowl 6 (Ill. 51)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface This is uncoated, with a red rim band.

Description Dish with simple rim and ring base.

RD 14 BD 7.4 H 3.5

Provenance H2-1

57. Bowl 7 (Ill. 52)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface This is uncoated, with red spotting over the interior and, unusually, a red band around the exterior of the base.

Description Ring base from an open form.

BD 3

Provenance H2-4

Comparanda The use of red-splashed decoration dates the bowl to the period from the reign of Thutmose III into that of Amenhotep II.⁶⁰

58. Bowl 8 (Ill. 53)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface This is uncoated, with a single red spot on the interior which may indicate an original red rim band from which a drip has fallen, or the presence of splash decoration.

Description Bowl base, string-cut.

BD 5

Provenance H-10, H-11, H2-1

59. Bowl 9 (Ill. 54)

Fabric Nile B2

Surface All surfaces are red-slipped.

Description Small dish with out-turned rim and flat base. The interior slip is worn, possibly from use.

RD 13.8 BD 3.3 H3.2

Provenance H-12, H2-2



Fig. 269: Bowl 11 (Cat. no. 61)

Comparanda Both the form and the all-over red slip suggest a dating in

the later 18th dynasty.⁶¹

60. *Bowl 10 (Ill. 55)*

Fabric Nile B2

Surface The interior is red-slipped with a wide darker red rim band; the exterior is also red-slipped but with a patch left uncoated.

Description Bowl with out-turned rim, base missing.

RD 13.8

Provenance H2-3

61. *Bowl 11 (Ill. 56; Fig. 269)*

Fabric Nile B2

Surface The exterior has a thin red rim band; the interior is red-slipped and was probably originally polished. Over the interior are numerous large round dots executed in thin white wash, apparently intentional decoration.

Description Bowl with out-turned rim and flat base.

RD 27.6 BD 7 H 5.9

Provenance H-12, H-13, H-14, H2-1, H2-2

Comparanda The white-spotted decoration belongs to a known style found on bowls in a number of tomb assemblages from Thebes and beyond, and can occur on both the inside of the vessel, as here, and on the exterior.⁶² In a tomb in the Ramesseum, a dish with a red rim band and white dots arranged in two regularly laid out groups is found alongside wavy-necked bottles which use blue in their decoration, and so date to the mid-18th dynasty.⁶³ The style is found from at least the middle to the late 18th dynasty, albeit occurring only rarely.

62. *Flowerpot (Bowl 12) (Ill. 57)*

Fabric Nile B2

Surface This is uncoated.

Description 'Flowerpot' with flat string-cut base, pierced before firing. The sherds are eroded, and one has been used for digging.

RD 24.7 BD 9.8 H 15.2–15.7

Provenance H-12, H-13, H2-2

63. *Flange-rimmed bowl (bowl 13) (Ill. 58)*

Fabric Nile B2

Surface This is uncoated, with a red rim band. There are patches of white gypsum on the inner and outer surfaces.

Description Rim of large flange-rimmed bowl. This is closely similar to the flange rimmed bowls from Shaft I (Shaft I, Cat. nos 80–90), many of which were also coated in gypsum, and it is possible that this piece

originated from there.

RD 28

Provenance H2-2

12.6.5 Imports

Only one imported piece that may have formed part of an original tomb assemblage was identified, and is probably of Cypriot origin. Canaanite amphorae are represented by just three sherds, all from different vessels, and are therefore probably intrusive.

64. Closed form base (Ill. 59)

Fabric Base-ring ware. Hard, dense, dark grey fabric with narrow orange core, turning dark red towards the outer surface. It contains abundant mica and rare tiny white particles. The fabric is similar to those in Shaft I (Shaft I, Cat. nos 107 and 108).

Surface The exterior is apparently uncoated, and is highly polished. It is decorated with three horizontal black bands around the lower body.

Description Base of a handmade closed form, probably a jar or bottle (?). It has an uneven interior surface, with shallow horizontal striations across it from the potter's fingers.

Provenance H-11, H-12, H2-2

Comparanda No parallels have been identified for this piece.

Fig. 1.

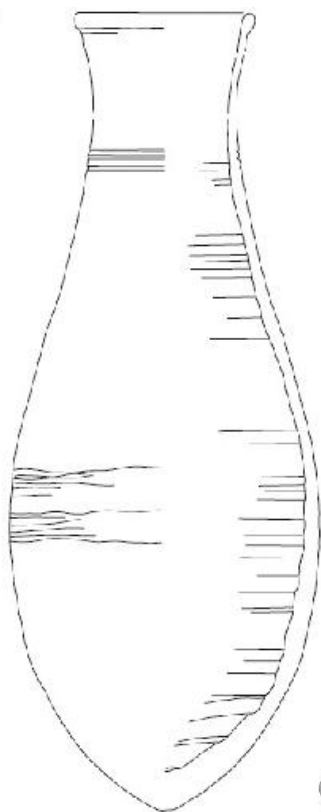


Fig. 3.

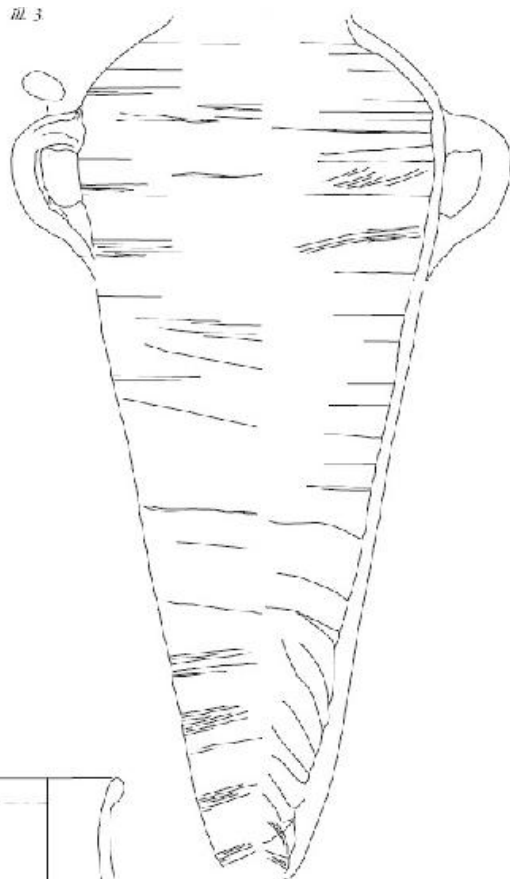


Fig. 2.

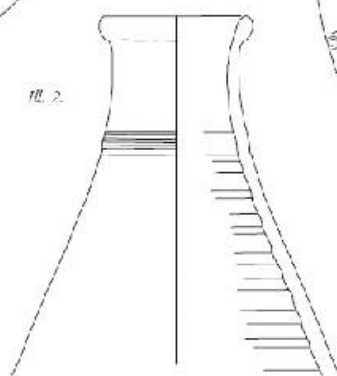


Fig. 270: Ceramics from Shaft H

Fig. 4.

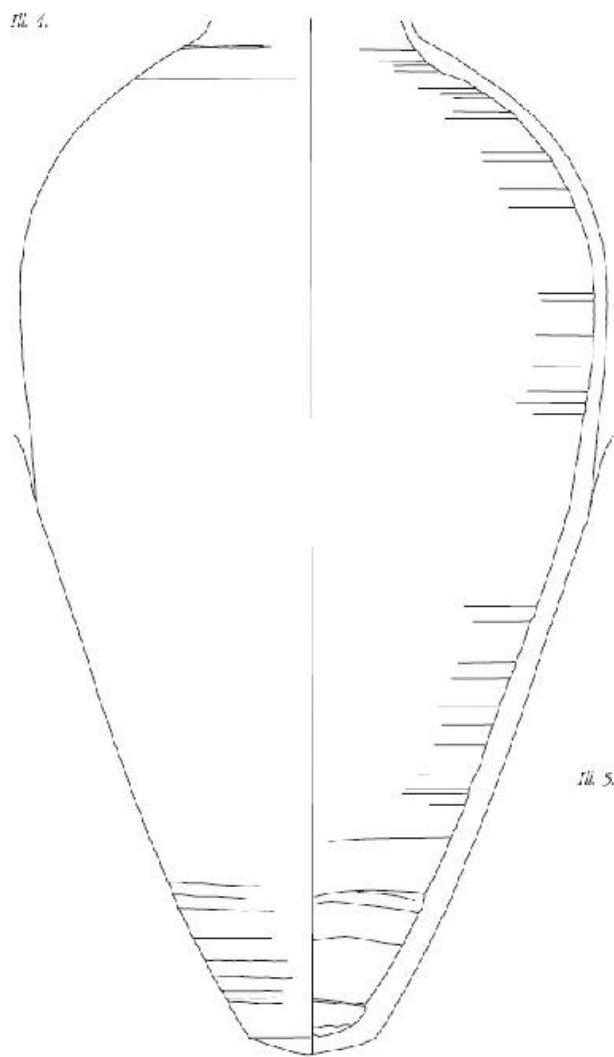


Fig. 5.

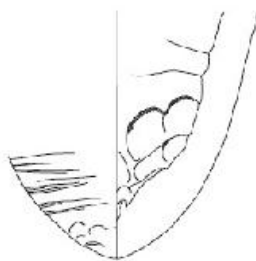


Fig. 271: Ceramics from Shaft H

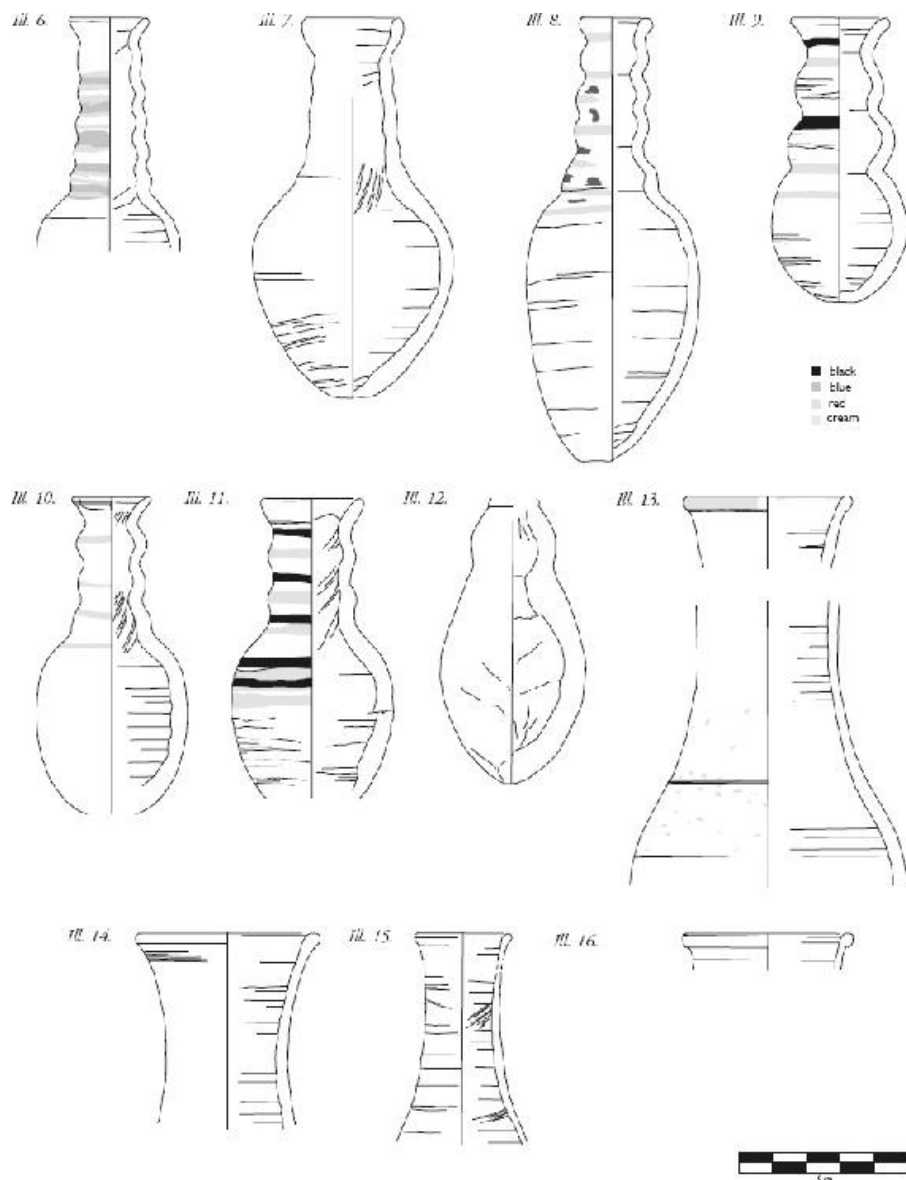


Fig. 272: Ceramics from Shaft H

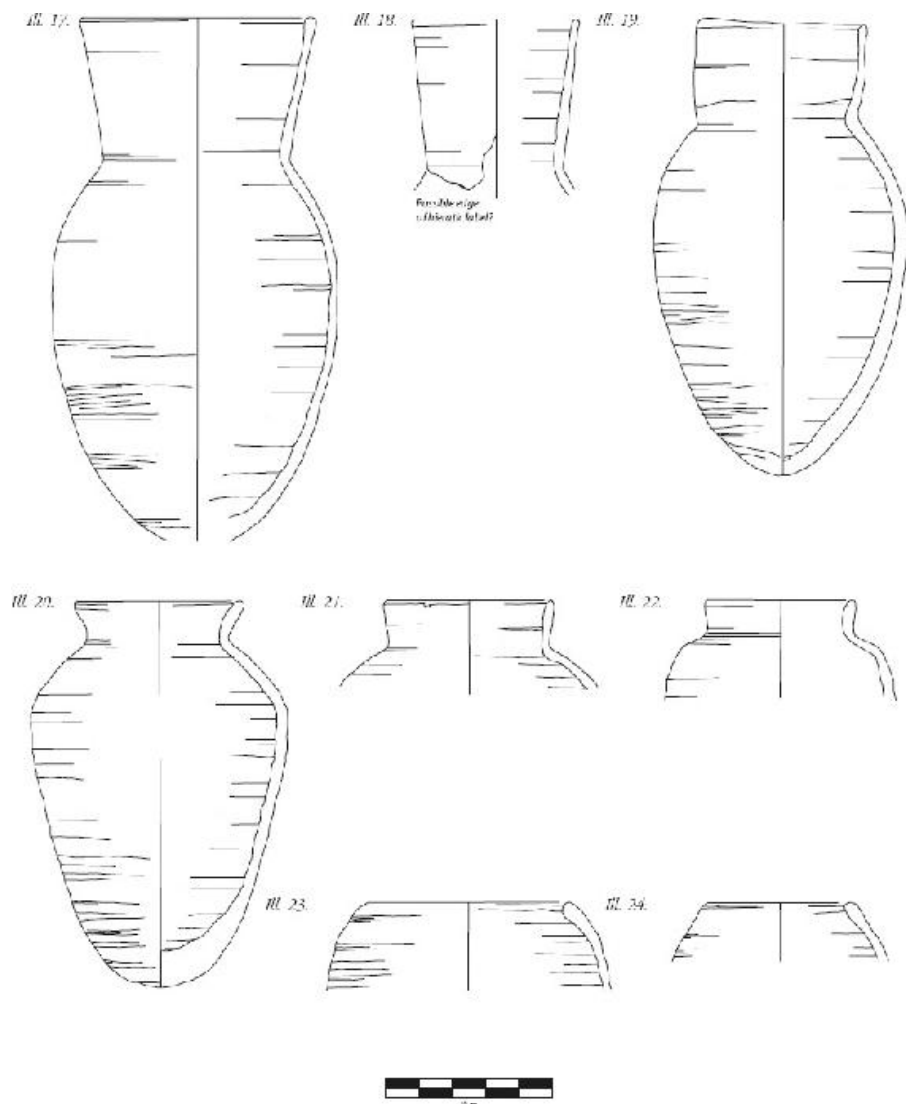


Fig. 273: Ceramics from Shaft H

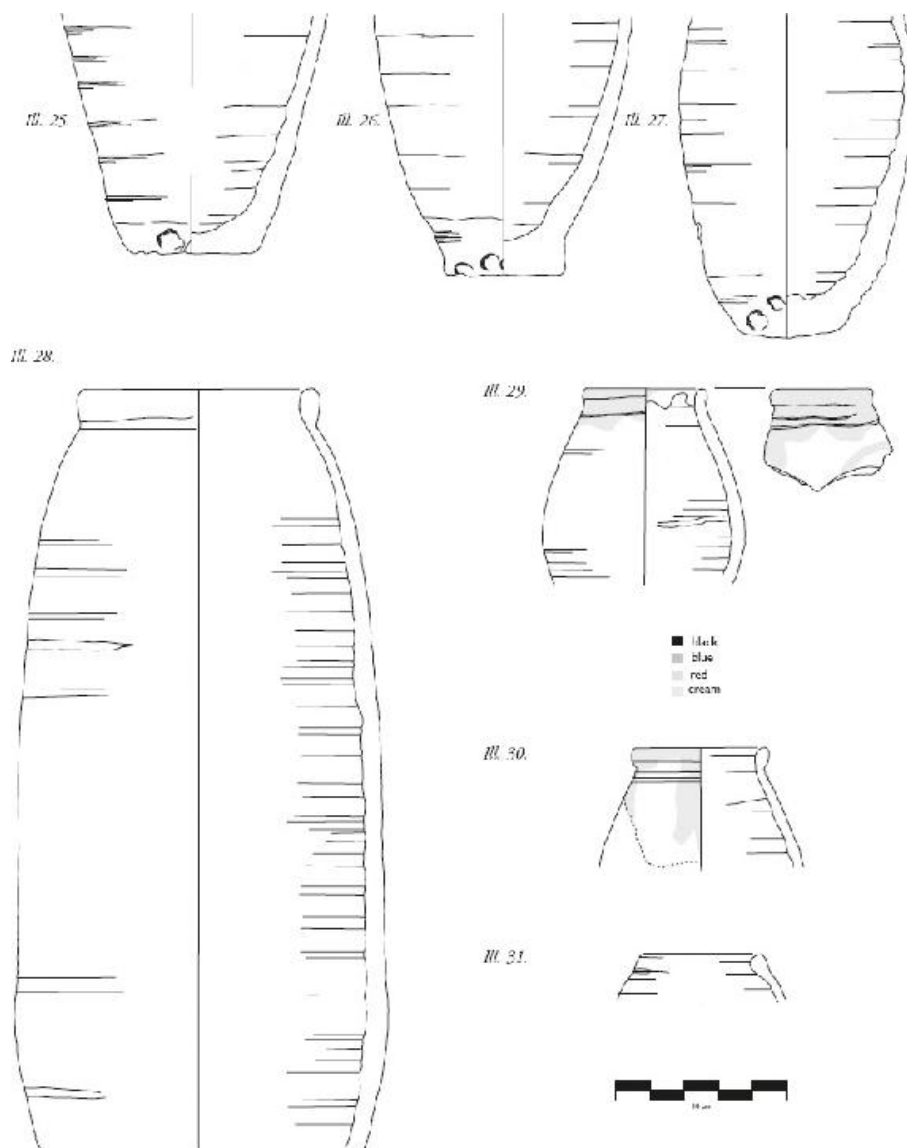


Fig. 274: Ceramics from Shaft H

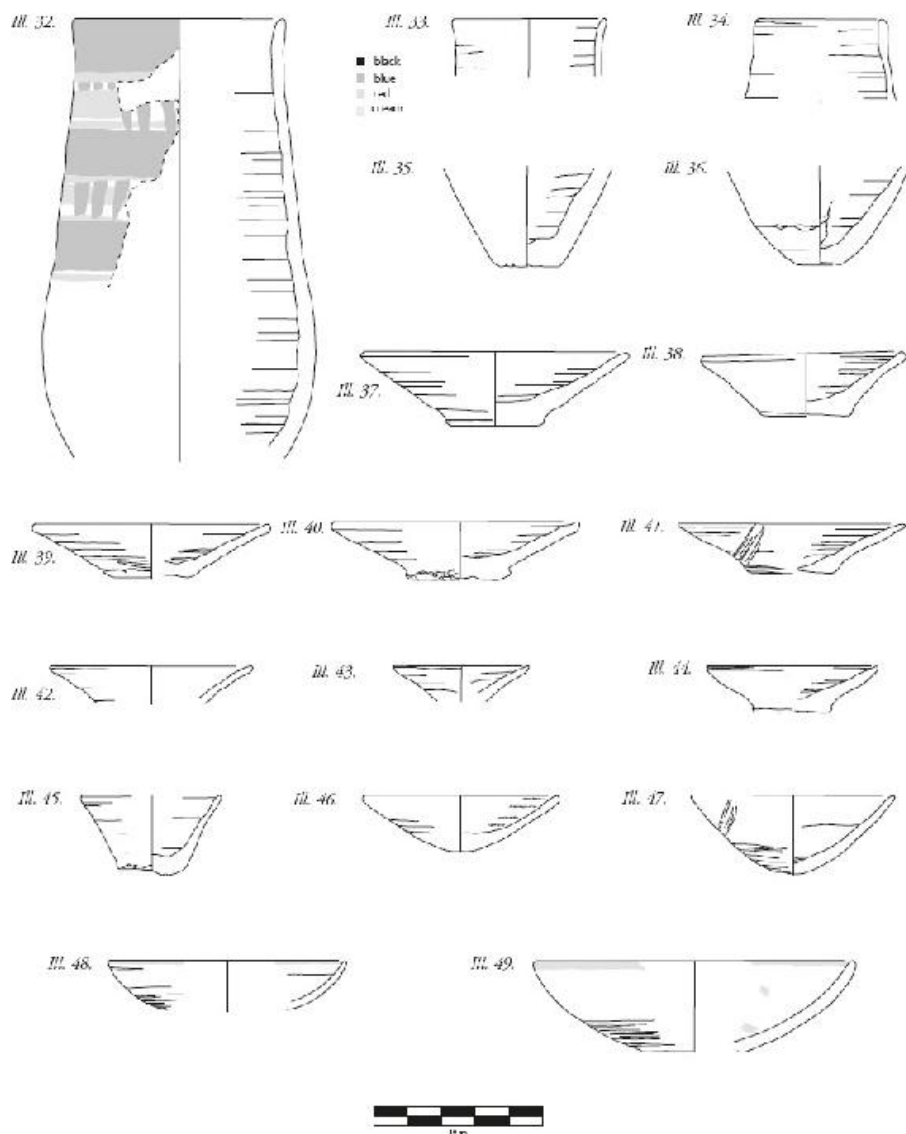


Fig. 275: Ceramics from Shaft H

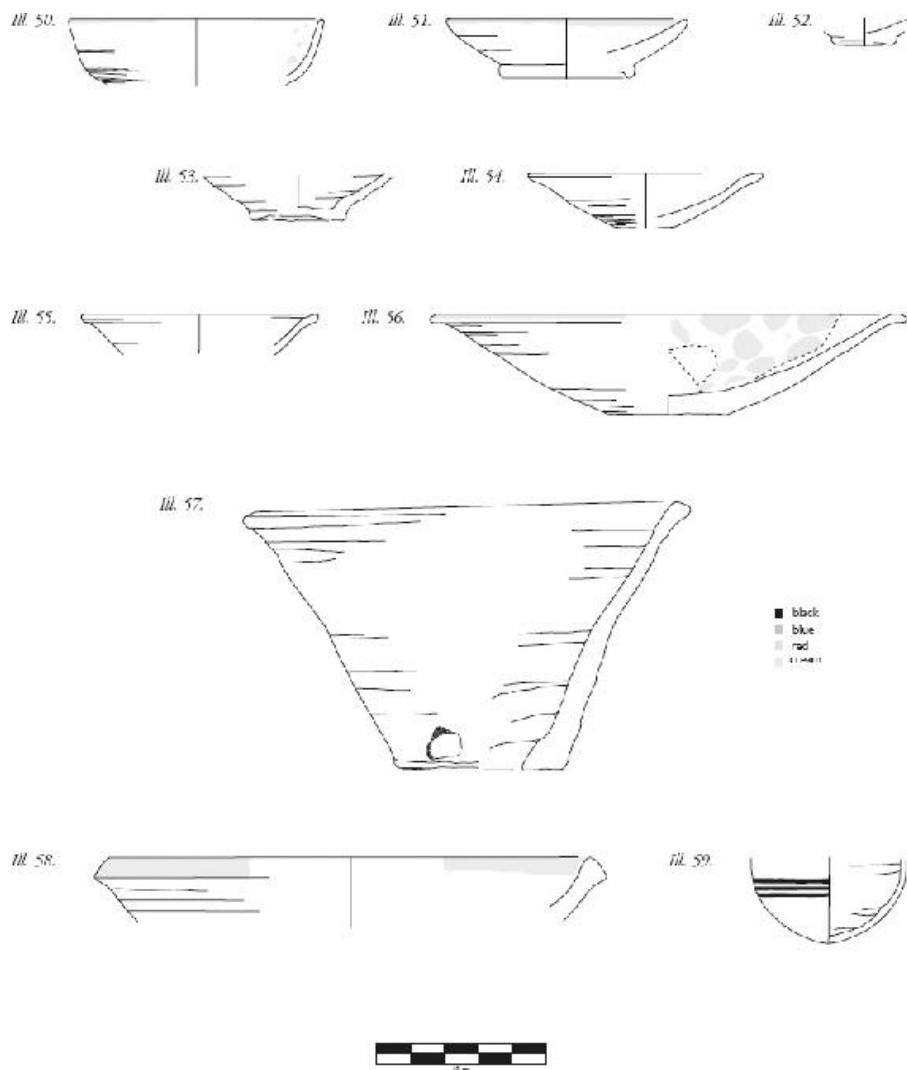


Fig. 276: Ceramics from Shaft H

¹Seiler, in Assmann et al. (eds), *Thebanische Beamtennekropolen*, 187.

²Aston, in Bietak (ed.), *Synchronisation II*, 146–147.

³Bourriau, *Umm el Ga'ab*, 72; Bourriau, *The Survey of Memphis IV*, 6.

⁴Aston, in Czerny et al. (eds), *Timelines I*, 72–73.

⁵Hope, *CCE 1* (1987), 97–122; Hope, in Phillips (ed.) *Ancient Egypt, the Aegean and the Near East*, 249–288; Hope, in Aston et al. (eds), *Under the Potter's Tree*, 495–512. It is worth noting in relation to the use of blue paint that the colour is used on models and wavy-necked jars from the tomb of a royal nurse, the assemblage from which shows many similarities to vessels from Shaft H, but unfortunately is not closely dated (Nelson, *Memnonia 17* (2006), 122).

⁶Aston in Bietak (ed.), *Synchronisation II*, 147–152.

⁷Hope, in Hope, *Pottery of the Egyptian New Kingdom*, Fig. 7a, b; also *ibid.*, fig. 2;

- Rose, *The Eighteenth Dynasty Pottery Corpus*, 128–129 (ME3.6).
- ⁸See, for example, *ibid.*, 91, SG4.2, SG4.3; Bourriau et al., *The Memphite tomb of Horemheb III*, 38–39 no. 102.
- ⁹There is some debate over the length of the period incorporating the reigns of Amenhotep II and Thutmose IV. The accepted duration is 36 years (Hornung et al., *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*, 203–204, 492); recent work suggests a significantly longer period is possible (Aston, *Ä&L* 22/23 (2012/2013), 300–310).
- ¹⁰Serpico and White, *Antiquity* 74 (2000), 884–897.
- ¹¹Aston in Bietak (ed.), *Synchronisation II*, 146–147.
- ¹²Hope, *CCE* 1 (1987), fig. 1 (p. 103) and pl. XXXVA (article pp 97–122).
- ¹³Brack and Brack, *Tjanuni*, Taf. 63 1/14.
- ¹⁴Aston, in Bietak (ed.), *Synchronisation II*, 147–152.
- ¹⁵For example, Rose, *The Eighteenth Dynasty Pottery Corpus*, type ME3.6; Hope, in Hope, *Pottery of the Egyptian New Kingdom*, fig. 7a, b; Aston, *Ä&L* 14 (2004), 189, fig. 7c–e; Bourriau et al., *The Memphite tomb of Horemheb III*, 62–63, figs. 31, 32.
- ¹⁶Aston in Bietak (ed.), *Synchronisation II*, 146–147.
- ¹⁷Brack and Brack, *Tjanuni*, Taf. 63 no. 2/28
- ¹⁸Rose, *The Eighteenth Dynasty Pottery Corpus*, 15.
- ¹⁹Marchand and Tallet, *BIFAO* 99 (1999), 335–338.
- ²⁰Nelson, *Memnonia* 17 (2006), 122.
- ²¹Seiler, in Assmann et al., (eds), *Thebanische Beamtennekropolen*, 187.
- ²²Nelson, *Memnonia* 17 (2006), 122.
- ²³Shedid, *Grabmalereien*, 178–179.
- ²⁴Rose in Strudwick, *Amenhotep*, 175 and pl. 65, nos 80–85.
- ²⁵Aston in Bietak, Manfred (ed.), *Synchronisation II*, 146–147.
- ²⁶Seiler, *MDAIK* 48 (1995), 126–128.
- ²⁷Hope, in Hope, *Pottery of the Egyptian New Kingdom*, fig. 6a (a marl clay vessel).
- ²⁸Jacquet-Gordon, *Le trésor de Thoutmosis Ier. La céramique*, fig. 61h P582.
- ²⁹Rose, *The Eighteenth Dynasty Pottery Corpus*, 90–91 type SG4.
- ³⁰Bourriau et al., *The Memphite tomb of Horemheb III*, 38–39 no. 102.
- ³¹Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, pl. XXVIII, no. 357.
- ³²Aston, *Ä&L* 22/23 (2012/2013), 300–310. The form of the vessel is very similar to Schreiber in *Current Research of the Hungarian Archaeological Mission in Thebes*, 46 fig. 7, which he dates to the reign of Thutmose III, although the form does not occur in Aston, in Czerny et al. (eds), *Timelines I*, 65–74, as the reference suggests.
- ³³Aston in Bietak (ed.), *Synchronisation II*, 147–152.
- ³⁴Rose, *The Eighteenth Dynasty Pottery Corpus*, 100–101.
- ³⁵Beer jars must have been produced in huge quantities on a local basis throughout Egypt; as such, there is likely to be more potential for regional variation in this type than most others. It does not follow therefore that what appears true for the Theban region necessarily holds true for other parts of Egypt.
- ³⁶See examples from Deir el-Bahari (Szafranski, *DE* 22 (1992), 55 no. 8); TT87 (Guksch, *Nacht-Min*, 83–84 and Abb. 38a), and TT104 (Shedid, *Grabmalereien*, 179); see also Budka, *Ä&L* 16 (2006), 88–91.
- ³⁷Hope, in Hope, *Pottery of the Egyptian New Kingdom*, fig. 2f and fig. 3a.
- ³⁸The tombs are all assigned to the reign of Thutmose III, although two marl clay vases from the assemblage suggest a slightly later date (Loyrette, *Memnonia* 8 (1997), fig. 7a–c).
- ³⁹Aston, *Untersuchungen im Totentempel des Merenptah IV*, 58–59.
- ⁴⁰Aston, Aston and Ryan, *CCE* 6 (2000), 25 no. 80; also Aston, *Untersuchungen im Totentempel des Merenptah in Theben IV*, 218–219 no. 1516; Aston, *Elephantine XIX*,

27 and pl. 4, No. 69.

⁴¹Aston, *Untersuchungen im Totentempel des Merenptah IV*, 48 fig. 18p.

⁴²Lilyquist, *The tomb of three foreign wives of Tuthmosis III*, fig. 65b.

⁴³Nagel, *La céramique du Nouvel Empire*, fig. 33 No. 7, fig. 71 No. 9.

⁴⁴Nelson, *Memnonia* 17 (2006), fig. 5 no. 8; Seiler, in Assmann et al. (eds), *Thebanische Beamtennekropolen*, Abb. 5 middle row, left.

⁴⁵See Aston, *Elephantine XIX*, pl. 9 no. 198, dated to Ramesses IX, and pl. 12 no. 330, dated 20/21st dynasty.

⁴⁶For example, Rose, *The Eighteenth Dynasty Pottery Corpus*, 98, SH5.2; also Bourriau et al., *The Memphite tomb of Horemheb III*, fig. 23 No. 125; Aston, *CCE* 9, 7–8 nos 43–51.

⁴⁷Brack and Brack, *Tjanuni*, Taf. 66, 5/20.

⁴⁸Mond and Emery, *LAAA* 16 (1929), 56 and pl. XLIIIc; see also Loyrette, *Memnonia* 8 (1997), 188, fig. 7d.

⁴⁹In Thebes see Seiler, in Assmann et al. (eds), *Thebanische Beamtennekropolen*, Abb. 1 Teller; Loyrette, *Memnonia* 8 (1997), fig. 6m–r, t; Lilyquist, *The tomb of three foreign wives of Tuthmosis III*, fig. 70a; for later occurrences see for example Amarna (Rose, *The Eighteenth Dynasty Pottery Corpus*, 54–55 (SD1.10), 57 (SD2.6)).

⁵⁰This was also the case in TT104, dated to the reign of Amenhotep II (Shedid, *Grabmalereien*, 178).

⁵¹See Shedid, *Grabmalereien*, 188 (K80.15) from the shaft of TT80; Lilyquist, *The tomb of three foreign wives of Tuthmosis III*, fig. 70b–c. Loyrette, *Memnonia* 8 (1997), fig. 6s.

⁵²Rose, *The Eighteenth Dynasty Pottery Corpus*, 62 (SD7.1).

⁵³ibid., 51, type SD1.1.

⁵⁴Guksch, *Nacht-Min*, 85 fig. 39i.

⁵⁵See, for example, Aston, *Elephantine XIX*, 29 Pl. 4 no. 74; 31 pl. 5 no. 105; 35 pl. 6 nos 122, 129.

⁵⁶Aston, in Czerny et al. (eds), *Timelines I*, 72–73.

⁵⁷ibid.

⁵⁸Brack and Brack, *Tjanuni*, Taf. 66 2/21.

⁵⁹Seiler, in Polz, *MDAIK* 48 (1992), 119, 126

⁶⁰Aston, in Czerny et al. (eds), *Timelines I*, 72–73.

⁶¹Rose, *The Eighteenth Dynasty Pottery Corpus*, 64–65 (type SD7.14).

⁶²For examples from Thebes, see for example, Nagel, *La céramique du Nouvel Empire*, 4 fig. 2, nos 84, 105; 99 fig. 78, nos 126, 127; 103 fig. 82, nos 38, 45; see also Carnarvon and Carter, *Five years' explorations at Thebes*, Pl. XLVII.1 top row second from left, Pl. LII.2 bottom row centre, Pl. LXXIV top row right. As an example from elsewhere, see Minault-Gout and Thill, *Sai II*, pl. 143 nos T16 S18 and T11 S2, Pl. 163 T11 S2.

⁶³Nelson, *Memnonia* 17 (2006), 125 and pl. XXIIA.

The human and animal remains from Shafts I and H

Tony Waldron

A considerable quantity of human remains was recovered from this tomb as a whole, the greatest amount being disarticulated bone, some with traces of dried soft tissue adherent, and a much smaller number of fully mummified body parts, and even fewer whole, or partly whole bodies. Some of the bones appeared to be burnt, but this was presumably due to activity on the site following burial and disturbance, and not a reflection of the fact that some of the bones had been cremated; some, from shafts A–F, were partially white in colour as though painted, and will be referred to in some detail in the section which deals with the remains from those shafts. In addition, there were a number of animal bones from Shafts I and H. In keeping with the aims of this volume, all the material from the two latter shafts is considered here, and the material from shafts A–F will form a chapter in Part II.

13.1 Human remains from Shaft I

13.1.1 Disarticulated bone

A relatively small amount of disarticulated bone was found in this shaft, including a dozen or so bones contained in a couple of mummy bundles. Each of the bones was identified as to anatomical element, and to side, and measurements were taken of the long bones, including maximum length and maximum diameter of the femoral and humeral heads. Sex was determined from those bones which show characteristic sexual dimorphism – the pelvis, skull and mandible – or from fragments of these bones if these were sufficiently diagnostic. A

total of 336 bones was examined of which only a single one – a middle phalanx of the hand – came from a juvenile. The distinction between adult and children's bones is easily made, both on grounds of size and because the growing ends of the bones (the epiphyses) are not fused to the shaft until the advent of puberty.

13.1.2 Minimum number of individuals

Calculation of the minimum number of individuals (MNI) from disarticulated bone is a technique that is used particularly by zooarchaeologists examining animal bones and who wish to have some idea of the number of animals represented in, for example, a kitchen midden.¹ It relies on the simple (some might say simplistic) notion that all the bones in an assemblage are derived from the calculated MNI (in which case, it can be seen that the argument is rather circular). For kitchen waste this is rather unlikely to have been the case since the cooks would seldom order whole animals from the butcher but would be more likely to take individual joints which would, of course, have come from several different animals. So far as assemblages of disarticulated human bone are concerned, however, it is much more likely that the bones represent discrete, albeit much disturbed, burials and the MNI is probably a reasonable reflection of the number of individuals originally disposed of at the site.

The procedure is extremely simple and consists merely of determining which element appears most often in the assemblage. Thus, if there are seven left femurs present, then at least seven individuals are represented. Based on the presence of one whole left femur and other parts which together account for a further four, the minimum number of adults present in the assemblage is five. The single juvenile bone gives an MNI for juveniles of one, even though it seems remarkable that more bones were not recovered if a juvenile really had been buried in the shaft and we cannot rule out the possibility that this bone is intrusive from another source.

13.1.3 Sex of the individuals

Human skeletons are the least dimorphic of the large primates, and the most important of such changes as there are those that take place at puberty. The most significant differences are in the shape of the pelvis which, in the female, becomes adapted for child bearing. If the pelvis is well preserved then it is relatively easy to distinguish female from male pelvises; even if broken, a reasonably reliable assignment can be made from the shape of the pubis or the greater sciatic notch, for example. Differences in the skull rely principally on the fact that

the male skull is more robust with well developed brow ridges, mastoid processes and the occipital regions at the back of the skull where the muscles of the neck are inserted. Using the skull alone, sexing is reasonably reliable, but less so than by using the pelvis. In addition to the changes in the pelvis and skull, however, some reliance can be given to the dimorphism shown by the large joint surfaces.² This is reflected in a number of measurements, most importantly, the maximum diameter of the heads of the femur and the humerus. In assemblages from Britain and western Europe, it is usually considered that a maximum diameter of 45 mm for the head of both the femur and humerus separates males from females, so that the larger the diameter is than 45 mm the more likely it is that the skeleton is that of a male; conversely, the smaller it is than 45 mm, the more likely is the skeleton to be female. This value is not likely to be applicable to skeletons from other parts of the world, however, and it was suggested in a previous publication that values of 38 and 43 mm would distinguish females from males, respectively.³

In the present assemblage there were a number of bones exhibiting strong sexual characteristics and the number of males and females estimated from each is shown in [Table 21 on p. 320](#). From this table it can be seen that there is a minimum number of three females (using the pelvis as a criterion) and a minimum number of two males (judging from the number of skulls). It is probable that one of the males was Senneferi himself, but, unfortunately, it is impossible to determine which bones were his ([Fig. 277](#)).

13.1.4 Height of the individuals

Sex could be assigned to only two femurs for which the maximum length could also be measured; one was male and the other female. The final achieved height of these individuals was calculated to be 1.72 m and 1.58 m respectively.⁴ Regrettably, little useful information can be gleaned from such a small number of observations and they are reported here for the sake of completeness.

13.1.5 Skeletal indices

The calculation of indices which describe the shape of some of the bones of the skeleton has a venerable history; those which are most commonly estimated are the cranial index, the femoral index and the tibial index. Unfortunately we did not have the necessary instruments to make the measurements required for the estimation of the cranial index (maximum length and maximum breadth) but we were able to make the measurements needed for the other indices. Both the

femoral and tibial indices describe the shape of the shaft of the respective bones by comparing their front to back and side to side diameters at particular landmarks; just below the lesser trochanter in the case of the femur, and at the lowest level of the nutrient foramen in the case of the tibia. The index in both cases is obtained by dividing the lesser diameter by the greater and multiplying by a hundred; a completely round shaft would have an index of 100 and the smaller the index, the flatter the shaft. It is conventional to separate the indices into two divisions, as shown in [Table 22 on p. 320](#). Of the five femurs for which the index could be calculated, all but one was eurymeric, that is to say, their shafts tended to be round. Only four tibias could be measured and all were mesocnemic, that is to say that their shafts also tended towards the round end of the range.⁵

13.1.6 The teeth

If in fact, the remains comprising this assemblage represented five adults, then one would have expected to find a total of 160 teeth (5 x 32). Only 99 could be accounted for, however, 36 that were in situ, 49 sockets from which the teeth had been lost post-mortem, two sockets from which the teeth had been lost ante-mortem⁶ and twelve teeth which were loose in the assemblage. Thus only about 62% of the total number expected was present. There was very little dental pathology in the extant teeth and jaws, two teeth had dental caries and one showed the presence of a peri-apical granuloma which was probably the result of a chronic infection.⁷

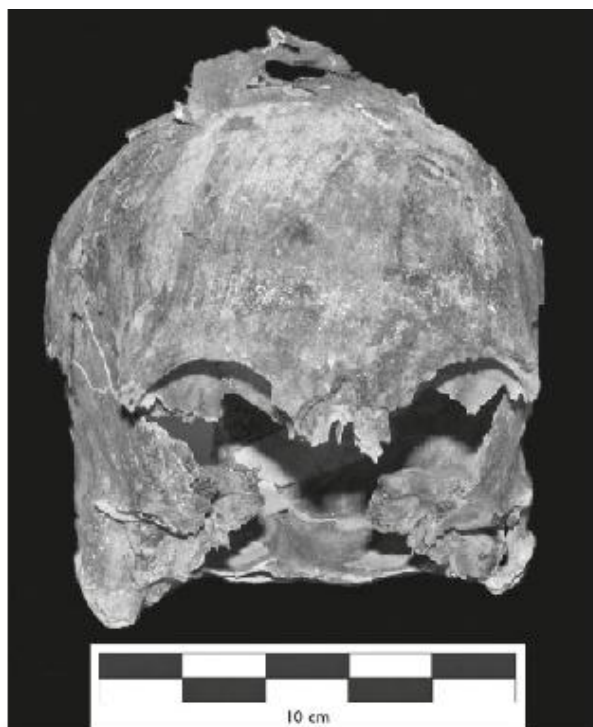


Fig. 277: Two views of partial skull from a male mummy found in Shaft I. There are no unusual or pathological features in what remains. The identification as Senneferi or his father is suggested above (p. 77)

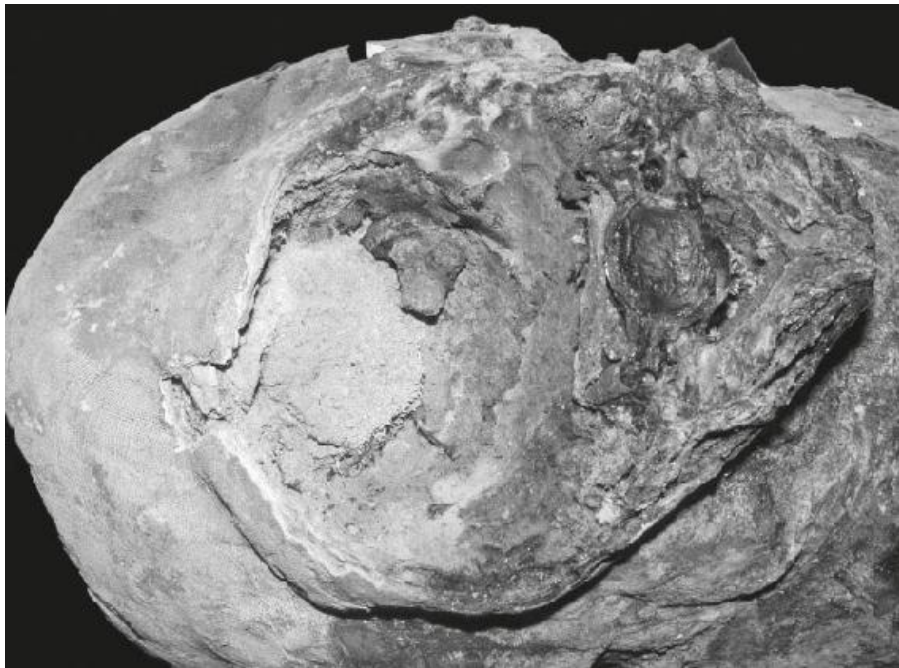


Fig. 278: Base of skull of female mummy from Shaft I shown in *Colour pl. 47B*

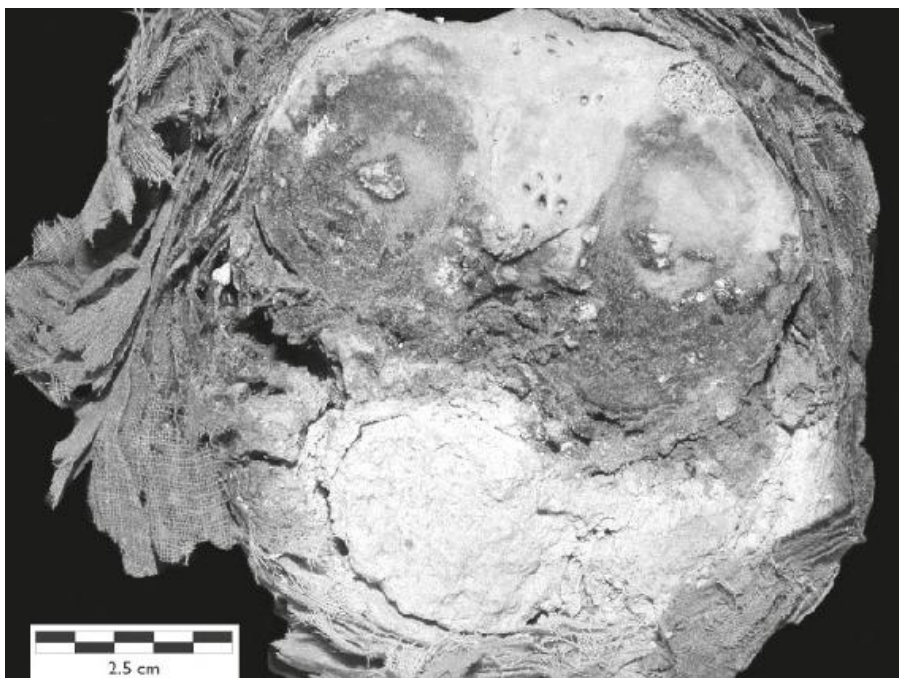


Fig. 279: Proximal surface of right tibia viewed from above from a female mummy from Shaft I. There is a large piece of plaster at the back of the bone, and underneath the wrappings. The purpose of this is obscure; the bone appears normal in all respects. See also

13.1.7 Pathology

Not surprisingly, given the rather small number of bones in the assemblage, there was little to be seen. Osteoarthritis of the right temporo-mandibular joint was noted in a female skull, and there were three fingers in which the proximal and middle phalanges were fused, one of which was angulated to about 90°. The most likely cause for this was some form of trauma in which bleeding occurred into the proximal interphalangeal joint and, given the small number of individuals present, it seems most parsimonious to assume that they were all from the same individual who had sustained an accident to his or her hand or hands (since it was not possible to say from which hand the fingers came). There was a single seventh thoracic vertebra with a crush fracture which had almost certainly resulted from a fall from a height; the other common cause for this kind of fracture is osteoporosis but there was no evidence on gross inspection that there was an abnormal degree of bone loss and this cause was, therefore, discounted.

The most interesting pathology was found in a male skull. The skull had sustained some post-mortem damage and there were traces of skin and bandage adherent to part of the frontal and parietal bones. Because the skull was damaged it was possible to see the internal surface clearly and it was found to have bilateral meningiomas. These are considered to be benign tumours that arise from the coverings of the brain.⁸ They are easily recognised in the skull by the presence of pressure defects in the internal table of the skull (occasionally eroding through the external table as well, and then presenting as a hole in the head) from both the tumour and a large abnormal vessel that arises from the middle meningeal supply to feed the tumour. On some occasions the foramen spinosum, through which the middle meningeal artery enters the skull, is enlarged but this could not be determined in the present case as the skull base was missing.

Although meningiomas are the most common primary tumour to arise in the brain, the incidence is low, approximately two per 100,000 nowadays but the prevalence in archaeological material seems to be much greater than expected using these data.⁹ For example, a prevalence of almost 5% was found in one small group of 167 mediaeval skeletons¹⁰ and the prevalence here is actually 20% which is almost certainly an overestimate although the 95% confidence limits do overlap the 5% quoted above.¹¹ This is certainly an artefact of small numbers, however, and should not be taken too

seriously. One possible reason for the apparent discrepancy between the clinical and archaeological data is that meningiomas only come to the clinician's attention when they produce symptoms and it seems likely that in the majority of cases they do not do so, as was probably the case here, given the small size of the lesions.

In addition to these lesions, two cortical defects were noted, one in a fragment of a distal left femur, and the second on the supero-lateral surface of a left patella. These defects were both small (less than 5 mm in size) and although exposed trabeculae could be seen, the edges were smooth having undergone some remodelling. They are probably caused by micro-infarctions of bone consequent upon the loss of blood supply to a small area of bone and they have no pathological significance although they may be mistaken by the unwary for true erosions such as may be seen in some of the less common joint diseases.¹²

13.1.8 Mummified material

There were ten mummified remains, the first being the remains of a foot consisting only of the first to the third proximal phalanges and the second and third middle and distal phalanges. The second was of a female mummy which was found to be substantially complete once the twelve separate pieces were reassembled, and with the arms straight by her sides. Some of the parts were present as bare bones including the scapulae, vertebrae, ribs, lower left arm and right leg; the bones of the left arm and right leg had suffered some post-mortem damage. The right arm was present as a bundle inside which the bones were bare. Other parts of the mummy were covered with a plaster-like substance most prominent over the right arm, the left upper arm, the right pelvis, and left leg and foot. It was also very prominent over the lower part of the face and the mummy giving the face a somewhat grotesque appearance in which it seemed to be 'puffing its cheeks out'. The right orbit was packed but the left was empty. The nasal cavity was also empty and the ethmoid bones were broken, presumably when the brain was removed during preparation for mummification. Some of the plaster-like material had been stuffed through the mouth into the pharynx (**Fig. 278, Fig. 279, Colour pl. 47B**).

Measurements could be taken of the bones that were not covered with mummification material and these are shown in **Table 23 on p. 320**. The final achieved height was estimated to have been 1.66 m; the femoral index (92.0) fell into the platymeric range and the tibial index (77.8) into the mesocnemic range. There was no evidence of

pathology in any of the bones that could be directly examined.

The third mummified element was a left arm and hand. The elbow was flexed to 90° and the fingers were open. All the proximal phalanges were present but only the middle finger was intact.

A torso from the level of the shoulder to the fifth lumbar vertebra was the fourth mummified remain. The torso was 465 mm in length and ended 3–4 cm below the costal margin; there no evidence of an evisceration wound in what remained of the abdominal wall. The left humerus was lacking its distal end and was approximately 325 mm in length. The right arm was entire although the hand was missing, and was flexed across the abdomen at an angle of 90°. The humeral head diameter measured 46 mm making it very likely that these were the remains of an adult male.

A second torso, smaller than the one above, 270 mm in length was also present. There were no arms and the anterior abdominal wall had been almost completely broken away, revealing the spinal column from the first thoracic to the first lumbar vertebrae.

The sixth specimen was the posterior portion of a female skull together with the first cervical vertebra. A further mummified individual was represented by the lower part of the face and neck with the teeth exposed. The right ear was plugged; the left pinna had been lost but the external auditory meatus was present but had no plug in it.

The eighth mummified tissue consisted of all five lumbar vertebrae and the sacrum with part of the pelvis. Unfortunately the pelvis was not sufficiently intact to be able to determine the sex of the individual.

The penultimate specimen was of a left radius and ulna and the intact hand. The final specimen consisted of the distal right tibia and fibula and the entire foot. None of the mummified remains showed any evidence of pathology.

Table 21: Number of males and females estimated to be present in assemblage from Shaft I, based on several criteria

<i>Bone</i>	<i>Male (n)</i>	<i>Female (n)</i>
Morphology of pelvis	0	3
Morphology of pubis	0	1
Morphology of skull	2	1
Morphology of mandible	1	1

Table 22: Femoral and tibial indices of assemblage from Shaft I

	<i>Left</i>	<i>Right</i>
Femoral index		
Platymeria (index < 85)	0	1
Eurymeria (index ≥ 85)	3	1
Tibial index		
Platycnemia (index < 63)	0	0
Mesocnemia (index ≥ 63)	2	2

Table 23: Measurements (mm) taken on female mummy from Shaft I

<i>Measurement</i>	<i>Left</i>	<i>Right</i>
Scapula		
Maximum length of glenoid	30	
Clavicle		
Maximum length	144	
Ulna		
Maximum length	253	
Femur		
Maximum length		429
Maximum diameter of head		41
Antero- posterior diameter		23
Transverse diameter		25
Tibia		
Maximum length		360
Antero- posterior diameter		27
Transverse diameter		21

13.2 Human remains from Shaft H

The excavation of this shaft produced a much greater number of disarticulated bones than Shaft I. There were, in addition, two

substantially complete skeletons, both of children, and a small number of mummified remains.

13.2.1 Disarticulated bone

A total of 2007 disarticulated bones was examined, of which 1923 were from adults, and 84 from children. Bones in which the epiphyses were fusing (of which there were five) were regarded as coming from individuals who had died after the age of 15 but before the age of 25 (the age by which all the epiphyses are fused) and these were considered as sub-adults. Two children's skulls were found,¹³ one dying at about the age of 4 or 5 years, and the other about 10 or 12 years, judging from the state of the dentition, and assuming that the teeth developed then at the same rate as in modern children.¹⁴ Among the children there was one probable neonate (dying within the first month of life) who was represented by both humeri which were 68 and 71 mm in length.¹⁵

13.2.2 Minimum number of individuals

In the present assemblage, the mandible was the most common element and there were 21 of these, so that the MNI is 21. Among the children's bones the most common element was the left clavicle of which three were present; the total MNI for the disarticulated bone is, thus, 26, 21 adults, one sub-adult, three children and one neonate.

Assuming that there were, in fact, 21 adults buried in the shaft, the relative survival of each of the skeletal elements is extremely variable as may be seen from **Table 24 on p. 331**. There seems to be no consistent pattern to the rate of survival of some long bones: the radius, ulna and femur seem to survive well, but others (the humerus, tibia and fibula) are substantially less common than expected. Somewhat surprisingly, the ribs, which might be thought of as being rather fragile, are present in number very close to expected, and so are the metatarsals. Not so surprisingly, the small carpals bones are very under-represented but, not the tarsal bones, perhaps because they are somewhat larger and more robust. The sternum and hyoid are the two elements that have survived least well, only three of the 21 expected being present. This is hardly to be wondered at in the case of the hyoid which is a small, fragile bone, but is less to be expected with the sternum which is large and generally not easily damaged. The overall picture suggests that there has been a great deal of disturbance over the years, with considerable movement of the various elements

13.2.3 Sex of the individuals

The methods for distinguishing between the sexes has been discussed earlier (see Shaft I above). Using the various sexing criteria, the number of males and females present in the assemblage was estimated with the results shown in [Table 25 on p. 331](#). The estimates vary a good deal, as might be expected, but there were at least nine males in the assemblage and eight females, thus accounting for a substantial proportion of the presumed 21 individuals present over all.

13.2.4 Height of the individuals

By using the diameter of the femoral head or the humeral head as sexing criteria,¹⁶ it was possible to estimate the final achieved height derived from the maximum length of either the femur or the humerus.¹⁷ Nine presumed male femurs had length measurements that could be used, and seven male humeri; there were no female femurs with length measurements, and only two female humeri that could be used. The male heights estimated from the femur ranged from 1.66–1.77 m (mean 1.71 m) while from the humeri, the range was 1.66–1.75 m (mean 1.70 m).¹⁸ The estimated heights from the two female humeri were 1.49 and 1.52 m. For the males, both the range and the means are considerably greater than those found previously; the reasons for this are not immediately obvious.¹⁹

13.2.5 Skeletal indices

The femoral and tibial indices calculated for the assemblage are shown in [Table 26 on p. 331](#). From the table it can be seen that of the 21 femurs for which the index was calculated, the great majority were platymeric, that is to say, their shafts tended to be rather flat. Of the 22 tibias, however, the great majority were mesocnemic, indicating that the shafts were not flat. In this respect, the bones in this assemblage do resemble those from the tombs described earlier in which the femurs also tended to be platymeric and the tibias mesocnemic, but in the case of the femurs, this is not true those from Shaft I which were mainly eurymeric. Why this should be so is completely obscure, since it is highly unlikely that two different populations are represented in these two shafts. Even though the differences are significantly different,²⁰ the explanation must be attributed to the small numbers involved.

13.2.6 Teeth

Assuming 21 adults to be represented in the assemblage, then we

might expect a total of 672 teeth to be present (21×32). In fact, almost all could be accounted for as follows: 137 were in situ, there were 309 empty sockets from which teeth had been lost post-mortem, a further 94 sockets were present from which teeth had been lost ante-mortem, and there were 73 teeth loose in the assemblage. The total number accounted for was thus 613, or 91% of the expected number.

There was remarkably little disease in the teeth which were present, only seven showing signs of caries. A further nineteen teeth had periapical abscesses, most of which were probably apical granulomas, the result of chronic, low grade infection. Approximately 14% of the expected number of teeth had been lost during life as shown by remodelling of the empty sockets. Some jaws were completely edentulous and had been extensively remodelled, indicating that the teeth had been lost a long time prior to death.

It is impossible to be sure what caused the teeth to have been lost, but it would most probably have been due either to advanced dental caries, or to gum disease. Some teeth may have been lost as the result of trauma, and this would apply particularly to the front teeth which are much more vulnerable than the cheek teeth to injury; it is most unlikely that the molar teeth would be lost as the result of trauma unless the jaw were also broken. Teeth may also be lost as the result of some systemic diseases, including scurvy and leprosy. While scurvy cannot be absolutely ruled out, nor can it be diagnosed since there is nothing to distinguish tooth loss from scurvy from other non-traumatic causes, we can rule out leprosy, however, since none of the skeletons showed any of the skeletal signs of that disease.

The most significant dental pathology was found in a male mandible with a large swelling on the right hand side which extended from the canine to the third molar and which probably represented a dentigerous cyst, a developmental anomaly most often found in the mandible and often painless (Fig. 280).²¹ The cyst had eroded through the anterior wall of the mandible in three places producing varying sized holes. The bone around two of the holes appeared to be remodelling which may indicate that a low grade infection had supervened.

The only dental anomaly of note was the presence of a small ectopic tooth behind the lateral incisor and canine premolar of a right maxilla. It was not possible to tell which tooth it represented.

13.2.7 Pathology

Each of the bones was inspected for the presence of pathology and any found was diagnosed using operational definitions described

elsewhere.²² A difficulty when looking at pathology in disarticulated material is that it is almost always impossible to relate the findings to individuals. For example, the presence of osteoarthritis in fifteen cervical vertebrae could mean that fifteen individuals were affected, or a much smaller number, each having several vertebrae involved. Occasionally bones can be matched up on the basis of the lesions present in them, or by their colour or size, but this happens relatively infrequently and the best one can do to gain some idea of the burden of disease in the assemblage is to present the prevalence of diseased elements.

The most common condition seen was, as expected, osteoarthritis and a total of 58 bones was affected, of which more than half were vertebrae. The atlanto-odontoid articulation which consists of the odontoid peg on the second cervical vertebra, and the complementary joint surface on the anterior surface of the first was affected in four of each (22.2% of the total number present) and it seems reasonable to assume that this does indeed represent four individuals.²³ Twelve other cervical vertebrae (of 82 present) were affected, as were eleven thoracic and three lumbar. The corresponding prevalences are 14.6, 6.9 and 3.9% which illustrates the greater propensity for the disease to affect the cervical spine, as is the case nowadays.

Osteoarthritis was also present in bones of the hand and the foot, and there were instances of osteoarthritis of the elbow and the knee, and of the acromio-clavicular and temporo-mandibular joints. In the hand, two carpal bones (the scaphoid and the lunate), four first metacarpals, and two proximal phalanges were affected, while there were two instances of osteoarthritis of the patello-femoral joint (**Fig. 281**), and one of the temporo-mandibular joint. In the foot, four cases of osteoarthritis of the first metatarsal were noted, and somewhat unusually, one involving the fifth metatarsal. There was also a single case involving the head of the talus, a joint not commonly affected. Even more unusually was a single case of osteoarthritis of the elbow involving the joint between the ulna and the humerus; in the great majority of cases, it is the joint between the radius and the humerus that is affected. In this assemblage there was a right humerus and a right ulna with eburnation and grooving on the joint surface. Although these bones were not examined together, it is safe to assume that they came from the same individual and represent only a single case.²⁴



Fig. 280: Mandible from Shaft H.

This has an extensive swelling on the right side, most probable a dentigerous cyst, a developmental anomaly. The swelling has thinned the overlying bone which was been perforated in three place. There is some remodelling around the two lower holes, which suggests that a low grade infection may have supervened



Fig. 281: Distal femurs and patellas from Shaft H.

The left has been broken post-mortem but both it and the patella show signs of

osteoarthritis, the most common pathological condition found in the assemblage



Fig. 282: Cervical vertebra from Shaft H.

This shows new bone and pitting on the upper surface, typical of inter-vertebral disc disease

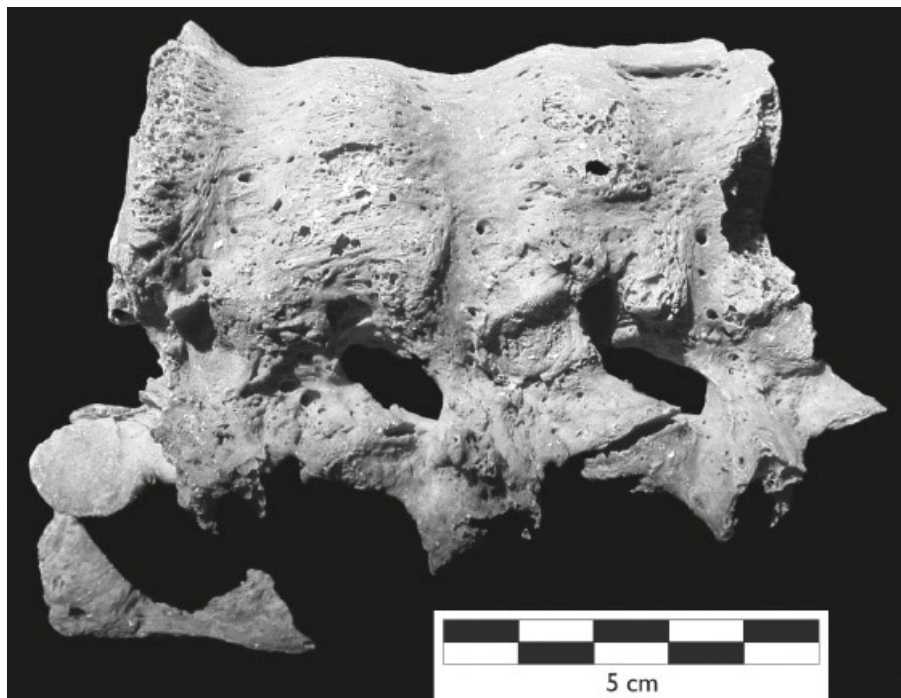


Fig. 283: Fused thoracic vertebrae from Shaft H.

The anterior longitudinal ligament has ossified but in this case the ossification is smooth and extends over the entire front of the vertebral bodies (unlike in the case of diffuse idiopathic skeletal hyperostosis (DISH)). This is almost certainly a case of a sero-negative arthropathy such as ankylosing spondylitis, although there is no further evidence to confirm the diagnosis

The acromio-clavicular joint was a common seat of disease with four right and two left joints being involved. As discussed above, it is impossible to know how many cases this represents, although it must be at least four. One of the cases also had rotator cuff disease with impingement of the left humeral head under the acromion; unfortunately, the affected humerus does not seem to have survived. Rotator cuff disease is a common cause of shoulder pain, especially in the elderly and it is one of the few instances in which it is possible to predict the effects on the affected individual during life, who would almost certainly have suffered pain from the lesion and most likely some restriction of movement at the shoulder also.²⁵

Intervertebral disc disease was also relatively common. This, unlike osteoarthritis, is a truly degenerative disease and most commonly affects the cervical region, often affecting the associated nerve root causing symptoms of pain and altered sensation in the arm or hand. Thirteen of the cervical vertebrae (15.9%) were affected, compared with only a single thoracic (0.6%) and three lumbar (3.9%), reflecting

exactly the expected relative frequencies (**Fig. 282**). Once again, how many individuals were affected is impossible to know. The segmental nerves in the neck that exit between the cervical vertebrae may be affected in intervertebral disc disease if the new bone which forms around the margin of the vertebral body impinges upon the narrow gully through which the nerve exits the spinal column. The narrowing can usually be seen on inspection but none of the affected cervical vertebrae showed evidence of this phenomenon and so it is probable that none of the individuals who had the disease noted neurological symptoms during life.²⁶

There were no other cases of joint disease although two thoracic (**Fig. 283**) and two lumbar vertebrae were found which were fused by the formation of new bone into the anterior longitudinal ligament. The new bone was smooth and it seemed likely that the vertebrae had come from a single individual and might possibly have been a feature of one of the so-called sero-negative joint diseases such as ankylosing spondylitis. In the absence of other corroborating evidence, however, the cause cannot be known.

The only other category of disease that was at all common in this particular assemblage was that due to trauma. There were a number of fractures, most frequently of the ribs; a total of eleven rib fragments were found with well-healed fractures (**Fig. 284**). Rib fractures result from falls or beatings and apart from the pain, usually cause little inconvenience unless several ribs are broken at the same time. There were also three thoracic vertebrae with crush fractures such as most often caused by a fall from height (**Fig. 285**); they are also nowadays commonly associated with osteoporosis but none of the three vertebrae appeared on inspection to be porotic and an accidental fall seems to be their most likely explanation. The only long bone fracture was found in a left humerus; a spiral fracture present about a third of the way down the shaft from the proximal end (**Fig. 286**). It was completely healed and remodelled indicating that it had been incurred several years before death. The bone had not been completely reduced prior to healing, however, since there was evidence of about 5 cm of shortening and about 15° of angulation. The arm would have been perfectly serviceable, however, and unlikely to have caused any incapacity during life.

A male skull was found with a small depression on the vertex just left of the midline and about 22 mm from the lambda; it measured about 12 x 3 mm and might possibly have been a small depressed fracture, but was more likely to have been caused by pressure from an overlying soft tissue lesion such as a sebaceous cyst in the scalp (**Fig.**

287).

Two fingers were found with phalanges fused; in one it was the proximal and middle phalanges that were fused and in the other, the middle and proximal with some angulation. The most likely cause of these lesions was some form of trauma to the fingers with bleeding into the joint and subsequent ankylosis. Whether the fingers belonged to one or two individuals, unfortunately, cannot be known.

The final traumatic lesion was a single case of spondylolysis affecting the fifth lumbar vertebra (Fig. 288). In this condition, the lamina of the vertebra becomes detached from the body, and the lesion is generally regarded as a stress fracture which probably occurs when the individual starts to walk. The condition is much more common in those who indulge in vigorous physical activity – gymnasts, for example – but it never possible to infer from the lesion that the individual had been so engaged. The most common site for the lesion is the fifth lumbar vertebra, as here, and it most often is not recognised during life.²⁷



Fig. 284: Two left rib fragments from Shaft H showing well healed fractures. This was the most common type of fracture found in the assemblage

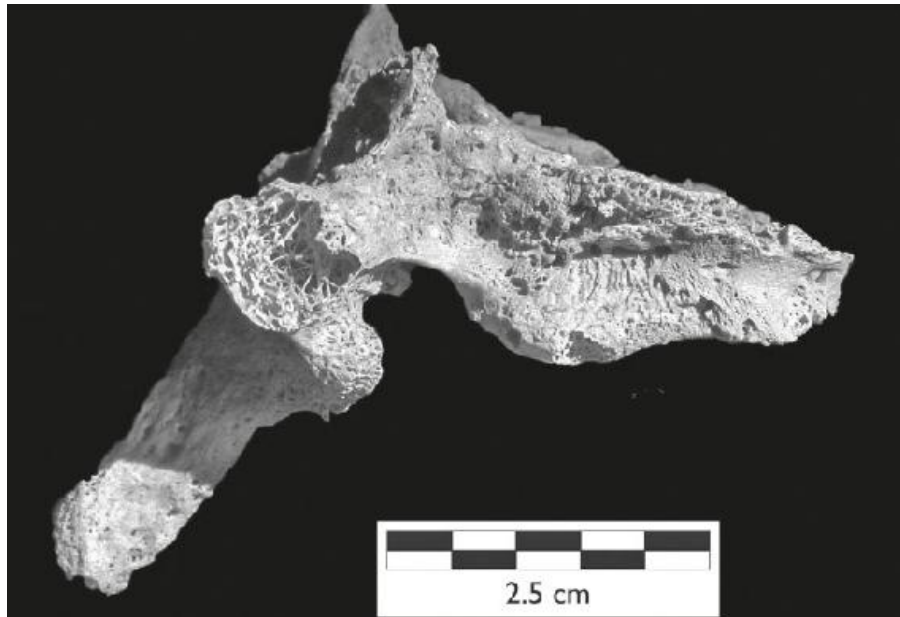
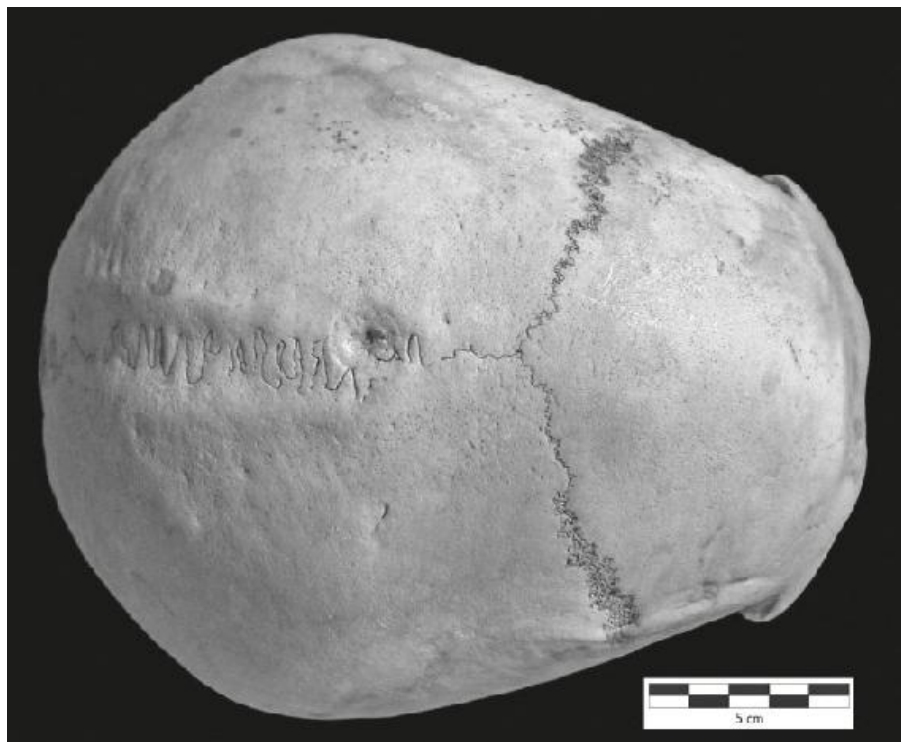


Fig. 285: Thoracic vertebra from Shaft H with a wedge fracture. Such a fracture may be the result of a fall from a height, but it is also typical of osteoporosis. There was no suggestion of osteoporosis, however, and the most likely cause is a fall



Fig. 286: Well-healed spiral fracture of the left humerus from Shaft H. Note the slight angulation of the distal end which would not have interfered with function. Almost certainly this fracture was treated in some way to achieve such a good result. Note also the septal aperture, a normal variant which is very common in this assemblage



*Fig. 287: Male skull from Shaft H.
It has a small defect just to the left of the midline, most likely to have been caused by pressure from an overlying soft tissue lesion such as a sebaceous cyst*

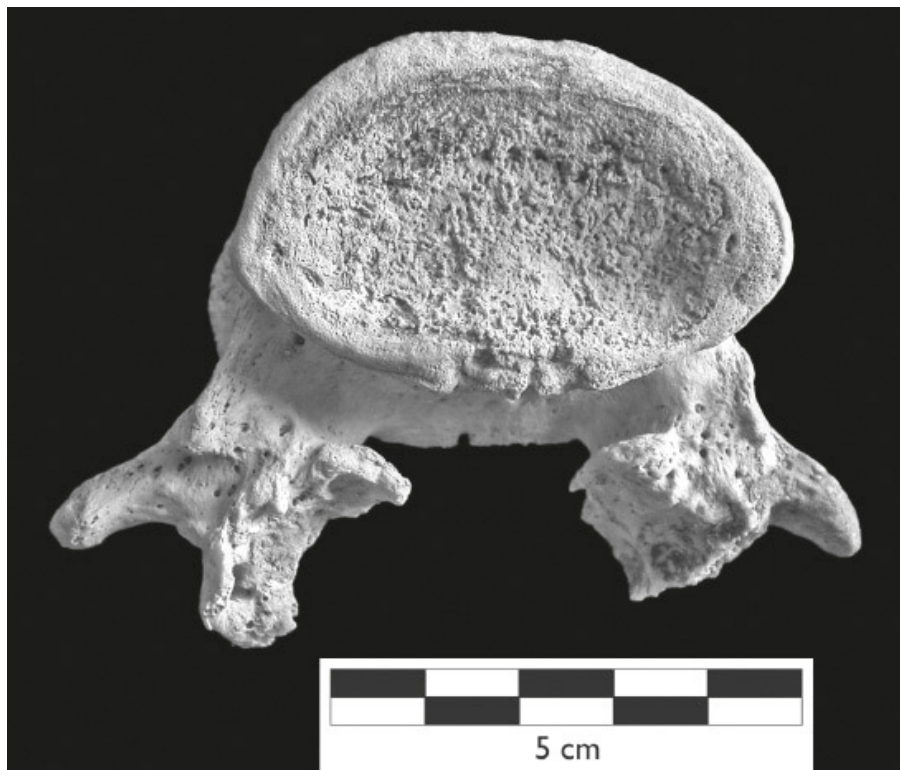


Fig. 288: Fifth lumbar vertebra from Shaft H showing the loss of the lamina as the result of spondylolysis. This is thought to be a form of stress fracture, often occurring when an individual starts to walk. It is generally without effect during life.



Fig. 289: Three thoracic vertebrae from Shaft H fused together by ossification of the anterior longitudinal ligament.

The ossification has taken place only on the right hand side, typical of diffuse idiopathic skeletal hyperostosis (DISH). Despite its often spectacular appearance, the individual is usually unaware of its presence during life

Two separate contiguous rows of three thoracic vertebrae were found, fused by osteophytes which had developed in the anterior longitudinal ligament present only on the right hand side. This is the pathognomonic sign of diffuse idiopathic skeletal hyperostosis (DISH) (Fig. 289). DISH is an interesting condition which has unique features that make its diagnosis very straight forward. The condition is associated nowadays with obesity and type II diabetes and is common, especially after the age of about 50. The cause is unknown but it has been shown to be much more frequent in the skeletons of those who followed the monastic way of life or who were otherwise of high status. Despite its often spectacular appearance, DISH usually has little, if any, effect during life.²⁸ It is probable that these vertebrae came from the same individual as a sternum in which the anterior ends of the ribs were fused following ossification of the costal cartilages that normally join the first seven ribs to the sternum. Ossification of cartilage occurs commonly in DISH.

Periosteal new bone was seen on nine separate bones, three from juveniles and one from a sub-adult in whom the bone was fusing.²⁹

The adult bones included the shaft of the fifth metatarsal, a distal tibia, a proximal humerus, a proximal radius and a proximal ulna. The sub-adult had a thick shell of new bone around the left tibia, while in the juveniles the bones affected were a distal radius, a proximal ulna and a radius, again with a thick shell around the shaft. In the palaeopathological literature the presence of periosteal new bone is frequently referred to as a stress marker and it is also often assumed to be due to systemic infections, especially in children. There are many known causes of periosteal new bone formation, none of which is a systemic infection of childhood³⁰ and this is one of several examples of anthropological explanations for lesions in the skeleton running ahead of clinical knowledge. In disarticulated bones it is seldom that one can attribute a cause to the presence of periosteal new bone but the florid amounts seen on the two juvenile bones may have been caused by early osteomyelitis.

There was a single male skull with bilateral cribra orbitalia, a condition which causes more excitement among physical anthropologists than clinicians. The attribution of the condition to iron deficiency anaemia has very little to commend it; for whatever reason it has been reported to be common in Egyptian material and its prevalence here is perhaps lower than might have been expected.

13.2.8 Normal variants

In any assemblage there are always a number of bones which show some deviation from normal anatomy. These may be variations in the shape of the bones, or be the result of abnormal development but which have no pathological significance, or they may be so-called non-metric traits. As an example of abnormal development, there was a single rib with a bifid end ([Fig. 290](#)), while non-metric traits were represented by a single skull with an ossicle at the lambda and eight humeri with a septal aperture.³¹ The ossicle at the lambda is an example of a Wormian bone which, although they may be associated with serious medical conditions, most often occur as isolated phenomena.³² The septal aperture is easily recognised as a hole penetrating the septum between the coronoid fossa anteriorly and the olecranon fossa posteriorly in the distal end of the humerus. The septum is often very thin and may easily be damaged during excavation or post-excavation processing but is readily distinguished from a true septal aperture by the presence of a remodelled edge in the latter. If discovered at all during life it is almost always as an incidental finding on X-ray although there is some suggestion that it may predispose the individual to low-energy fractures of the distal

humerus.³³

Finally, there were three femurs with cortical defects and a single radius with a defect on the head. The defects in two of the femurs were proximal (**Fig. 291**), on the neck and on the third, it was on the posterior part of the lateral condyle. These defects are easily recognised but must be differentiated from other lesions such as osteochondritis dissecans and other defects that may occur on the neck of the femur such as Poirier's fossa. Normally cortical defects cause no problems during life and they probably caused by the loss of blood supply to a small area of cortex causing it to die and become resorbed.



Fig. 290: Bifid left rib from Shaft H.

This is an uncommon developmental anomaly that has no clinical effects during life

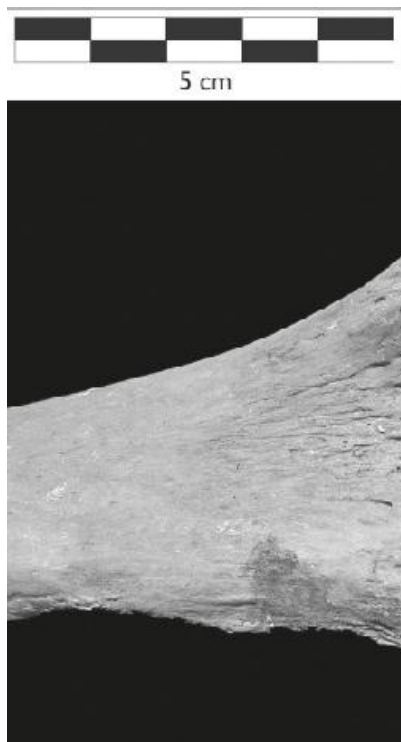


Fig. 291: Posterior surface of the distal end of a left femur from Shaft H showing a cortical defect on the lateral condyle.

Table 24: Relative survival of skeletal elements from Shaft H

<i>Skeletal element</i>	<i>Number present</i>	<i>Number expected*</i>	<i>Proportion of expected</i>
C1	18	21	85.7
C2	18	21	85.7
Calcaneus	26	42	61.9
Carpals	69	168	41.1
Cervical vertebrae 3–7	82	105	78.1
Clavicle	25	42	59.5
Femur	37	42	88.1
Fibula	26	42	61.9
Humerus	27	42	64.3
Hyoid	3	21	14.3
Lumbar vertebrae	76	105	72.3
Mandible	21	21	100
Maxilla	14	21	66.7
Metacarpals	154	210	73.3
Metatarsals	194	210	92.4
Patella	35	42	83.3
Pelvis	30	42	71.4

Phalanges of foot	91	210	43.3
Phalanges of hand	126	210	60.0
Radius	36	42	85.7
Ribs	198	210	94.3
Sacrum	15	21	71.4
Scapula	34	42	81.0
Skull	12	21	57.1
Sternum	3	21	14.3
Talus	35	42	83.3
Tarsals	105	110	95.5
Thoracic vertebrae	159	252	63.1
Tibia	26	42	61.9
Ulna	33	42	78.6

* Number expected assuming 21 individuals present

C1 = first cervical vertebra (atlas)

C2 = second cervical vertebra (axis)

L5 = fifth lumbar vertebra

Table 25: Number of males and females estimated to be present in assemblage from Shaft H, based on several criteria

<i>Criterion used</i>	<i>Number of males</i>	<i>Number of females</i>
Maximum diameter of head of humerus	9	0
Morphology of skull	8	1
Morphology of mandible	8	6
Morphology of pelvis	7	8
Morphology of frontal bone	6	0
Morphology of mastoid	4	5
Maximum diameter of head of femur	4	1

Table 26: Femoral and tibial indices of assemblage from Shaft H

	<i>Left</i>	<i>Right</i>
Femoral index		
Platymeria (index < 85)	8	10

Eurymeria (index ≥ 85)	1	2
Tibial index		
Platycnemia (index < 63)	4	2
Mesocnemia (index ≥ 63)	6	10

Table 27: Measurements (mm) of long bones from the skeleton of a child from Shaft H

<i>Bone</i>	<i>Left</i>	<i>Right</i>
Clavicle	77	77
Humerus	155	
Radius	120	
Ulna	132	
Femur	215	213

13.2.9 Children's skeletons

Of the two children's skeletons recovered, one was more complete than the other. The more complete skeleton was that of a child that had died between the ages of 3 and 4 years, as judged by the state of dental development and the length of the shafts of some of the long bones (Fig. 292).³⁴ It lacked some of the long bone epiphyses, the mid-shaft of the right humerus, the distal portions of both the right radius and ulna, the right hand and some of the small bones of the left. In addition the distal portions of the left tibia and fibula and the left foot were missing, as were the distal portions of the right tibia and fibula and some of the bones of the right foot. Of the vertebrae, the first, second and fifth cervical, seven thoracic, all five lumbar and the first sacral segment were present. Measurements were taken of all the intact long bones and these are shown in Table 27 on p. 331. As is almost always the case, there was no indication of the cause of death and the only abnormalities were bilateral cribra orbitalia and ossicles in the lambdoid suture.



Fig. 292: Well preserved but incomplete skeleton of a child aged between 3 and 4 years of age found in Shaft H

The second skeleton was that of a child aged between 12 and 18 months at the time of death; again, none of bones showed any pathological change that might indicate the cause of death. The skeleton was much less complete than that above and was represented by the left mandible, the left proximal humeral epiphysis, the right radius (length 82 mm), five metacarpals and four proximal phalanges of the hand, three thoracic, two lumbar and two sacral segments, the right ilium, left pubis and both ischia, the left distal femoral epiphysis, the left proximal tibial epiphysis, a mid-shaft fragment of the left tibia, the distal right tibia, the right calcaneum, one first metatarsal and one first proximal phalanx of the foot.

13.2.10 Mummified remains

The sole mummified remains were a blackened head and neck, and a torso and pelvis belonging to the same individual, an adult female; both were badly damaged. The face had been broken away to reveal the interior of the skull in which some resin was present. There were remnants of the right upper premolars but no other teeth were present. The right ear was present and was plugged with resin-laden bandages. Part of the right shoulder was present but no other remnants of the arms; the left side of the torso was madly damaged and the anterior wall of the abdomen was largely missing. The torso measured 580 mm and the pubis was 280 mm wide. Both legs had been lost and the pubic bones could be seen protruding from the pelvis. There were no pathological changes.

13.3 Animal bones from TT99

The animal bones recovered from the burials in this complex represent a mix of the remnants of offerings that were made to the original occupants, food residue from those who later came to inhabit the site, and the bodies of animals who died in situ. By far the majority of the bones examined were fragmented but each was identified as far as was possible both to anatomical element and taxon, and checked for evidence of burning and cut marks and for any signs of pathological change.³⁵ Since we did not have a reference collection on site, it was generally not possible to identify fragments to the level of species, as will be seen in the tables that follow. Having categorised the fragments, both the number of identifiable specimens (NISP) and the minimum number of individuals (MNI) were calculated. Neither gives a completely accurate measure of the number of animals represented by the bones present, tending to under-represent the actual number, but both regularly appear in reports on faunal remains.³⁶

The constraints of time, and the need to process the large amount of human remains, resulted in a decision very early on not to record the animal bones in shafts A–F. Of the small number that were recorded (52 in total) prior to taking this decision, almost half (25) were from sheep, but in addition, fragments of cattle and bird bones were found, a single pig mandible, two rabbit bones (including a whole skull), and a mummified hyena skull.

13.3.1 Shafts H and I

A total of 370 bone fragments was recovered from these shafts, 189 from H and 181 from I. The distribution of the various anatomical elements among the various taxa is shown in [Table 30 on p. 334](#) and [Table 31 on p. 334](#). There are some interesting differences between the two, especially in the respective number of cattle and bird bones present. In Shaft H bird bones are by far the most numerous, whereas in Shaft I the number of bird bones is relatively low and cattle bones are most numerous. This is a highly significant difference statistically ($p = 0$) but whether it actually represents a real difference in the activity or behaviour of the tomb builders or those who came after them – whether there is any, what has come to be called, practical significance – is impossible to tell.³⁷

Of the bird bones in both shafts, the majority were from small, chicken sized animals, and the remainder were from goose-sized birds; the number of goose-sized bones was seven for Shaft H and four for Shaft I. The remains of rodents (rats or mice) in Shaft H were presumably from animals that had died on site; in the case of Shaft I

where two naturally mummified mice carcasses were found, this was undoubtedly the case. Fish bones were unexpectedly few in number, given the frequency with which fish, or fishing, is depicted in tombs and is most likely the result of poor preservation.³⁸ The equid remains (a donkey hoof and the proximal phalanx of a horse) must be later intrusions and certainly do not represent food remains.

13.3.2 NISP and MNI

The numbers of identified specimens (NISP) for H and I were 182 and 181, respectively. The minimum number of individuals (MNI) for the major taxa are shown in [Table 28 on p. 334](#). The results obviously reflect the differences seen for the NISP, with a much larger number of birds represented in Shaft H and a larger number of cattle in Shaft I. These differences, as would again be expected, are significantly different ($p = 0.003$) but, again, the debate as to whether this reflects any practical significance cannot be resolved.

13.3.3 Modification of the bones

Few of the bones showed any evidence of human modification such as might be expected if they represented food debris. A total of 28 bones (eight from Shaft I and twenty from Shaft H) had been burnt (see [Table 29 on p. 334](#)); two only (both vertebrae from Shaft H) had cut marks on them; and a further five bones (all from Shaft I) were discoloured white as some of the human bones had been (see [p. 315](#); further discussion will appear in Part II). Only sheep and cattle bones showed any evidence of modification and almost half of these were long bone fragments which is what would be expected if they are food residue.

It is unlikely that the burnt bones had been offerings to the original occupants of the tombs as it was expected that the animals or joints would have been dealt with in the afterlife. The burnt bones, therefore, are almost certainly refuse from later occupants of the site. The same could not necessarily be said for the two bones with cut marks, as they may have come from meat jointed prior to placement in the tomb. The significance of the white discolouration is unclear; the same is true of the discoloured human bones.

13.3.4 Conclusions

It is difficult to draw any firm conclusions from so small a sample, but it seems clear that at least some of the bones – those that were burnt or cut – represent food debris discarded by later inhabitants of the

site. Other bones – the rodent bones, for example – are from animals that died in situ. Presumably, many, if not most of the remainder, represent the food offerings made to those who were originally buried in the tombs. There are substantial differences in the distribution of the animal bones in the two shafts, but whether or not these differences have any practical significance is impossible to tell, and could easily be an artefact of small numbers.

Table 28: Minimum number of individuals from animal bones in Shaft H and I

<i>Taxon</i>	<i>Shaft H</i>	<i>Shaft I</i>
Cattle	1	9
Sheep/goat	3	5
Pig	0	1
Bird	18	5
Fish	1	3

Table 29: Number of burnt animal bones from Shaft H and I

<i>Taxa</i>	<i>Anatomical element</i>									
	<i>Skull</i>		<i>Scapula</i>		<i>Long bones</i>		<i>Vertebrae</i>		<i>Others</i>	
	<i>H</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>H</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>H</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>H</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>H</i>	<i>I</i>
Cattle	1/1	4/9		1/5*	1/4†	4/35	‡			
Sheep/goat					2/10	8/17				
Others					2/31		1/20		1/4	3/50

* Three also coloured white, one of which was burnt † Three also coloured white ‡ Two (of eleven) cut

Table 30: Distribution of anatomical elements of animal bones: Shaft H

<i>Taxon</i>	<i>Anatomical element</i>							
	<i>Skull</i>	<i>Mandible / maxilla</i>	<i>Loose teeth</i>	<i>Scapula</i>	<i>Long bones</i>	<i>Ribs</i>	<i>Vertebrae</i>	<i>Other</i>
Cattle	1	1	3	0	4	2	1	2*
Sheep/goat	2	3	3	0	10	0	0	4**
Pig	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bird	4	0	0	0	6†	0	0	9***
Fish	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1†
Rodent	5	5	2	0	5	0	1	1††
Equids	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2‡
Others	0	0	0	0	3†	0	20	4‡‡
Total	12	9	8	0	111	2	24	23

* Both tarsals †† 1 pelvic fragment ** 1 pelvic, 1 carpal and 2 metatarsal fragments

‡ 1 donkey hoof, 1 proximal phalanx of a horse *** 9 pelvis and 2 unidentified fragments

‡‡ All unidentified fragments † 1 unidentified fragment

**Table 31: Distribution of anatomical elements of animal bones:
Shaft I**

Taxon	Anatomical element							
	Skull	Mandible / maxilla	Loose teeth	Scapula	Long bones	Ribs	Vertebrae	Other
Cattle	9	0	3	5	35	13	11	12*
Sheep/goat	2	1	2	0	17	2	0	2**
Pig	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bird	0	0	0	0	10	0	0	1†
Fish	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rodent	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2††
Equids	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Others	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	50‡
Total	14	2	5	5	62	15	11	67

* 2 horn cores, 2 astragali, 1 calcaneus, 1 metapodial, 4 tarsals, 2 carpals †† Both whole mice

** 1 sacral fragment (coloured white), 1 metapodial ‡ All unidentified fragments † 1 sternum

¹ For more information on MNI and other zooarcheological measures see Lyman, *Quantitative paleozoology*.

² Further details on sexing adult skeletons can be found in, for example, Ferembach, Schwidetzky and Stloukal, *Journal of Human Evolution* 9 (1980), 517–549 or Katzenberg and Saunders, *Biological anthropology of the human skeleton*. Sexing juvenile skeletons is virtually impossible without recourse to DNA analysis, but some methods have been suggested, mostly with limited success (L Scheuer and S Black, *The juvenile skeleton*).

³ Waldron, in Strudwick, *Amenhotep*, 138–151.

⁴ The height is estimated from the maximum length of the long bones using a regression equation. A number of these have been published, but the ones used here are those due to Trotter and Gleser, *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 16 (1958), 79–123.

⁵ The terms platycnemia and platymeria were introduced into usage by George Busk and Léonce Manourvriér, respectively and ever since, there has been considerable debate as to their significance. Early writers on Egyptian bones were preoccupied with platycnemia which they considered to be due to muscular action on the shaft of the tibia, especially that of the tibialis posterior (see, for example Warren, *Proceedings of the Royal Society*, 61 (1897), 398–401 and Derry, *Journal of Anatomy and Physiology* 41 (1907), 123–130). Over the years the significance of the tibial and femoral indices has been much discussed (Buxton, *Journal of Anatomy* 73 (1938), 31–36; Brothwell, *Digging up bones*, 88–89) usually with inconclusive or unconvincing results which more modern studies have done little to clarify (Lovejoy, Burstein and Hepple, *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 44 (1976), 489–505). Nowadays authors seem either to accept that any differences found between or within populations are activity related, or simply the report with data without further comment. My own preference is to do the latter and leave the readers to make what conclusions they will.

⁶ For a discussion of the causes of ante-mortem tooth loss see the section on Shaft H below.

⁷ Peri-apical lesions are most often referred to in the palaeopathological literature

simply as abscesses; in fact there are a number of different conditions that can produce them and a scheme for differentiating between them is given by Dias and Tayles, *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 7 (1997), 548–554.

⁸ Meningiomas are considered benign in the sense that they normally do not metastasise, although they may do so in a small number of cases. Even if they do not spread, they may sometimes become so large that they cause an increase in intracranial pressure and, if untreated, death; this is somewhat unfortunate behaviour for a ‘benign’ tumour.

⁹ Campbell, Jhamb, Maguire, Toyota and Ma, *American Journal of Clinical Oncology* 32 (2009), 73–85. The prevalence (P) of a disease is related to the incidence as follows: $P = I \times D$, where I is the incidence and D is the duration. The prevalence of meningiomas will be substantially higher than the incidence as it is a slowly growing tumour and the duration of the disease will be many years (on average). Even assuming a duration of 20 years, however, the prevalence will still be relatively low, c. 40 per 100,000.

¹⁰ Waldron, *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 8 (1998), 213–217.

¹¹ The 95% confidence interval (CI) is the interval between which the true prevalence would be found 95 times out of a 100; the 95% CI here is 3.6–62.4%, a huge interval which is consequent upon the very small numbers involved.

¹² For the criteria for recognising a true erosion see Waldron, *Palaeopathology*, 51. Large cortical defects need to be differentiated from fibrous cortical defects which are common benign and self limiting tumours of the skeleton occurring in the young (Betsy, Kupersmith and Springfield, *Journal of the American Academy of Orthopaedic Surgeons* 12 (2004), 89–95) or from bony facets which are normal variants (Kostick, *Journal of Anatomy* 97 (1963), 393–402).

¹³ The skulls of children are very easy to distinguish from adults both on the basis of their size and the relative thinness of the bones and from the state of eruption of the teeth.

¹⁴ There are a number of dental charts showing the state of development and eruption of the teeth at different ages. One very commonly used is that due to Schour and Massler; for this, and others aspects of ageing see Hillson, *Teeth*, 223–229.

¹⁵ See Fazekas and Kosa, *Forensic fetal osteology*.

¹⁶ As mentioned earlier, previous work had shown that values of 38 and 43 mm for the maximum diameter of both femur and humerus were considered to discriminate reliably between females and males. This seemed to be confirmed on present assemblage although the numbers involved were considerably smaller.

¹⁷ The regression equations of Trotter and Gleser were used to make the calculations as previously.

¹⁸ Since it is possible that one or more individuals may have contributed twice to the heights estimated (since both left and right bones were used), the median is, strictly speaking, a more appropriate summary statistic to use than the mean. The median height from the femur is 1.71 m and for the humerus, 1.69 m; it will be seen that the difference between median and mean is either too small to be of significance, or that mean and median are the same.

¹⁹ In my earlier publication of Theban work (Waldron, in Strudwick, *Amenhotep*, 138–151), the male heights ranged from 1.47–1.68 m (mean 1.62 m) while for the females the range was 1.43–1.62 (mean 1.53 m). These data were based on 21 female and 25 male humeri.

²⁰ The differences in the femoral indices are statistically significant using Fisher’s exact test (two-tailed), $p = 0.01$.

21 Scholl, Kellett, Neumann and Lurie, *Radiographics* 19 (1999), 1107–1124.

22 Waldron, *Palaeopathology*.

23 This would suggest that 19% of the individuals had osteoarthritis of the atlanto-odontoid articulation. This is not an exceptionally high proportion, certainly not compared with present-day prevalence studies which indicate that up to a third of adults may have the condition (Genev, Willis, Lowrey, Lauerman, Woodruff, Diaz and Higgs, *American Journal of Roentgenology* 154 (1990), 315–318).

24 Osteoarthritis of the elbow is uncommon and was actually not mentioned in the English medical literature until 1955; it occurs much more frequently in males than females, and there is an association with heavy manual labour, although, of course, by no means all those with osteoarthritis of the elbow have been engaged in such work (Gramstad and Galatz, *Journal of Bone and Joint Surgery* 88A (2006), 421–430). The disease involves the radio-humeral joint more often than the ulno-humeral joint by a factor of at least six (Dalal, Bull and Stanley, *Journal of Shoulder and Elbow Surgery* 16 (2007), 358–361).

25 Yamaguchi, Ditsios, Middleton, Hildebolt, Galatz and Teefey, *Journal of Bone and Joint Surgery* 88A (2006), 1699–1704.

26 The part of the arm or hand in which symptoms are registered will depend upon which of the nerves is affected. This can be determined by reference to a so-called dermatome map, which shows the areas supplied by each of the nerve and which can be seen in any text book of neurology, or on the internet.

27 Standaert, Herring, Halpern and King, *Physical Medicine and Rehabilitation Clinics of North America* 11 (2000), 785–803.

28 Strictly speaking, DISH refers both to the spinal fusion and the presence of ossification of extra-spinal sites of muscle attachments – the entheses. On its own, the spinal fusion is correctly known as Forestier's disease but in archaeological parlance, it is universally referred to as DISH. The reason for the new bone appearing only on the right side of the thoracic vertebrae is because the descending aorta lies on the left and its presence seems to prevent the new bone forming. In the rare condition of situs inversus, in which the heart and great vessels are transposed so that the aorta lies on the right side of the thoracic vertebrae, the new bone in DISH is on the left (Ciocchi, *Diagnostic Radiology* 115 (1975), 523–524). For DISH and the monastic way of life see: Rogers and Waldron, *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 11 (2001), 257–365.

29 Periosteal new bone is often referred to in the osteological literature as periostitis but this is not a good term to use since it implies that it has an inflammatory (usually infective) origin and this is by no means always the case.

30 Waldron *Palaeopathology*, 115–117.

31 The prevalence of septal aperture in this assemblage is 29.6% with a 95% confidence interval of 15.9–48.5%. This is greater than found recently in a modern sample in which the prevalence was 17.3% (95% CI 9.4–29.7%); since the confidence intervals overlap, however, this is not a statistically significant difference. (Akpınar, Aydinlioğlu, Tosun, Doğan, Tuncay and Ünal, *Tohoku Journal of Experimental Medicine* 199 (2003), 35–42.)

32 I cannot resist my favourite medical mnemonic for the various systemic disorders that are associated with Wormian bones; as is usually the case, the mnemonic is easier to remember than the conditions of which it is supposed to remind one. The mnemonic for Wormian bones is PORKCHOPS. For those whose curiosity cannot be assuaged without knowing the causes, they are: pyknodysostosis, osteogenesis imperfecta, rickets in the healing phase, kinky hair syndrome, cleidocranial dysostosis, hypothyroidism, otopalatodigital syndrome, primary acro-osteolysis, and

syndrome of Downs.

³³ Sahajpal and Pichora, *Canadian Journal of Surgery* 49 (2006), 363–364.

³⁴ The most commonly used data for determining age from the length of the shaft of the long bones were published many years ago by Maresh (*American Journal of the Diseases of Children* 89 (1955), 725–742). The lengths were determined from serial X-rays, a procedure which would not be permitted nowadays because of the unnecessary exposure to X-irradiation. The study was conducted on American children and usually overage skeletons from archaeological contexts by one or two years; this needs to be taken into account when ageing children's skeletons from these data.

³⁵ In fact, none of the bones showed any evidence of pathological change and no further reference will be made to this fact.

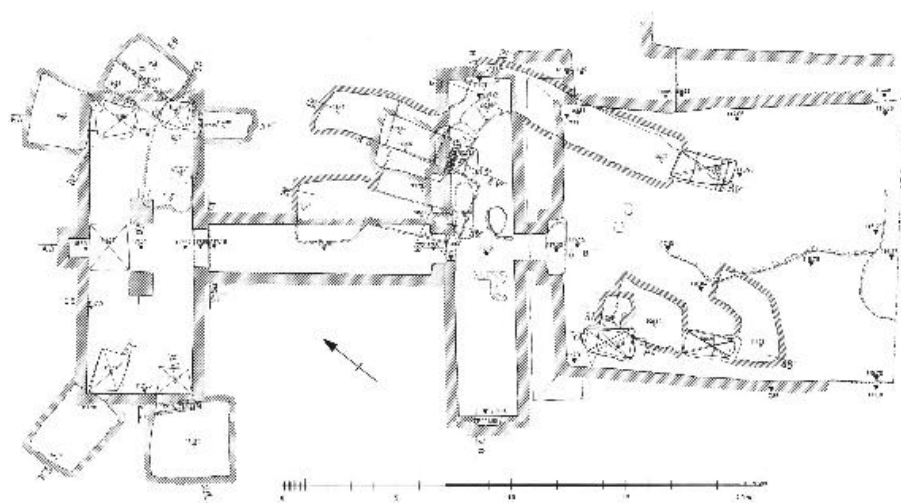
³⁶ The limitations of these methods, and the differences between them for estimating the number of animals represented in an assemblage are fully discussed in Marshall and Pilgrim, *American Antiquity* 58 (1993), 261–269.

³⁷ For those wishing to pursue this difference further, see: Kirk, *Educational and Psychological Measurement* 56 (1996), 746–759.

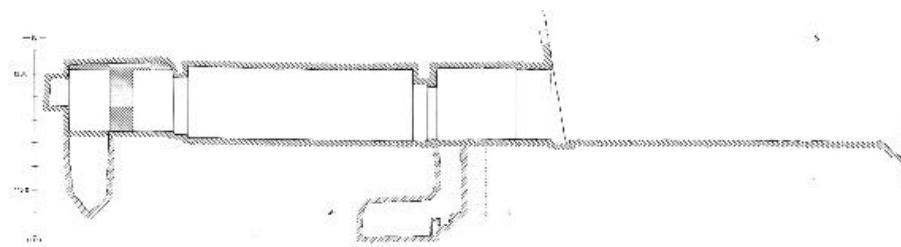
³⁸ See Brewer and Friedman, *Fish and Fishing in Ancient Egypt*, 11–17.

LINE PLATES

PLATE 1



TT99, complete plan

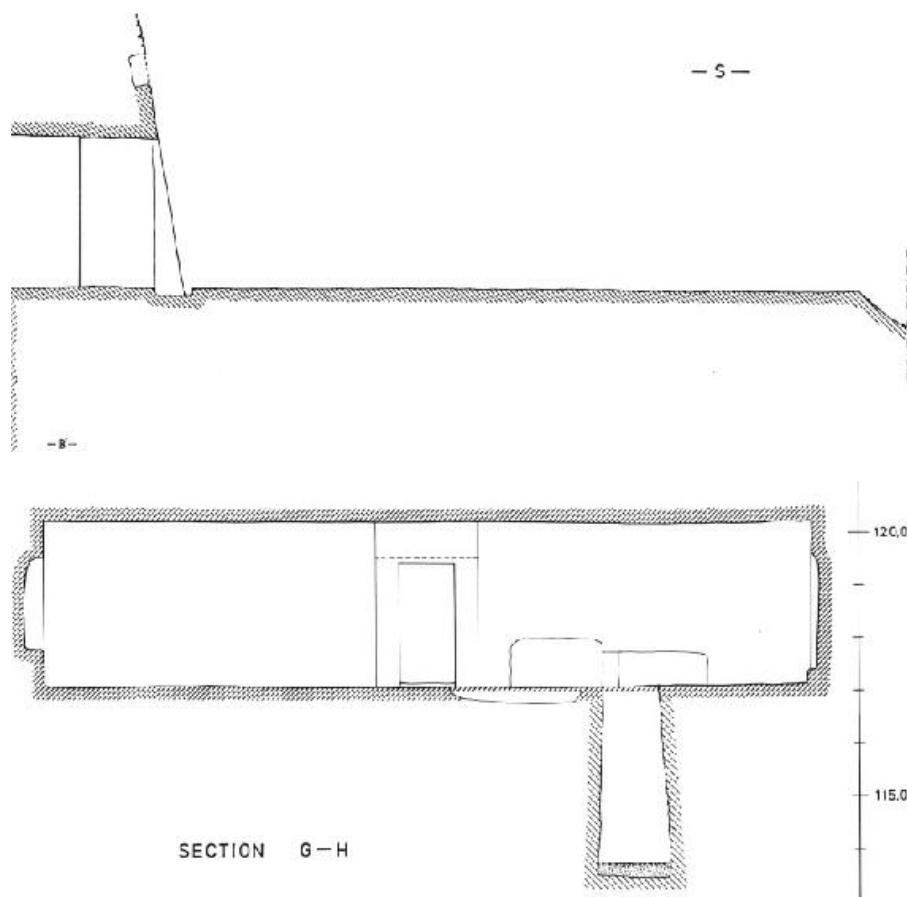


SECTION A - B



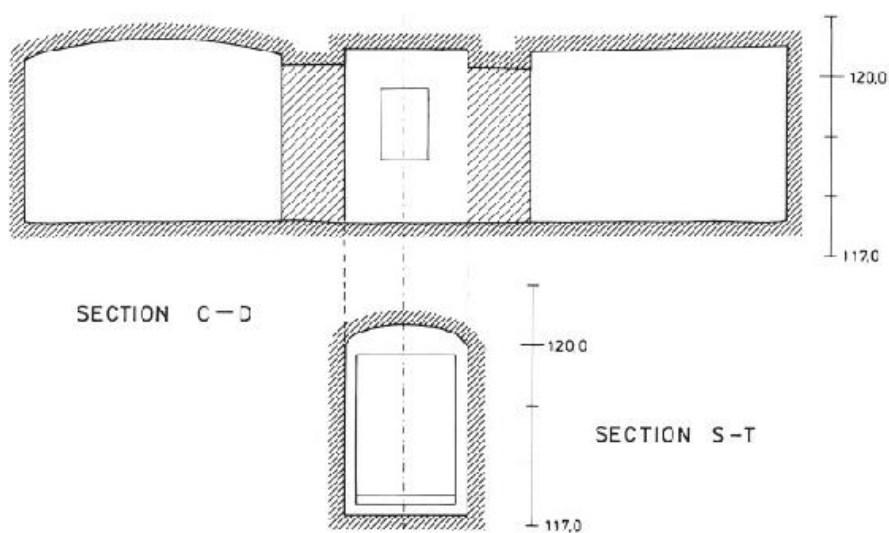
Entrance to TT99, plan

PLATE 2

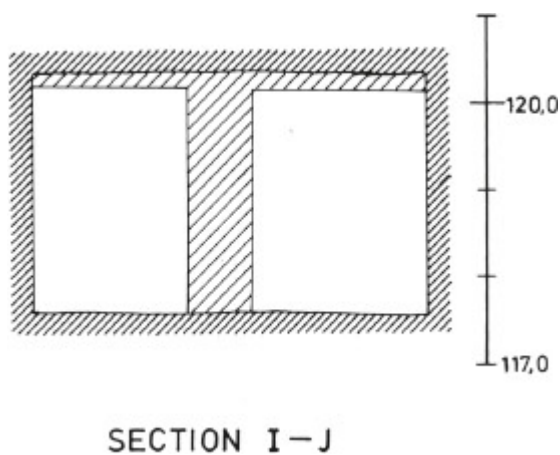


A: TT99, Section G-H

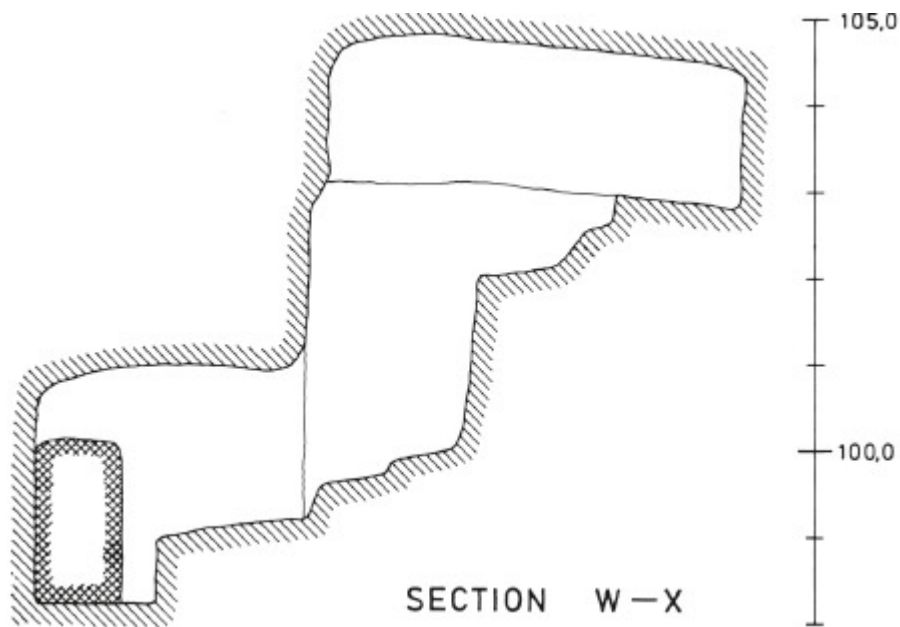
PLATE 3



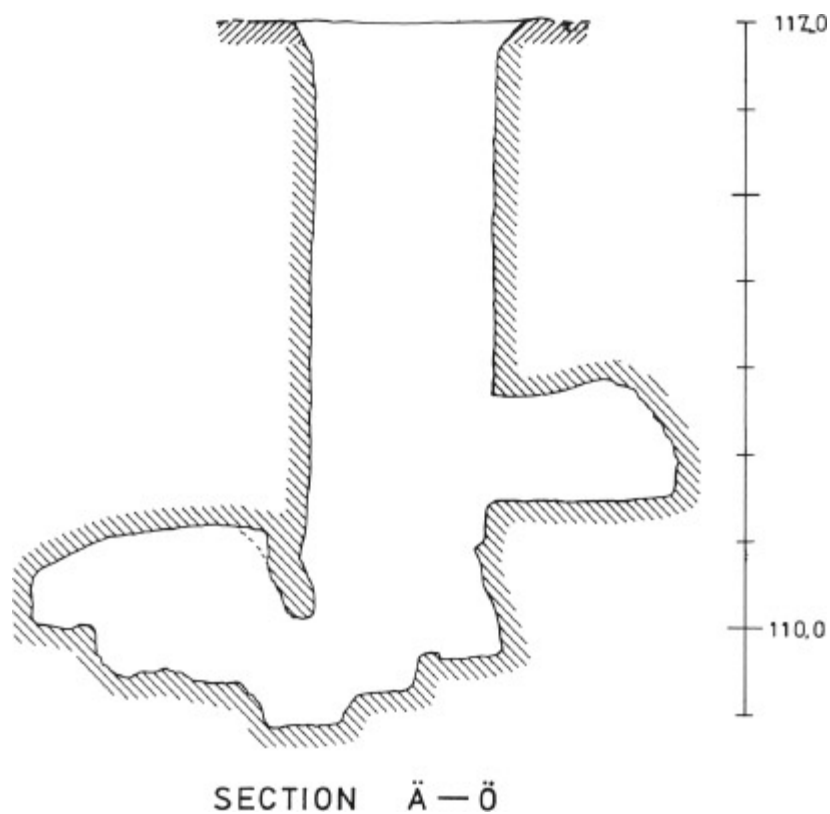
B: TT99, Section C-D and Section S-T



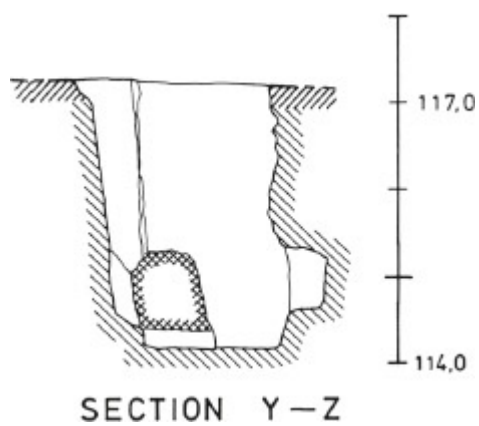
C: TT99, Section I-J



A: TT99, Section W-X

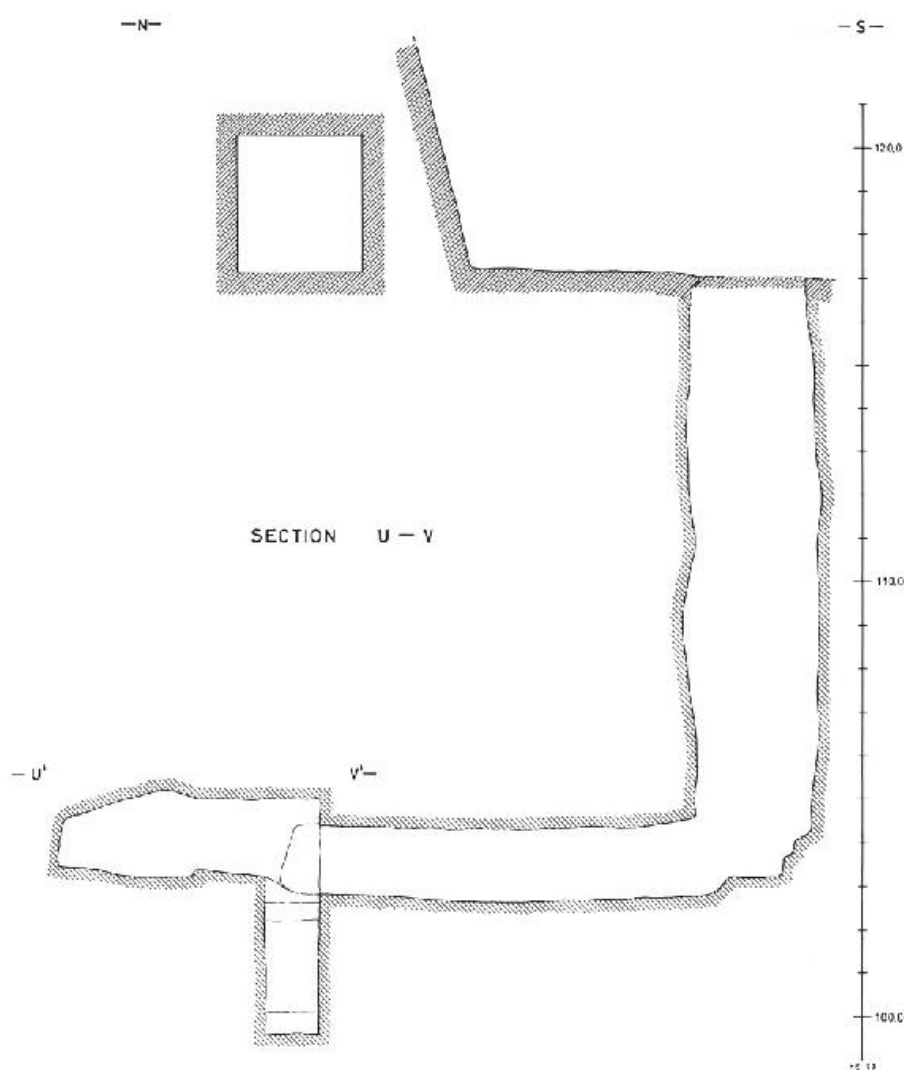


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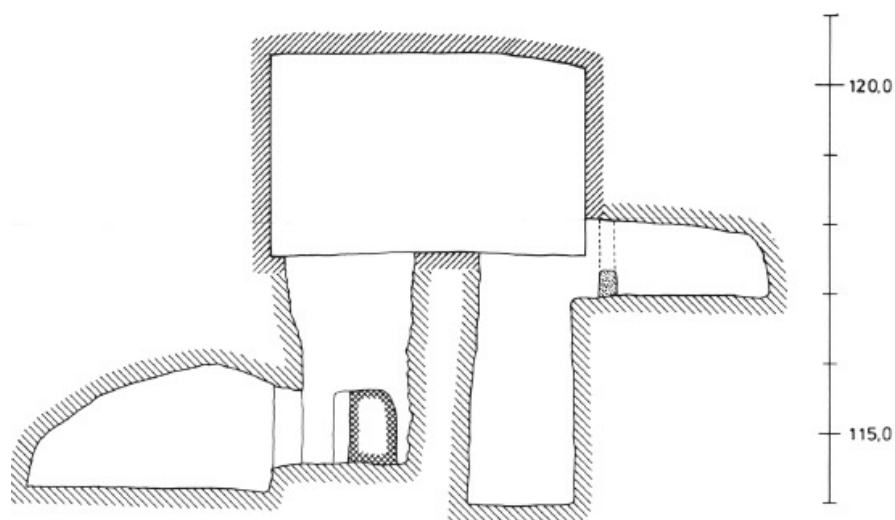


C: TT99, Section. Y-Z

PLATE 4

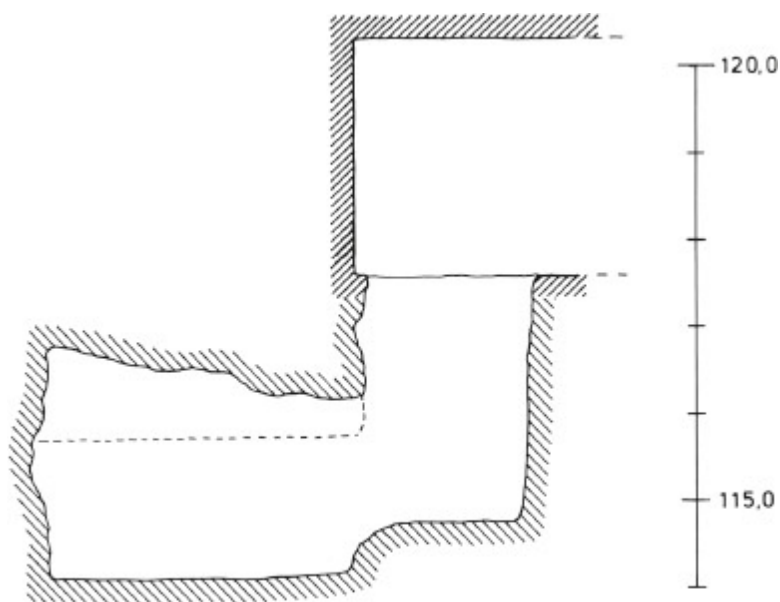


D: TT99, Sections U-V and U'-V'



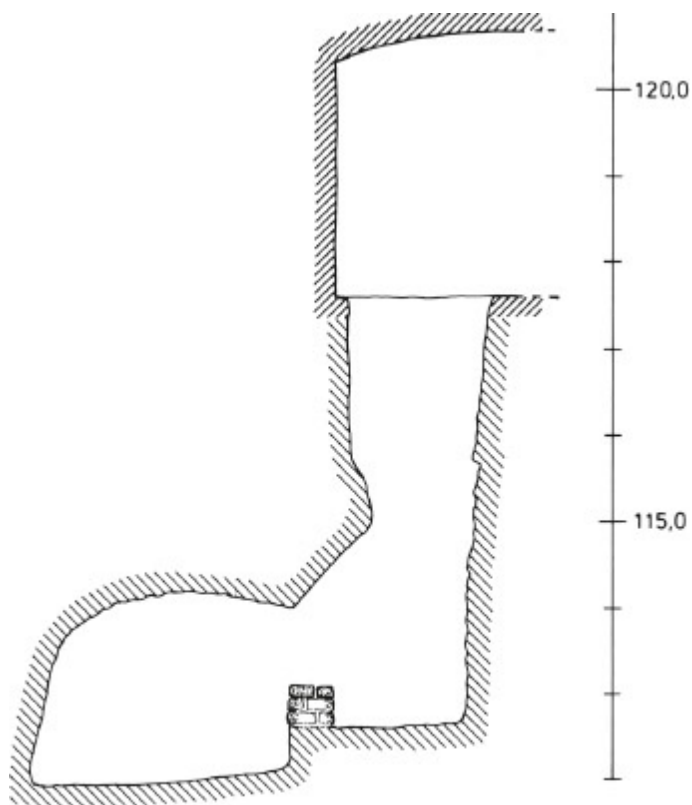
SECTION E - F

A: TT99, Section E-F



SECTION K - L

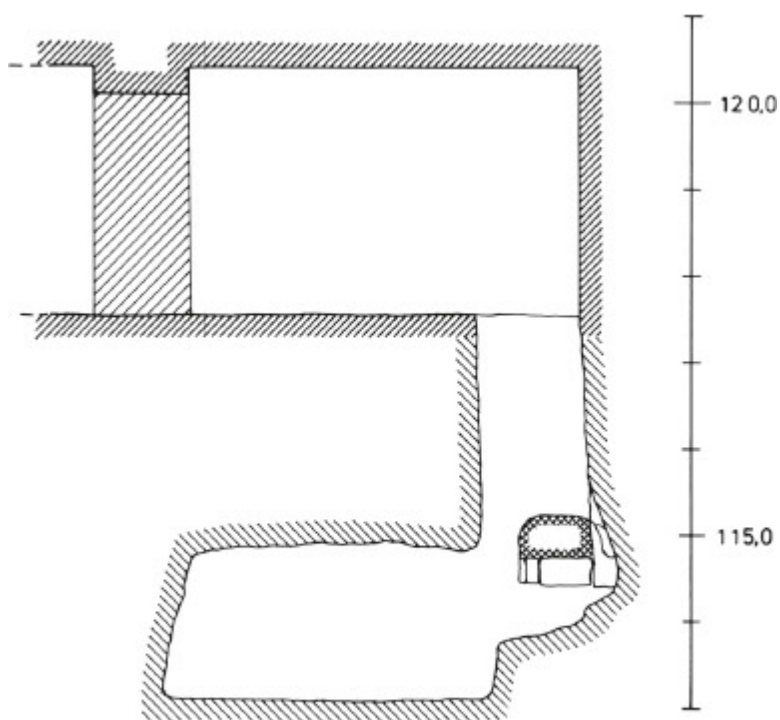
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SECTION M-N

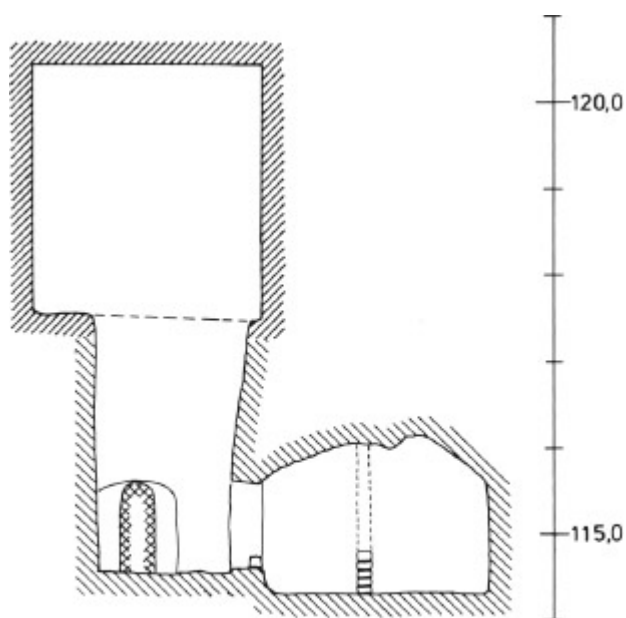
C: TT99, Section M-N

PLATE 5

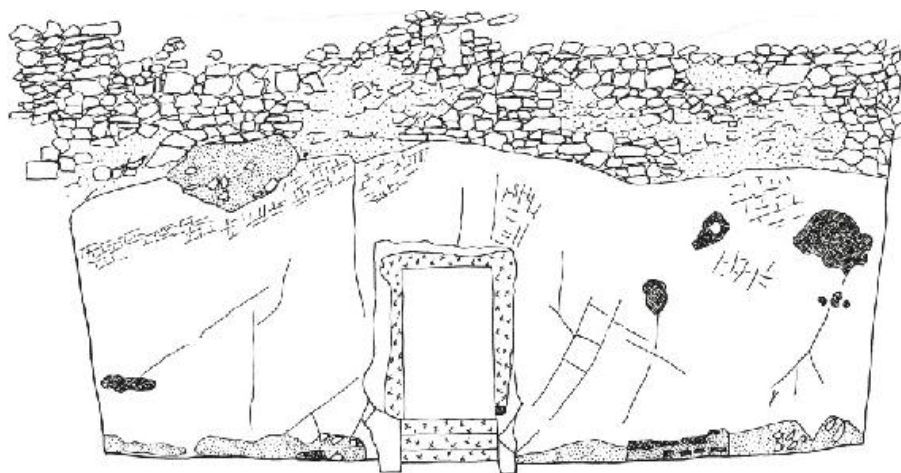


SECTION Q - R

D: TT99, Section Q-R

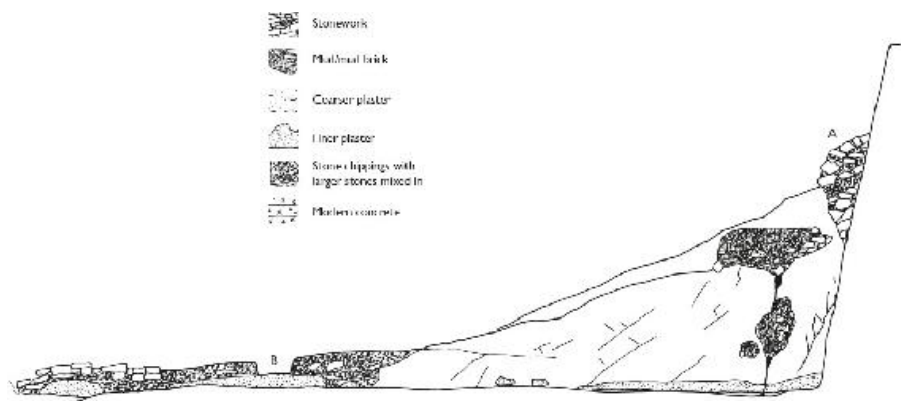


SECTION O - P



A: Facade of TT99

PLATE 6



B: Profile of south side of Courtyard

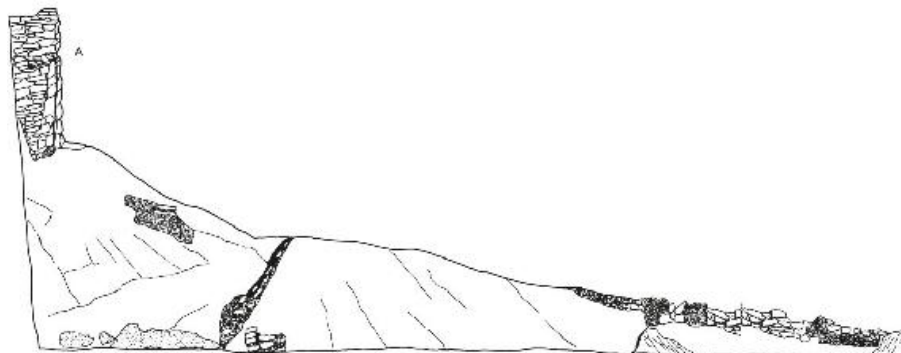
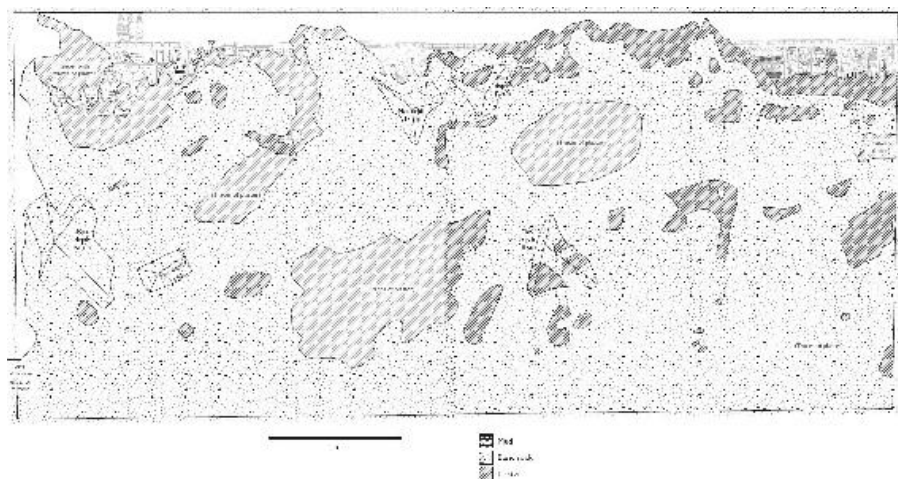
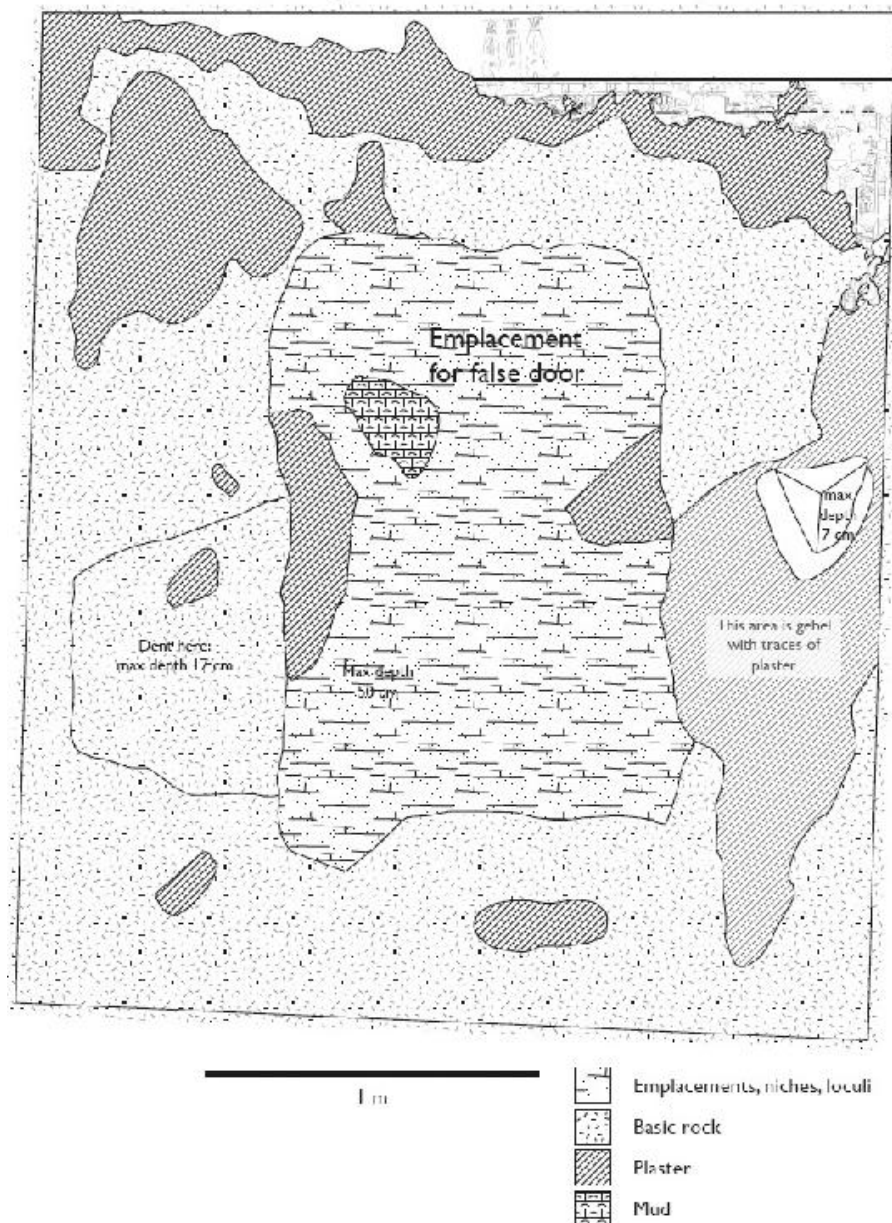


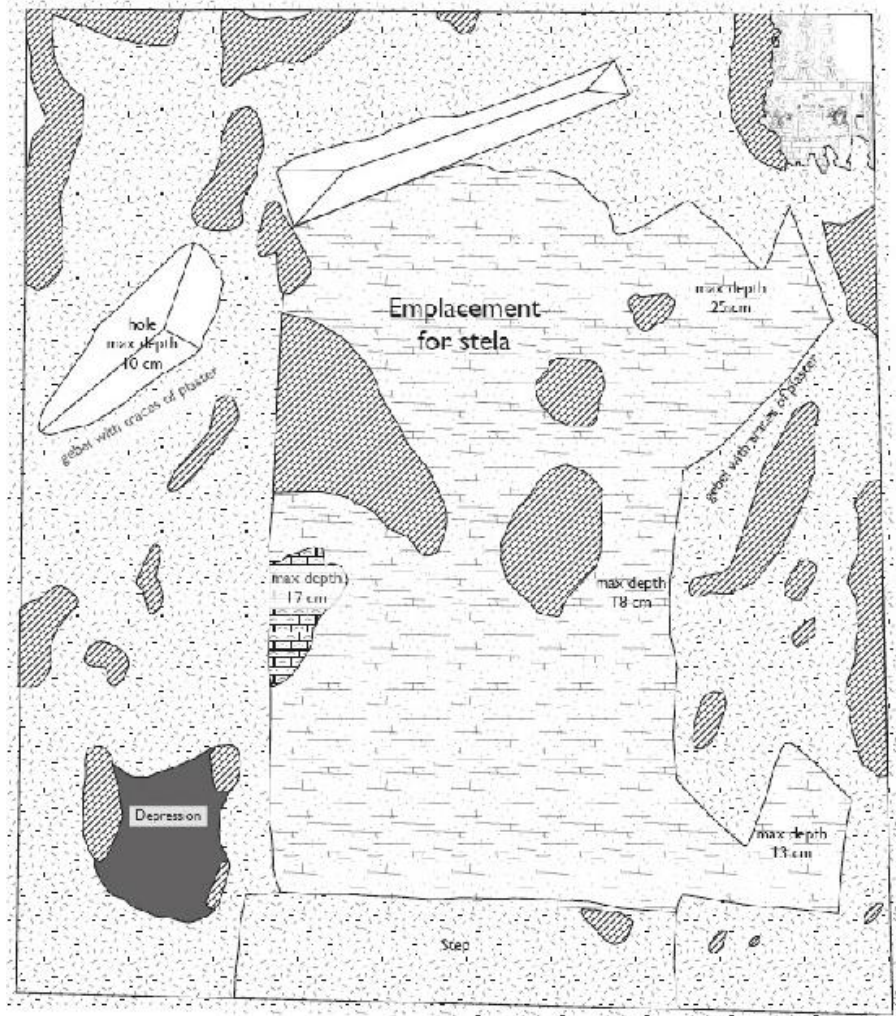
PLATE 7



Wall 1 wall plan



A: Wall 2 wall plan

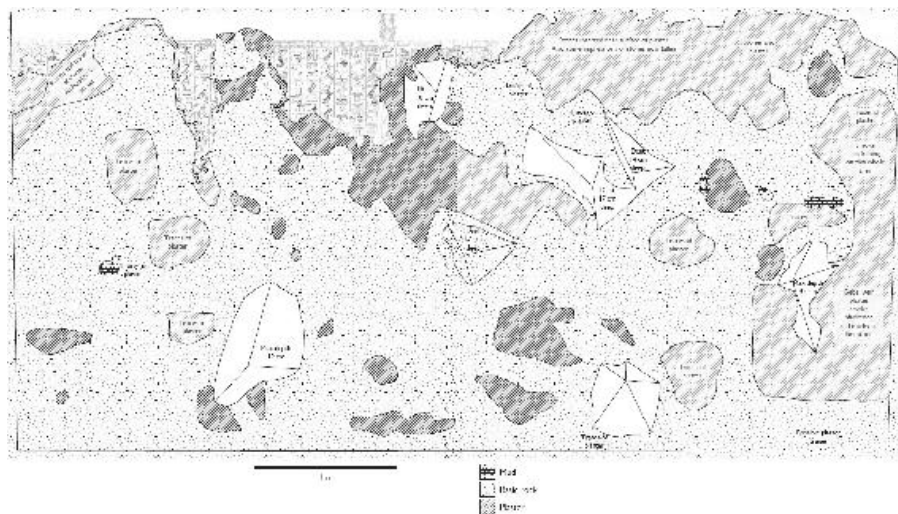


1 m

-  Emplacements, niches, loculi
-  Basic rock
-  Plaster
-  Mud

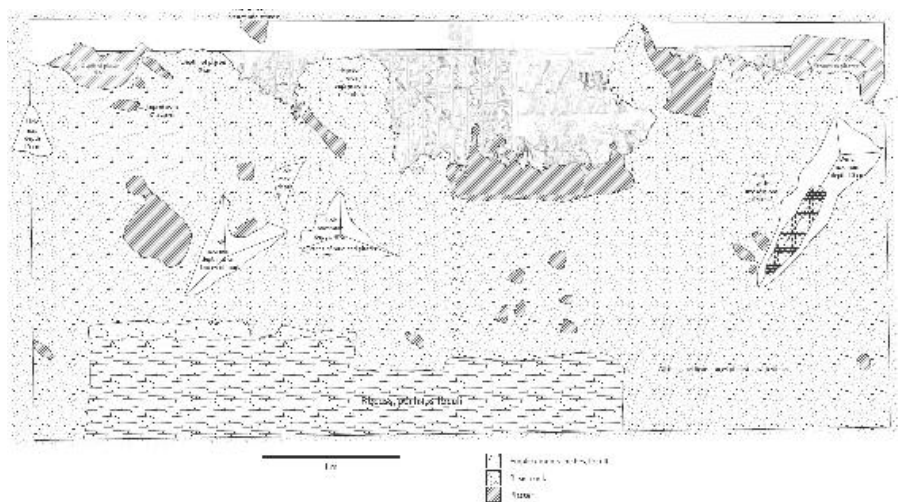
B: Wall 5 wall plan

PLATE 9



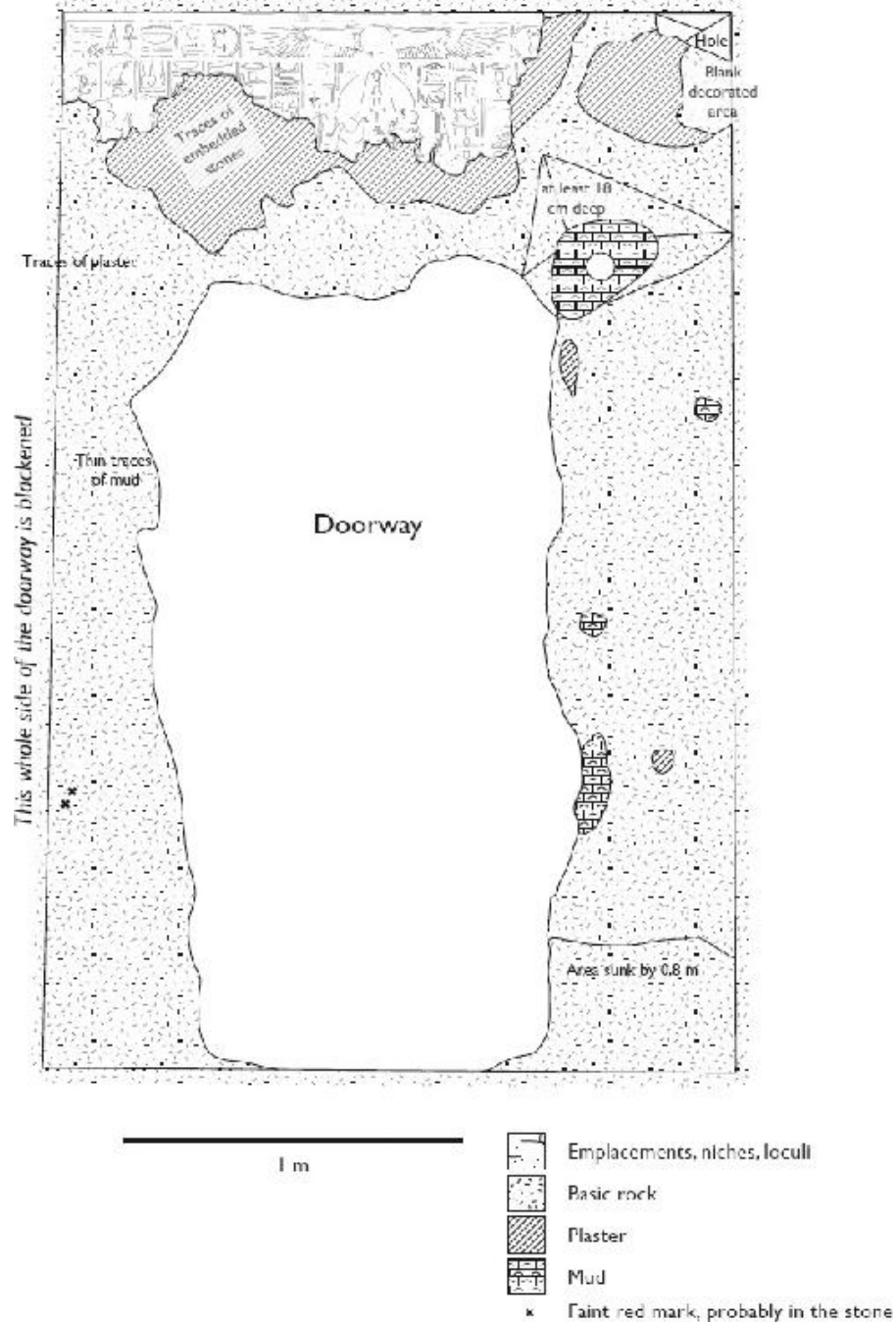
Wall 3 wall plan

PLATE 10

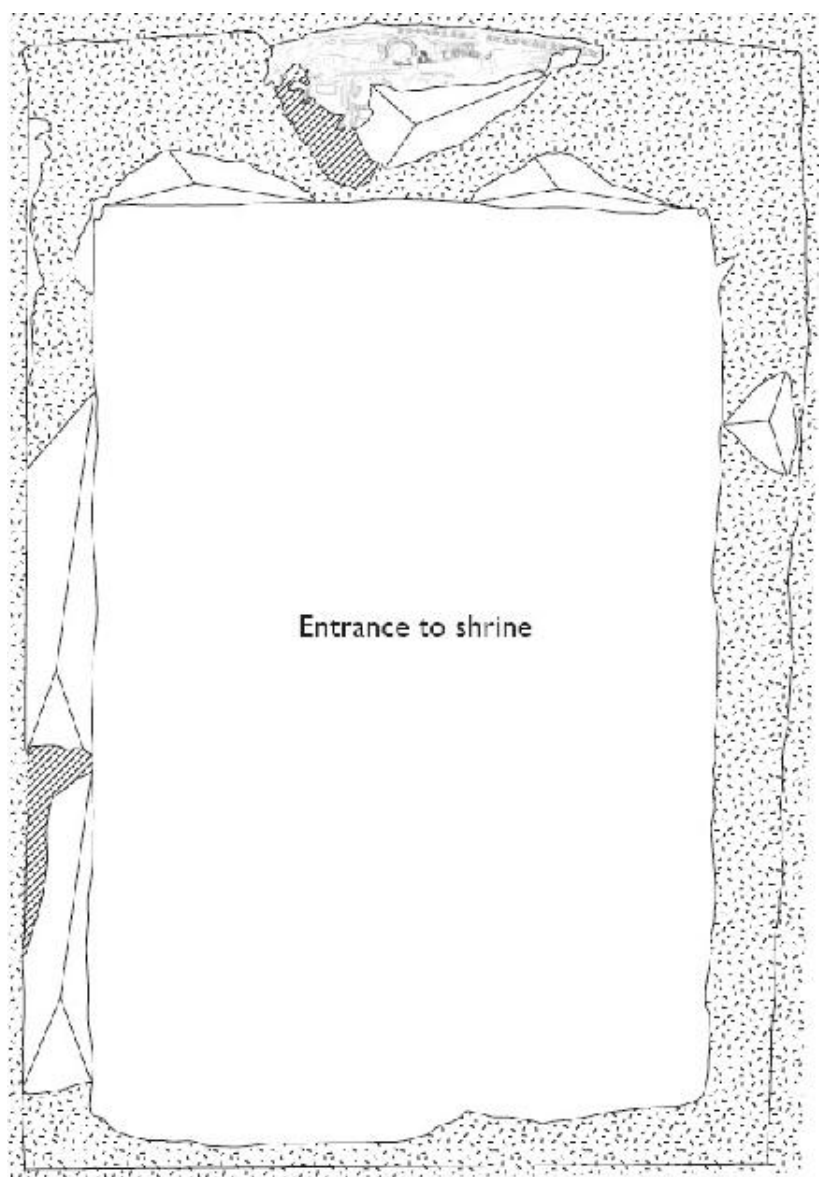


Wall 4 wall plan

PLATE 11



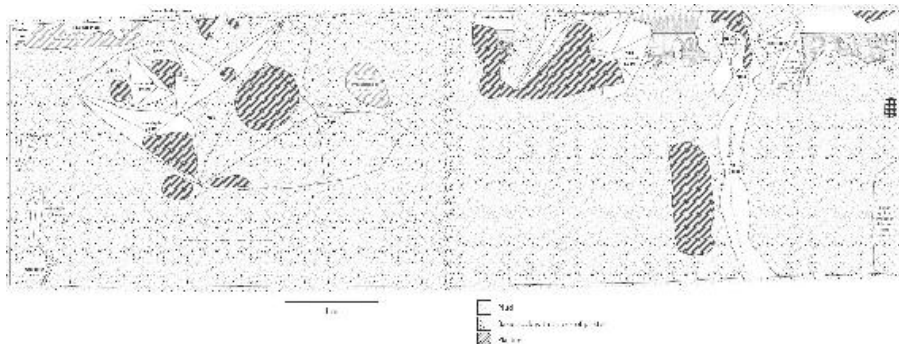
A: Wall 7 wall plan



1 m

- | | |
|---|------------------------------|
|  | Emplacements, niches, loculi |
|  | Basic rock |
|  | Plaster |
|  | Mud |

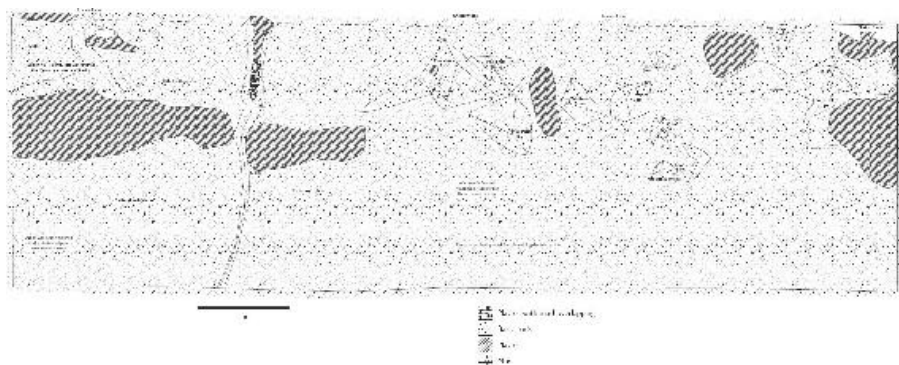
B: Wall 10 wall plan



Wall 9 wall plan

Due to the size of the original, this wall plan and that of Wall 11 are presented at a smaller scale than the others

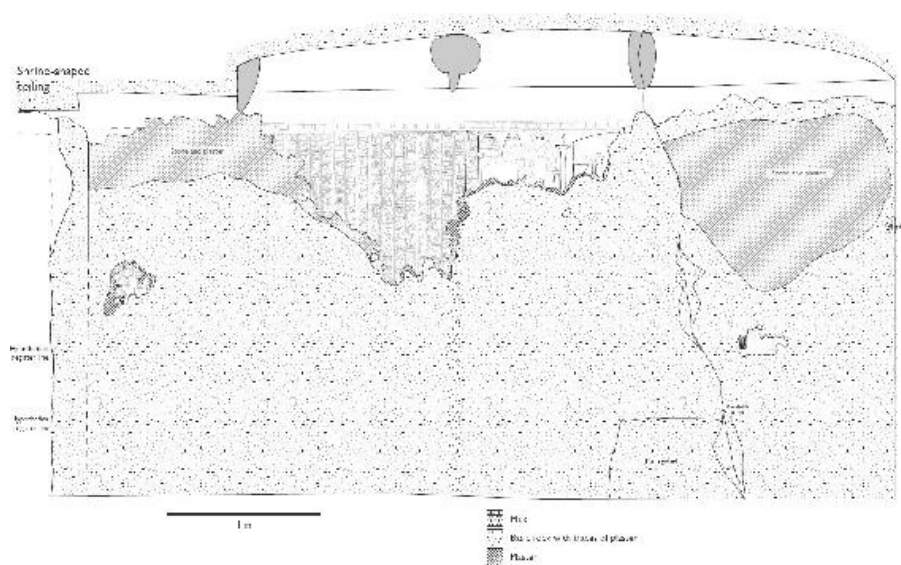
PLATE 14



Wall 11 wall plan

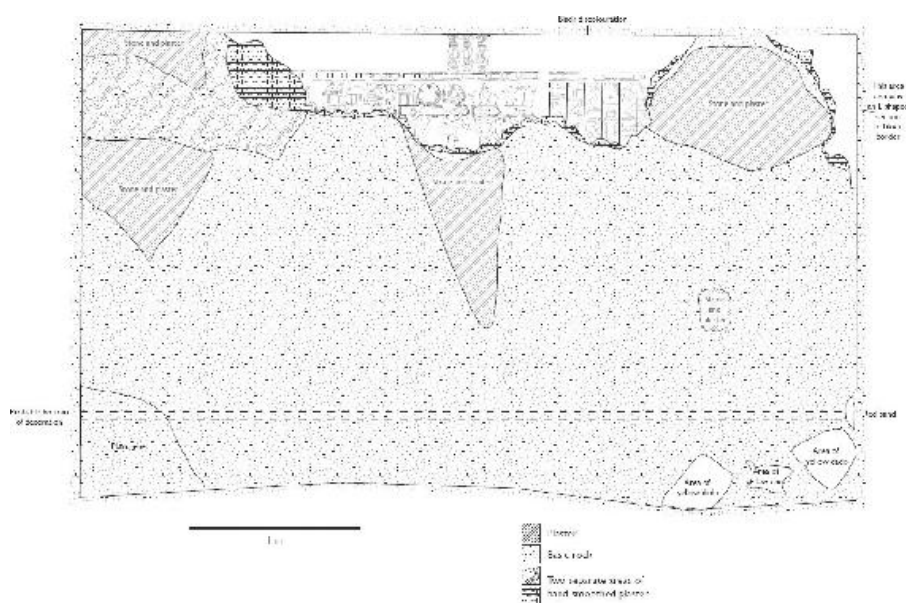
Due to the size of the original, this wall plan and that of Wall 9 are presented at a smaller scale than the others

PLATE 15



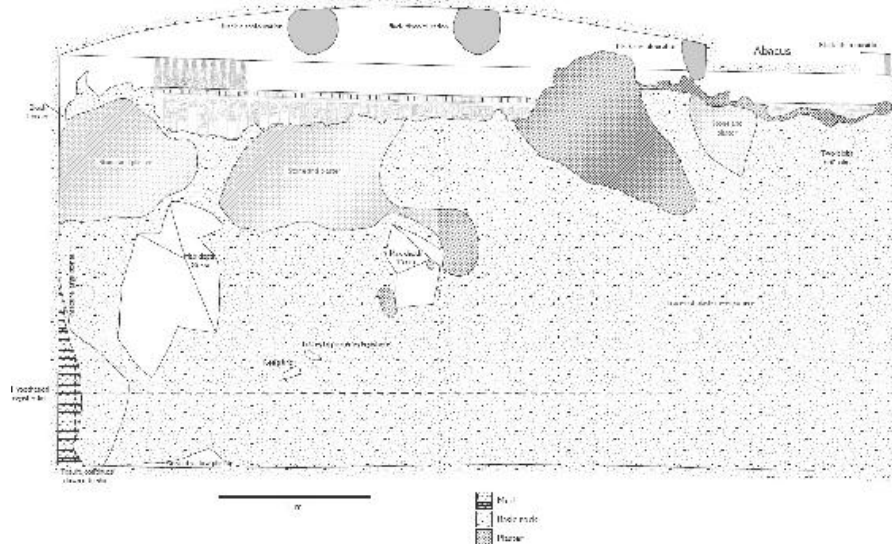
Wall 12 wall plan

PLATE 16



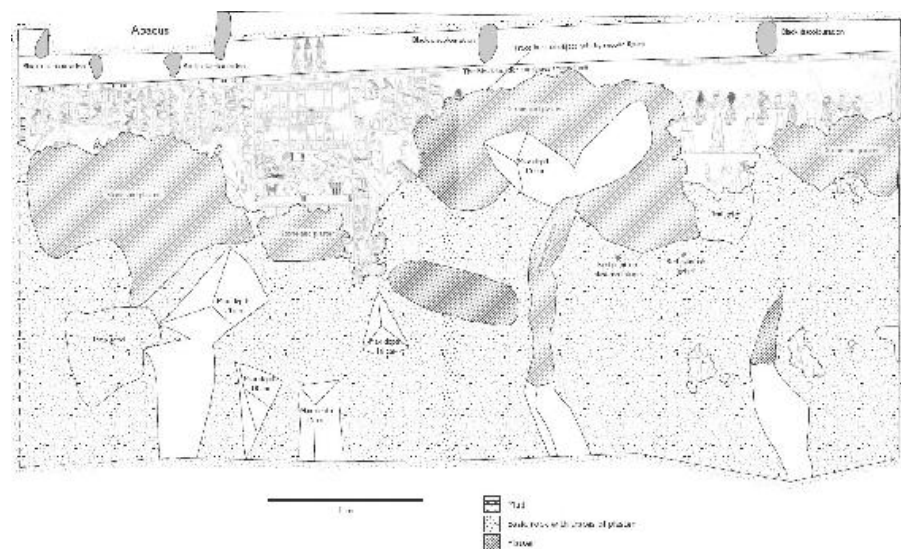
Wall 13 wall plan

PLATE 17



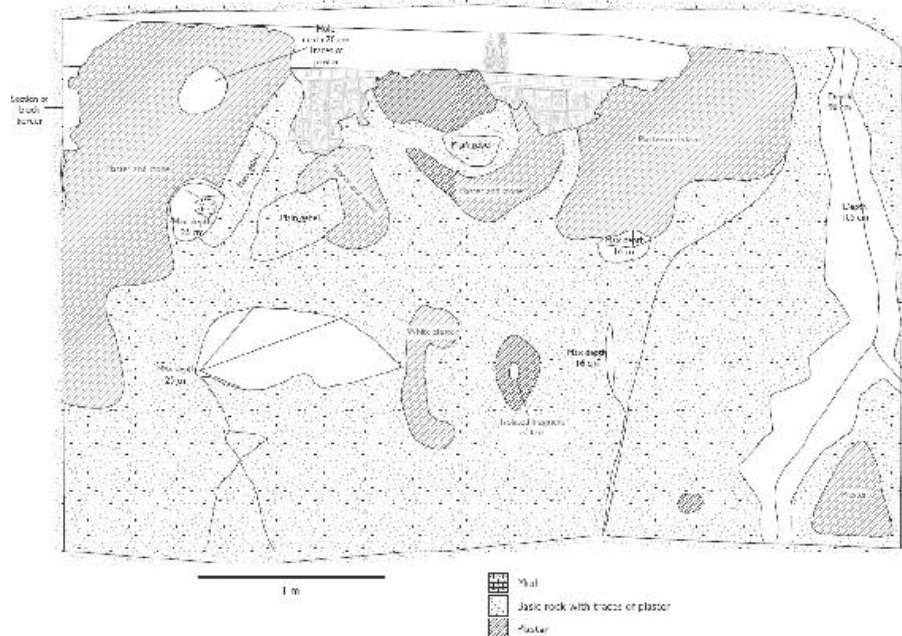
Wall 14 wall plan

PLATE 18



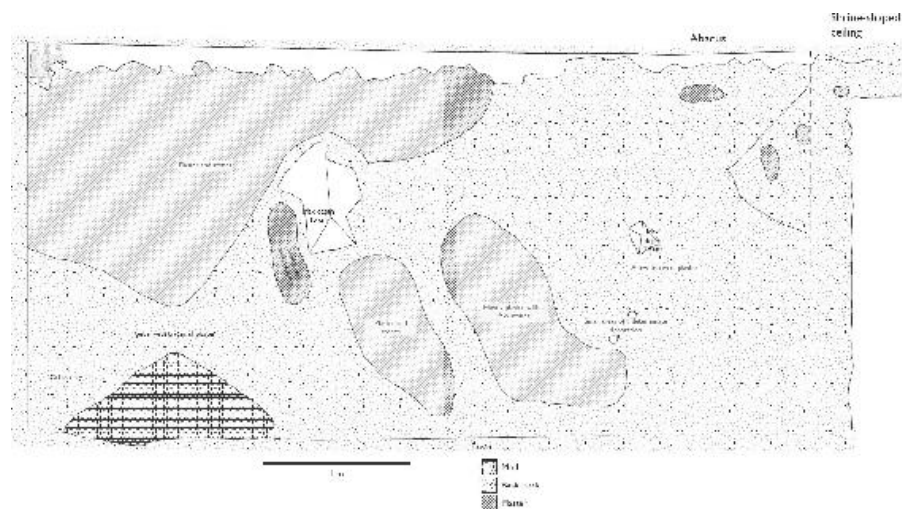
Wall 16 wall plan

PLATE 19

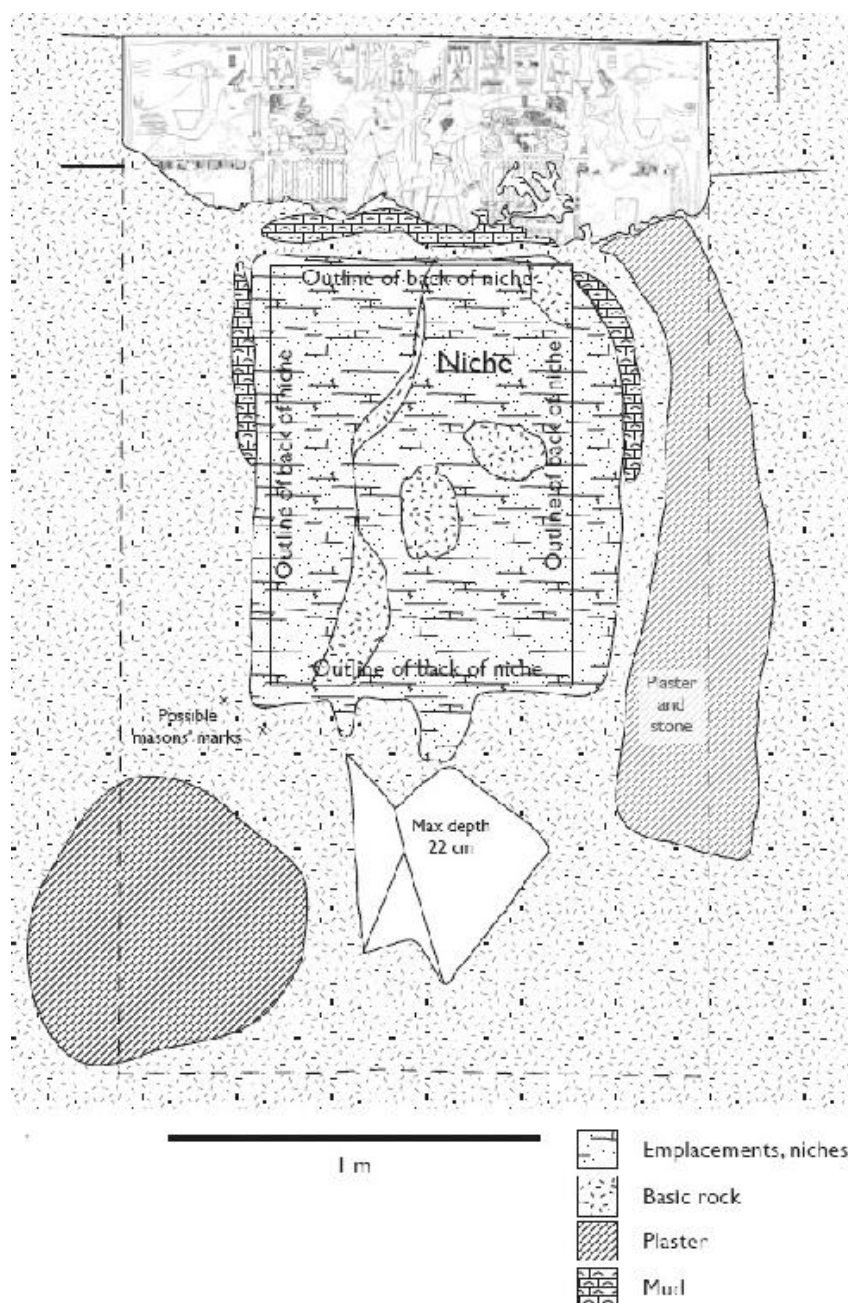


Wall 17 wall plan

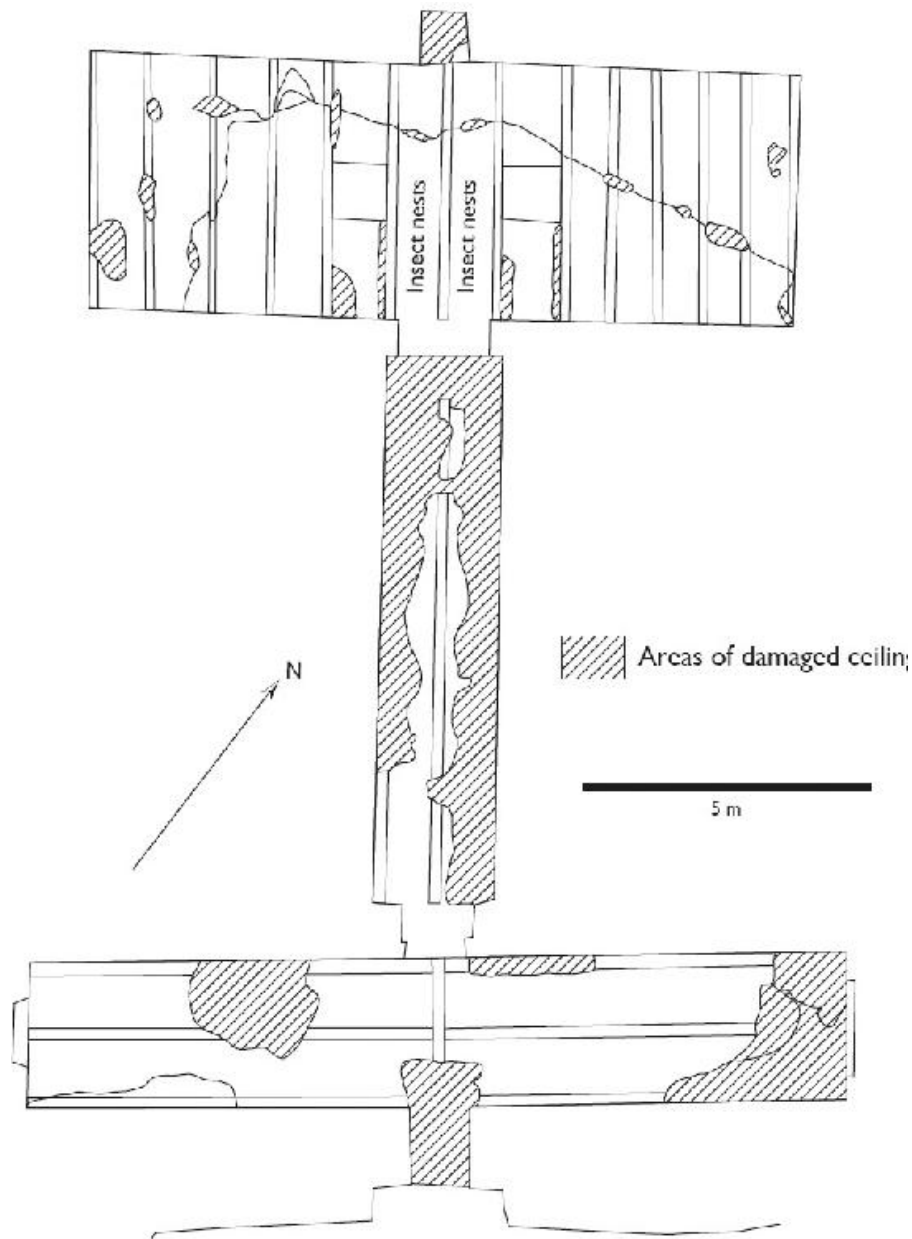
PLATE 20



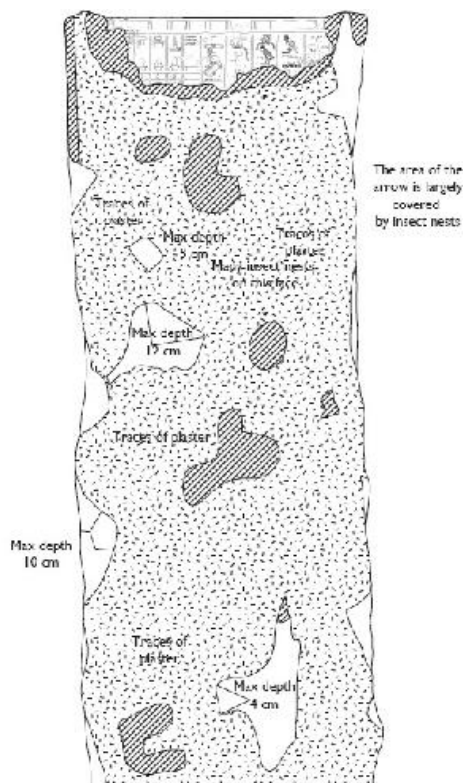
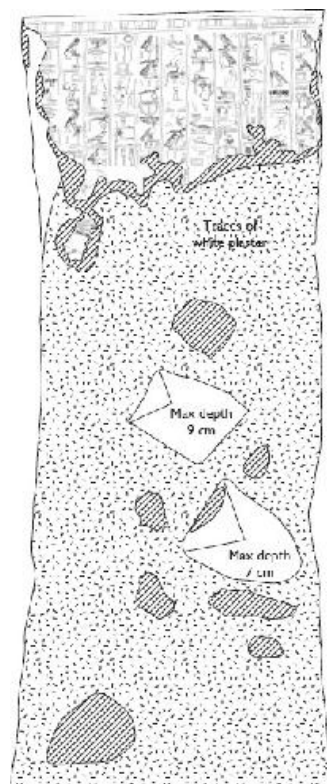
Wall 18 wall plan



A: Wall 15 wall plan



B: Ceiling plan



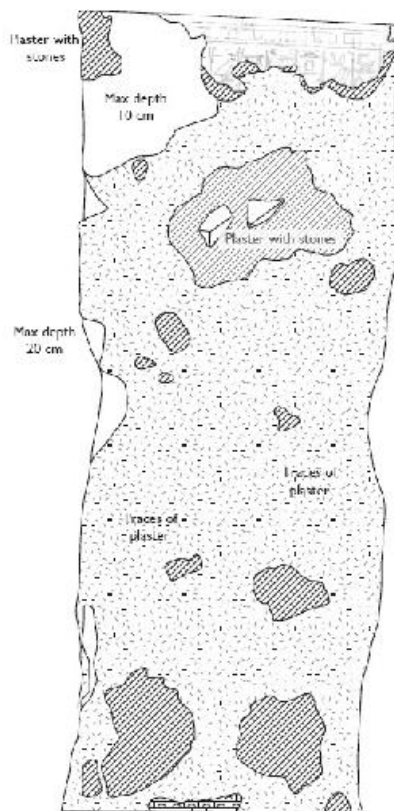
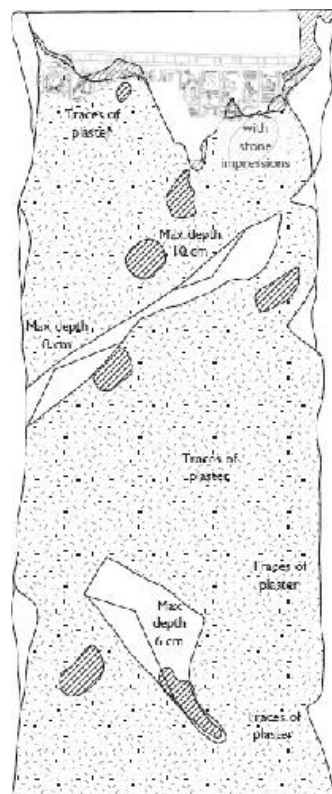
1 m

A: Pillar AE wall plan

B: Pillar AN wall plan

The apparent variation in the heights of the pillars is due to the variability of the floor level in the Shrine

PLATE 22

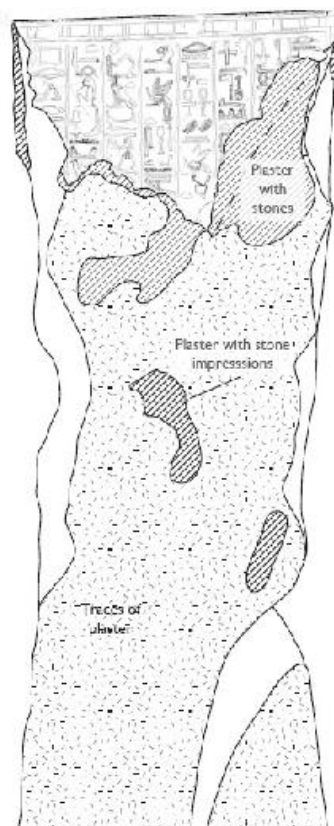
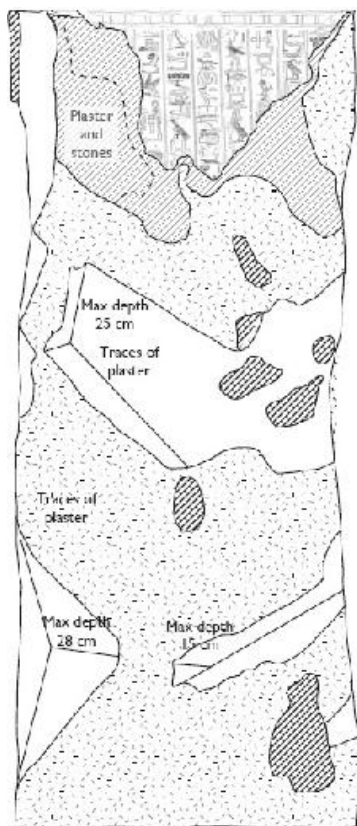


1 m



C: Pillar AW wall plan

D: Pillar AS wall plan



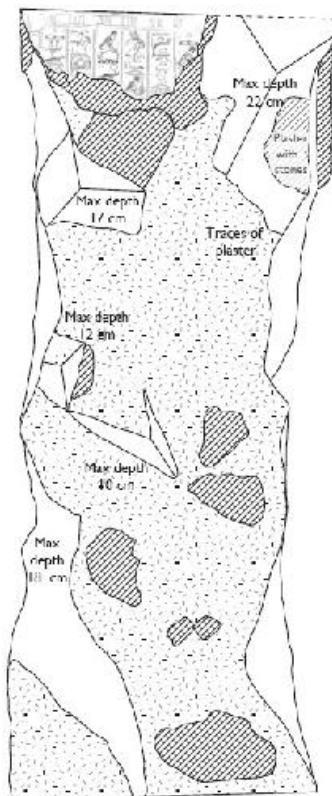
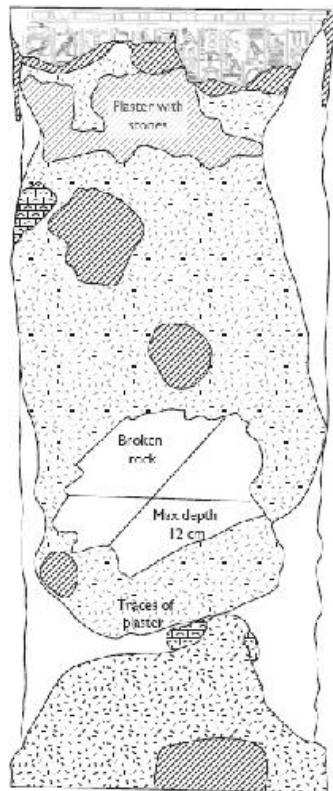
1 m

A: Pillar BE wall plan

B: Pillar BN wall plan

The apparent variation in the heights of the pillars is due to the variability of the floor level in the Shrine

PLATE 23



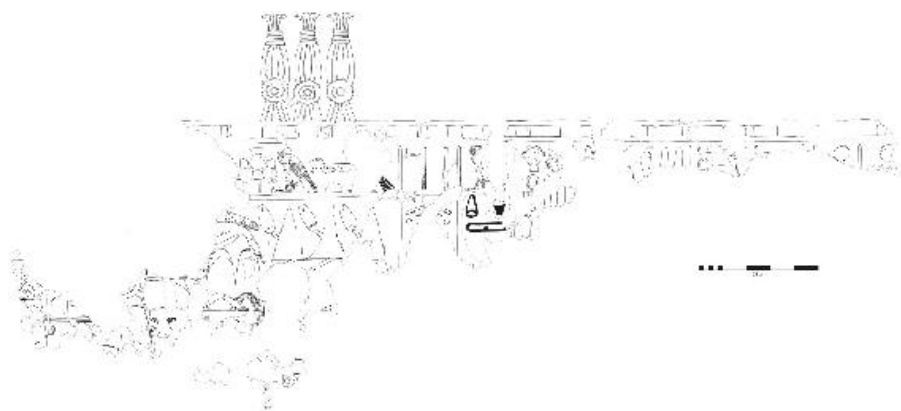
1 m



C: Pillar BW wall plan

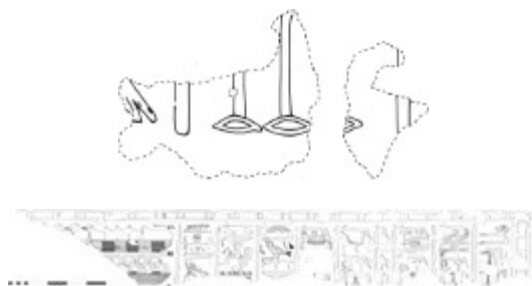
D: Pillar BS wall plan

PLATE 24

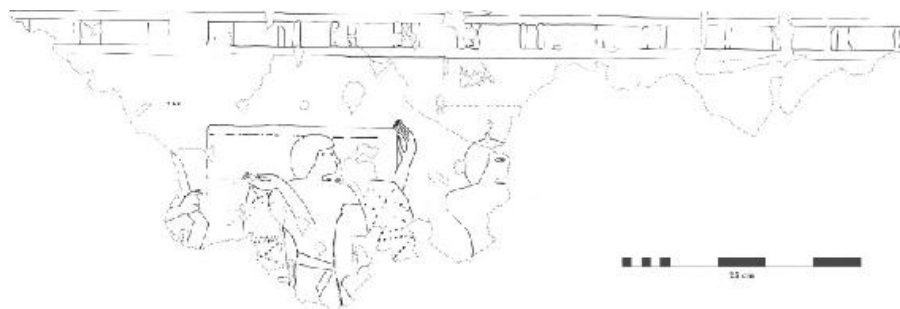


Wall 1, left (Sc. 1.1, [p. 86](#)).

The broken line in the second vertical column indicates a repair



A: Wall 1 right (Sc. 1.2, [p. 88](#))

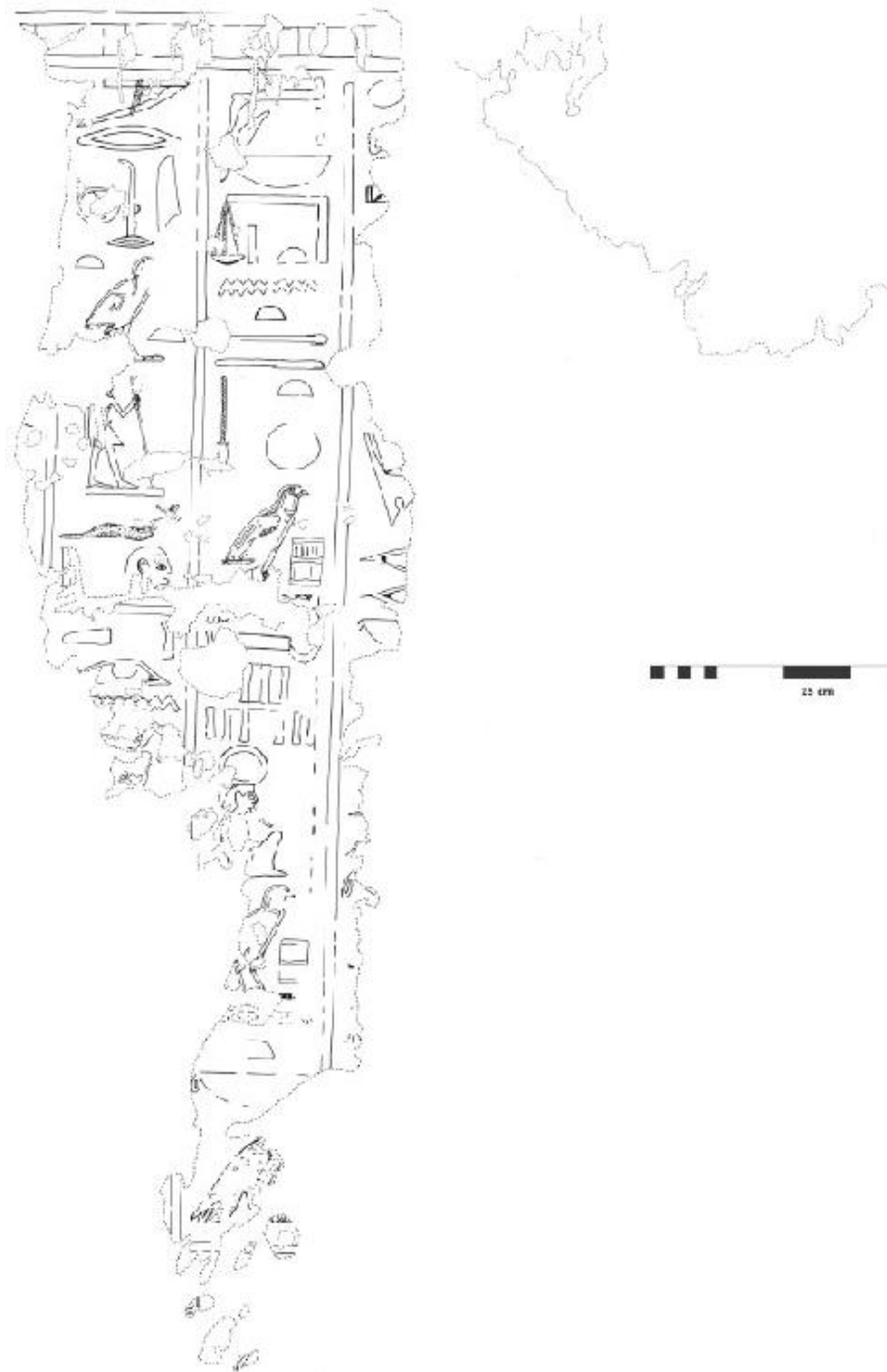


B: Wall 1, centre (Sc. 1.2.a, [p. 88](#))

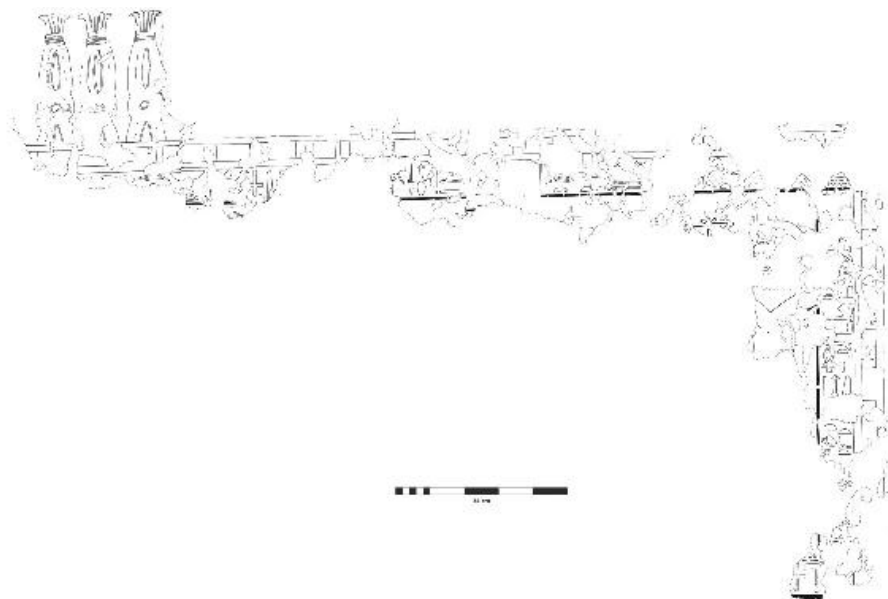
PLATE 25



C: Wall 3, left (Sc. 3.2, [p. 99](#))

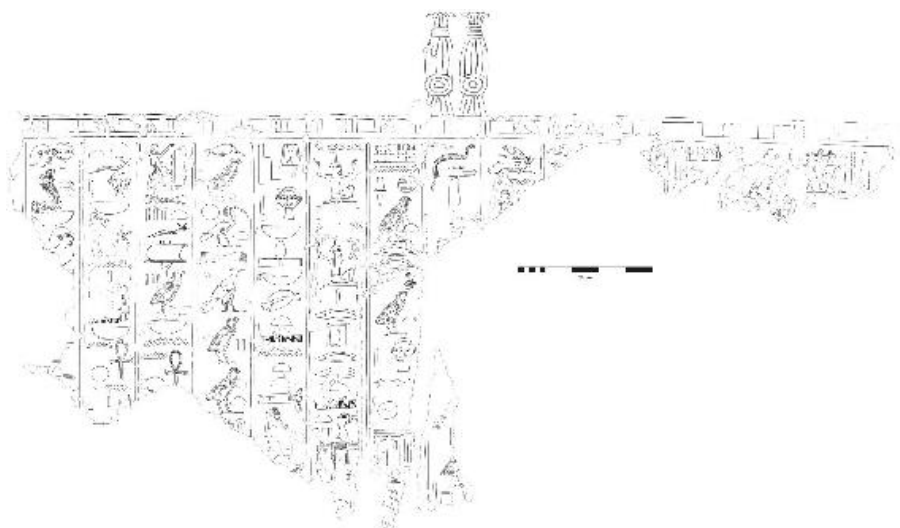


A: Wall 3, left of centre ((Sc. 3.1, [p. 98](#))

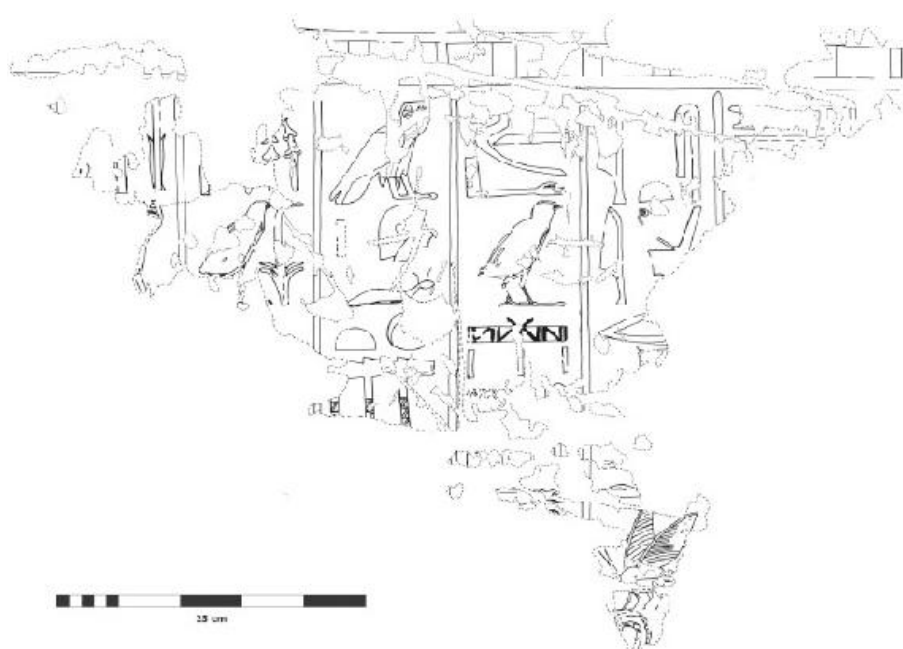


B: Wall 2, all painted decoration (Sc. 2.1, [p. 89](#))

PLATE 27



Wall 3, centre (Sc. 3.1, [p. 98](#))



A: Wall 4, left (Sc. 4.1, [p. 100](#))

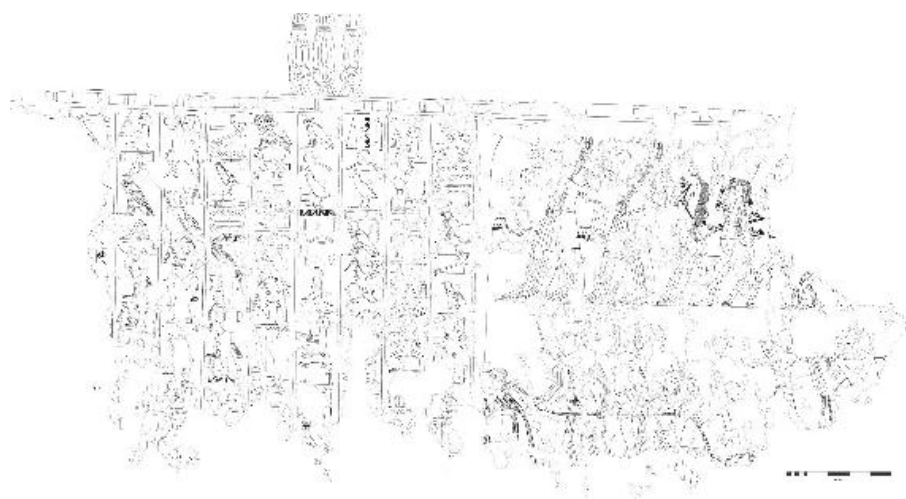
PLATE 28



B: Wall 4, right (Sc. 4.1.a, [p. 104](#))

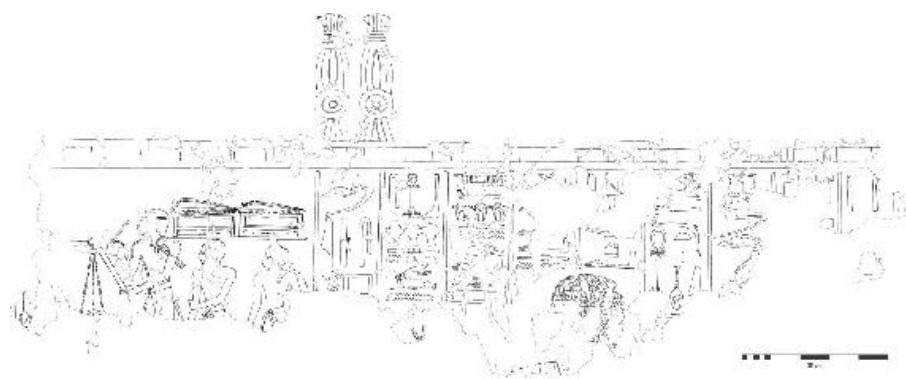


C: Wall 5, top right (Sc. 5.1, [p. 106](#))

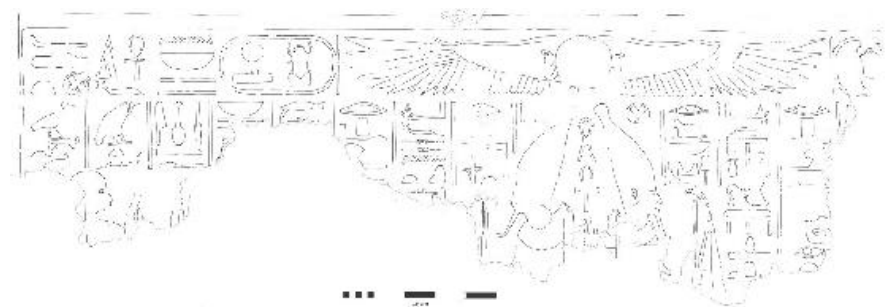


Wall 4, centre (Sc. 4.1, 4.1.a-b, [p. 100](#))

PLATE 29

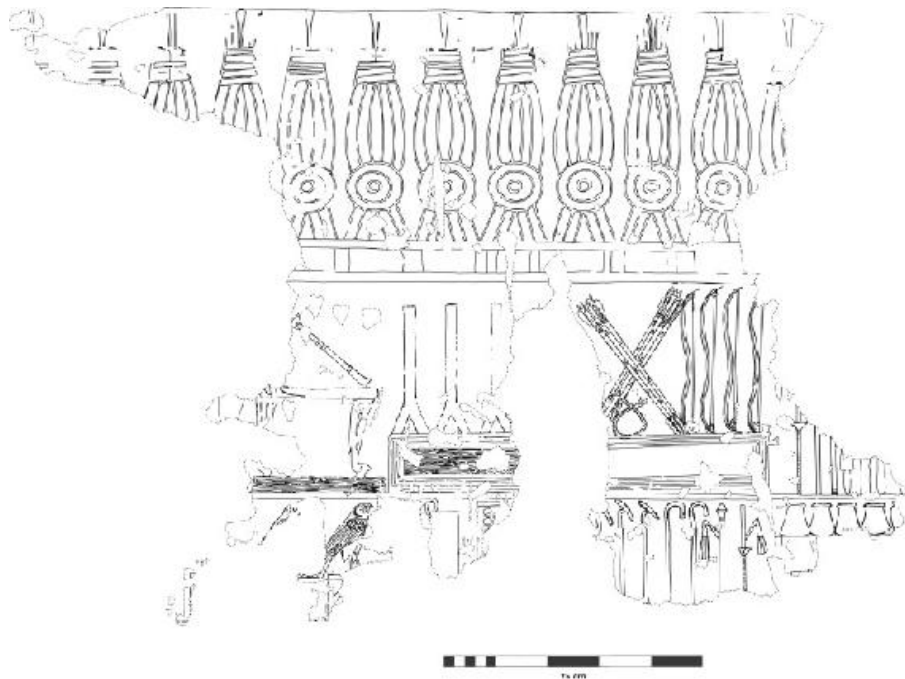


A: Wall 6, right of centre (Sc. 6.2, 6.2a, [p. 114](#))

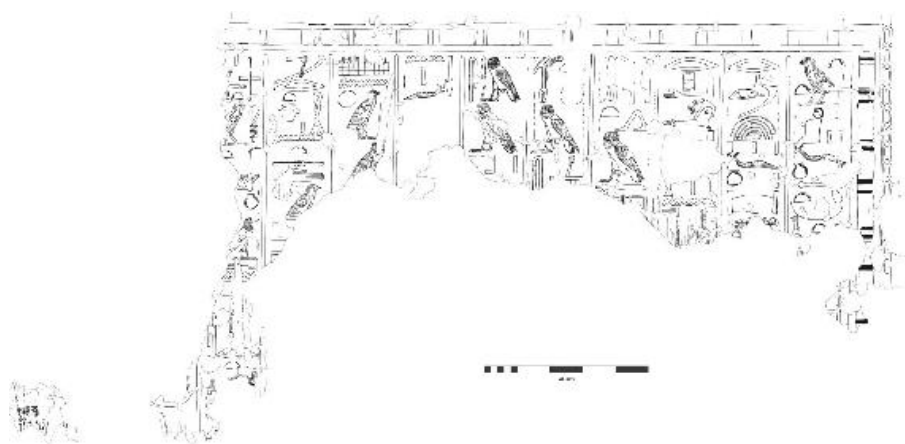


B: Wall 7, complete (Sc. 7.1, 7.2, [p. 116](#))

PLATE 30



B: Wall 9, right of centre (Sc. 9.1a–b, [p. 120](#))



A: Wall 9, right (Sc. 9.1, [p. 119](#))

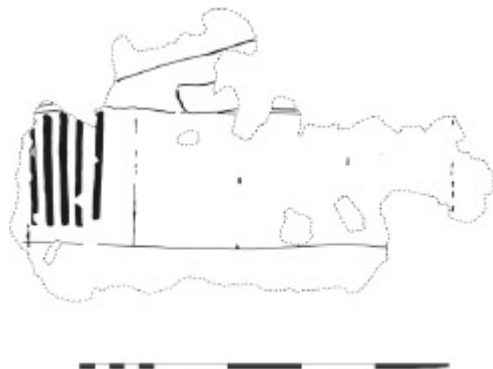


C: Wall 9, left of centre (Sc. 9.2, [p. 121](#))

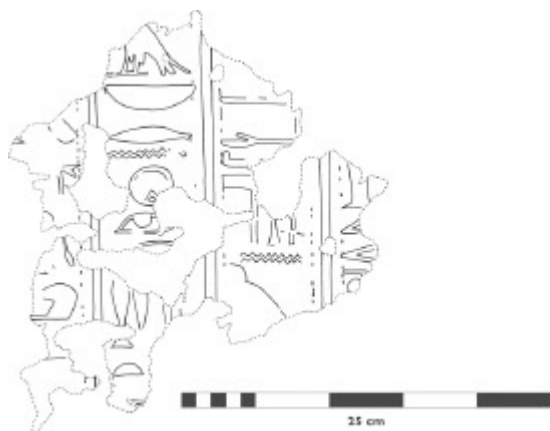
PLATE 31



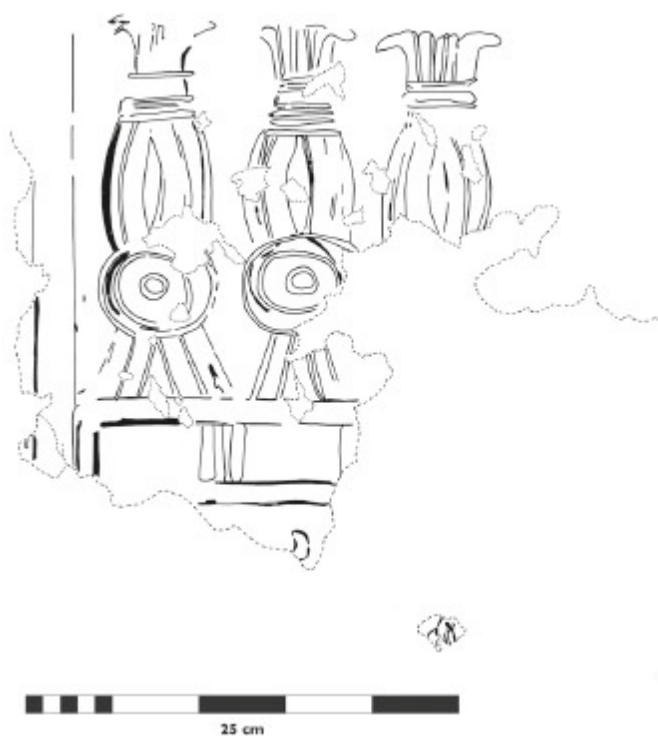
A: Wall 12, top left (beginning of Sc. 12.1.b, [p. 125](#))



B: Wall 12, remains of Sc. 12.1 (Sc. 12.1, [p. 124](#))

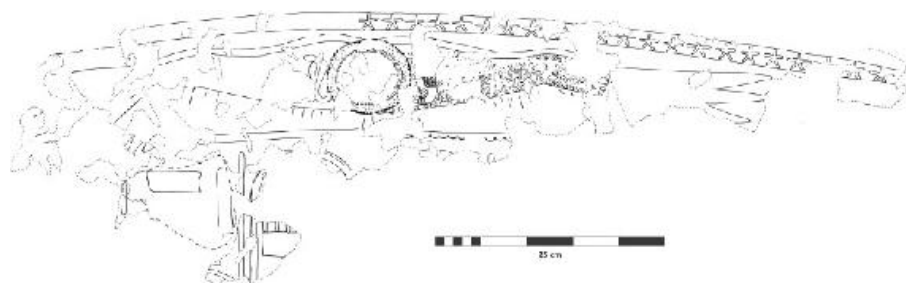


C: Wall 12, text fragment at bottom left (part of Sc. 12.1.b, [p. 125](#))

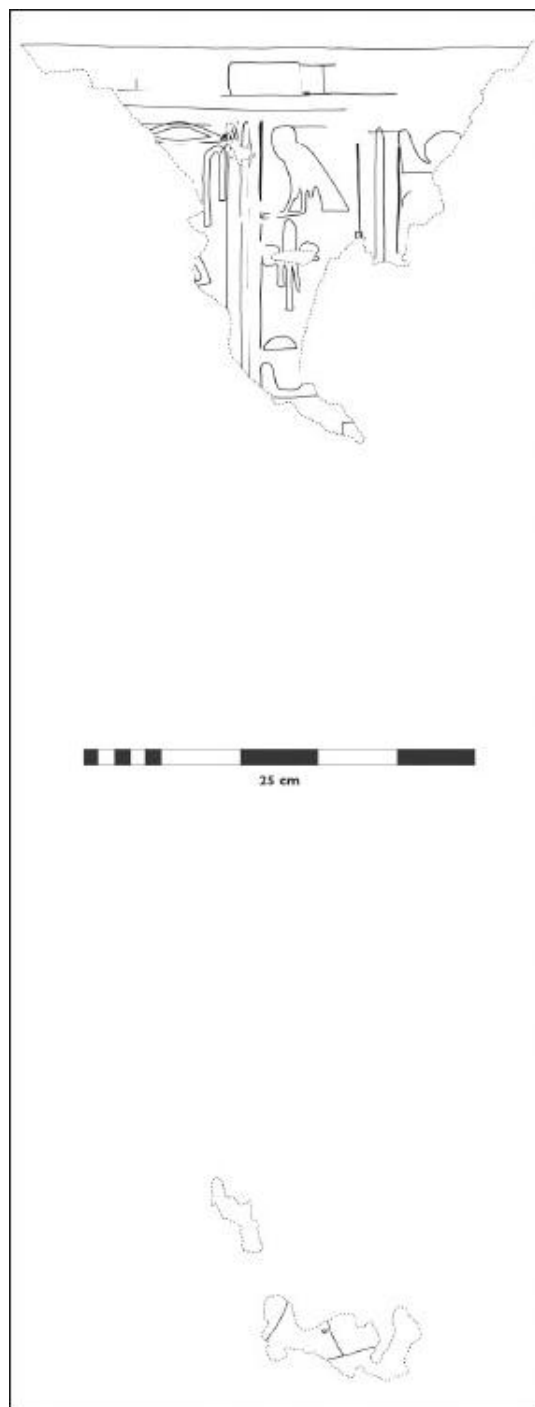


D: Wall 18, top left (p. 143)

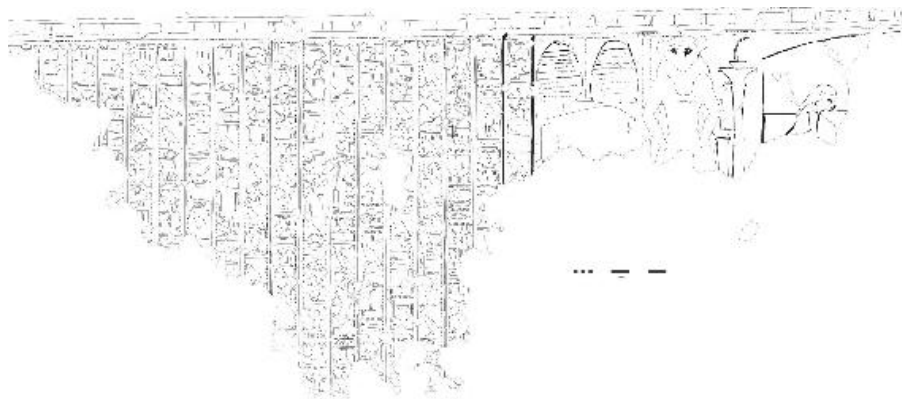
PLATE 32



E: Wall 10, lintel over doorway (Sc. 10.1, p. 122)

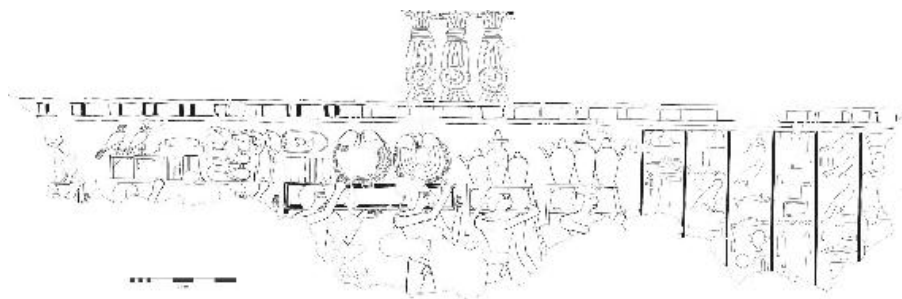


F: Wall 10, Southern reveal of doorway to Rear room (Sc. 10.2, [p. 123](#))



Wall 12, centre (Sc. 12.1.a–b, [p. 124](#))

PLATE 33

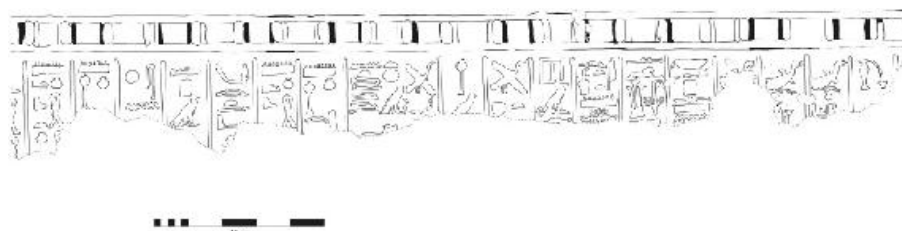


A: Wall 13, complete ([p. 128](#))

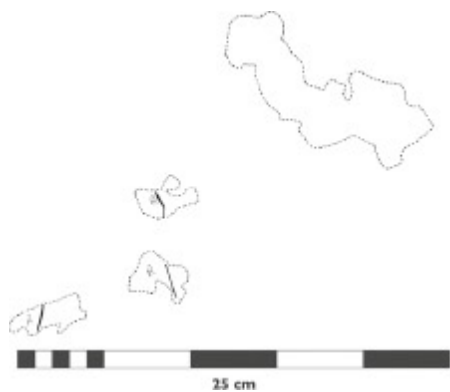


B: Wall 14, centre and left (Sc. 14.1.a–b, [p. 133](#))

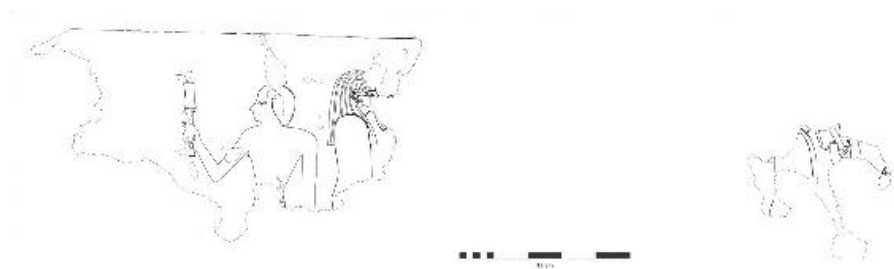
PLATE 34



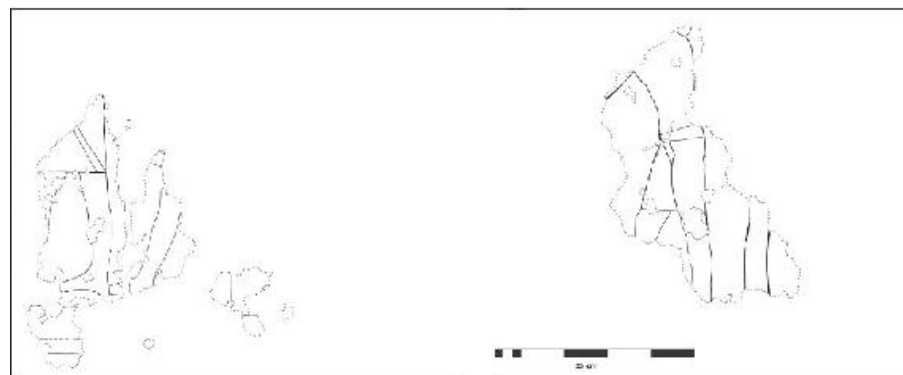
A: Wall 14, right (Sc.14.1, [p. 131](#))



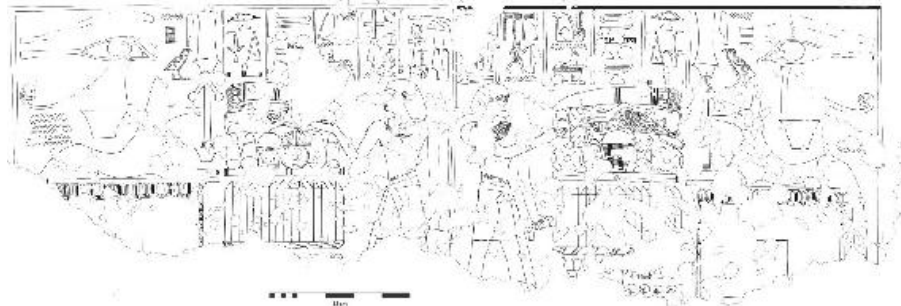
B: Wall 14, bottom (Sc. 14.2, [p. 134](#))



C: Wall 16, lower scene, rites before mummies (Sc. 16.1.b, [p. 140](#))



D: Wall 16, lower scene (Sc. 16.2, [p. 141](#))

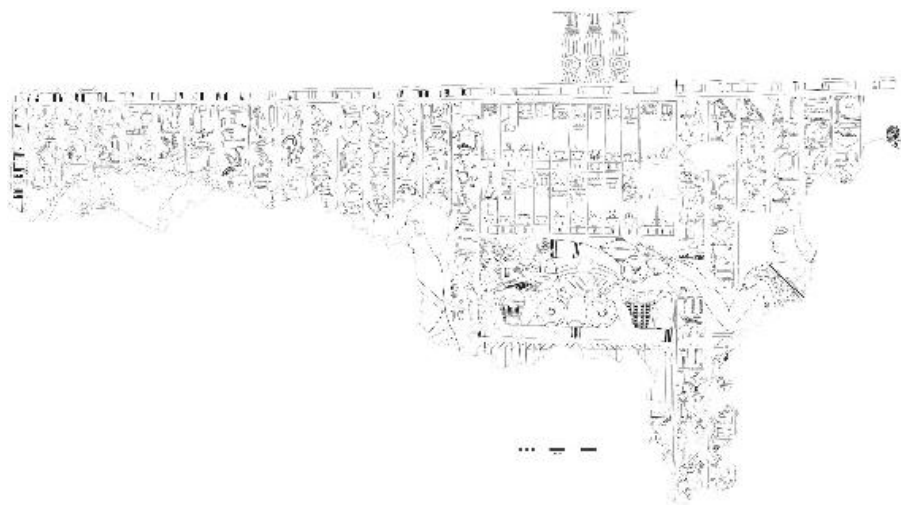


A: Wall 15, complete (Sc. 15.1–2, [p. 135](#))

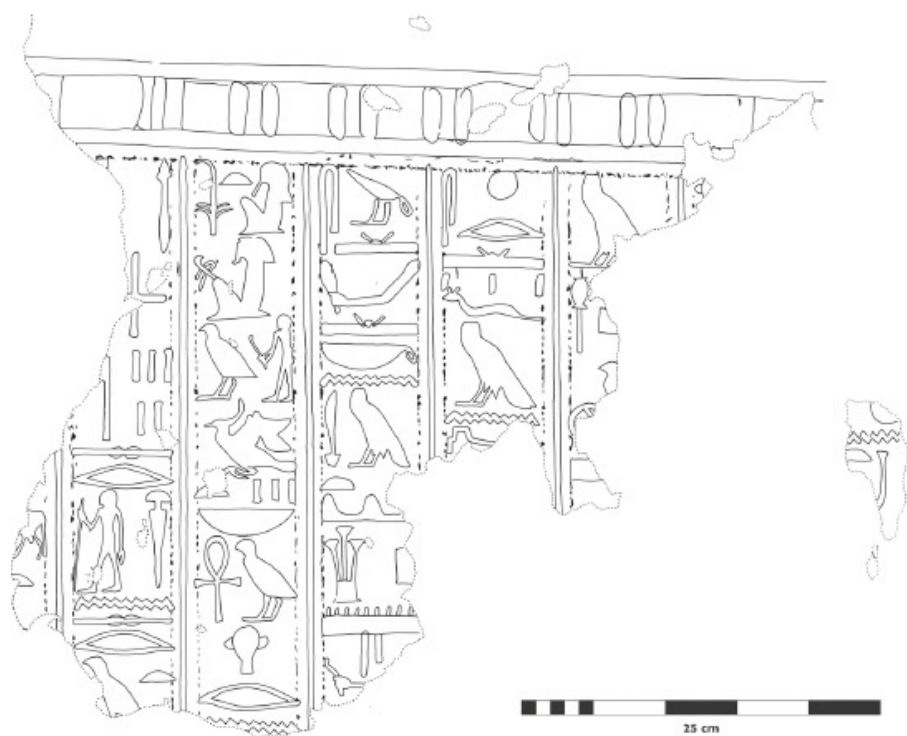


B: Wall 16, top right (Sc. 16.1.a, [p. 139](#))

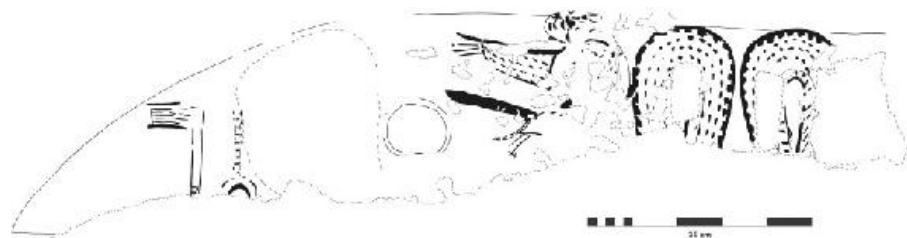
PLATE 37



Wall 16, left and centre (Sc. 16.1 parts 1–2, [p. 137](#))

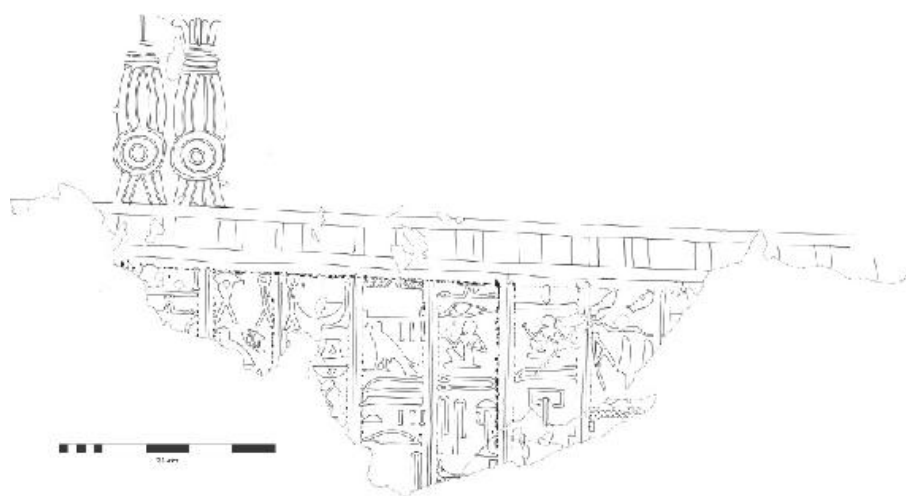


A: Wall 17, left text fragment, with isolated fragment (Sc. 17.1, [p. 142](#))

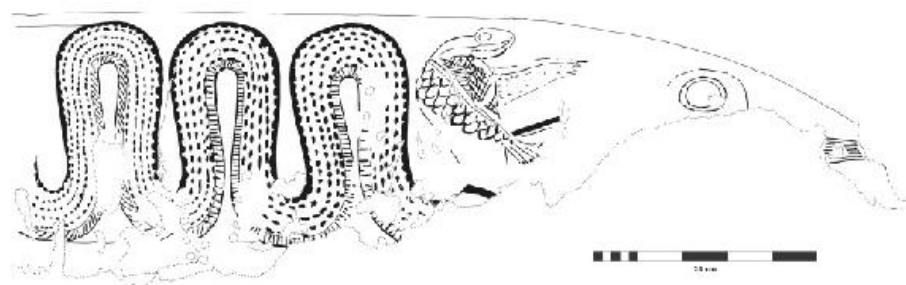


C: Shrine, Abacus South ([p. 148](#))

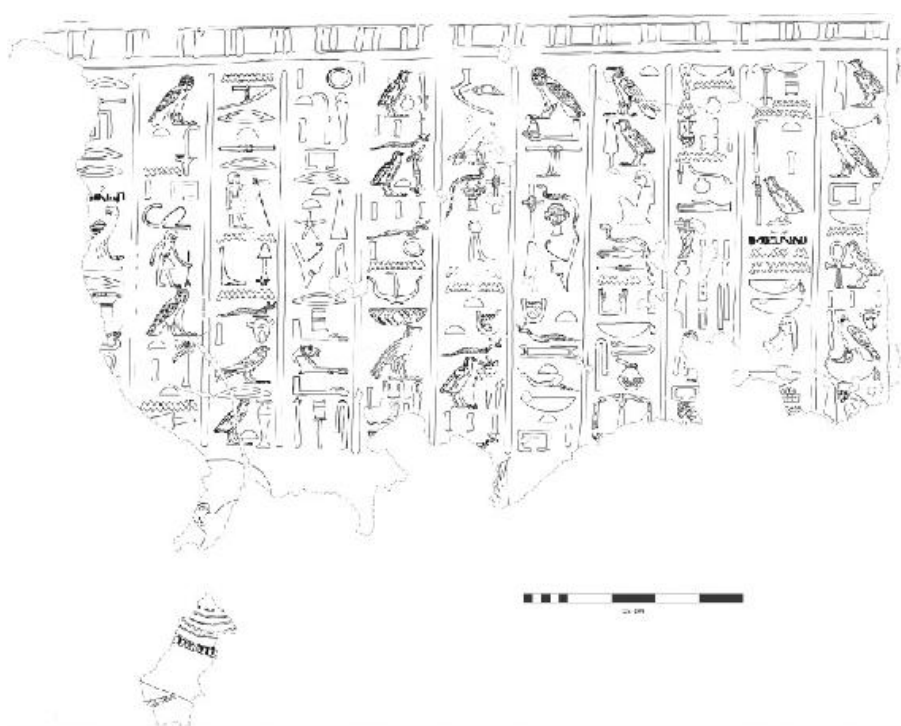
PLATE 38



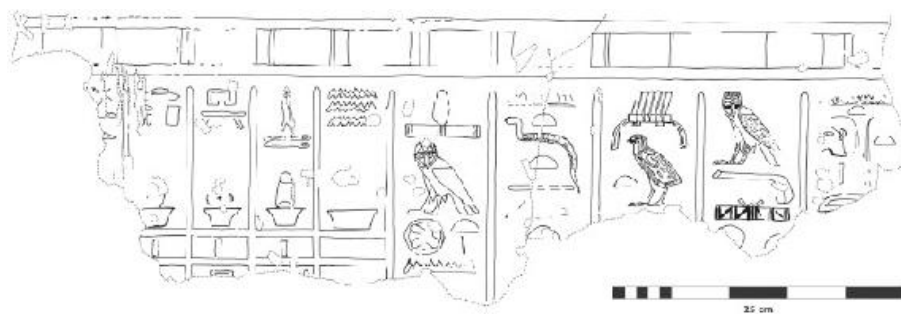
B: Wall 17, right text fragment (Sc. 17.1, [p. 142](#))



D: Shrine, Abacus North ([p. 148](#))



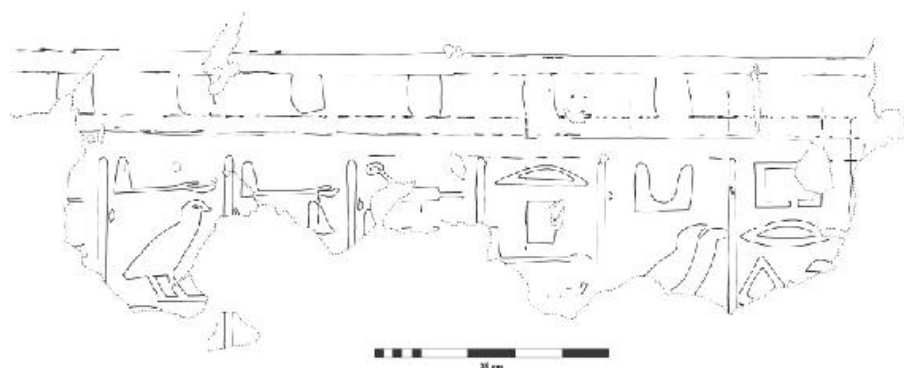
A: Pillar AE ([p. 144](#))



B: Pillar AN ([p. 144](#))



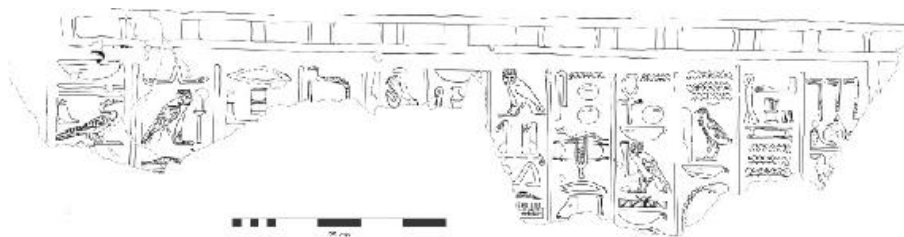
C: Pillar AW (p. 145)



D: Pillar AS (p. 146)



A: Pillar BE (p. 146)



B: Pillar BW (p. 147)

COLOUR PLATES

COLOUR PLATE 1



A: Aerial view of Sheikh Abdel Qurna with location of TT99 indicated in red, and Deir el-Medina in blue. For the geology, see further [p. 41](#) with n. 31. © Raimond Spekking / CC BY-SA 4.0 (via Wikimedia Commons)

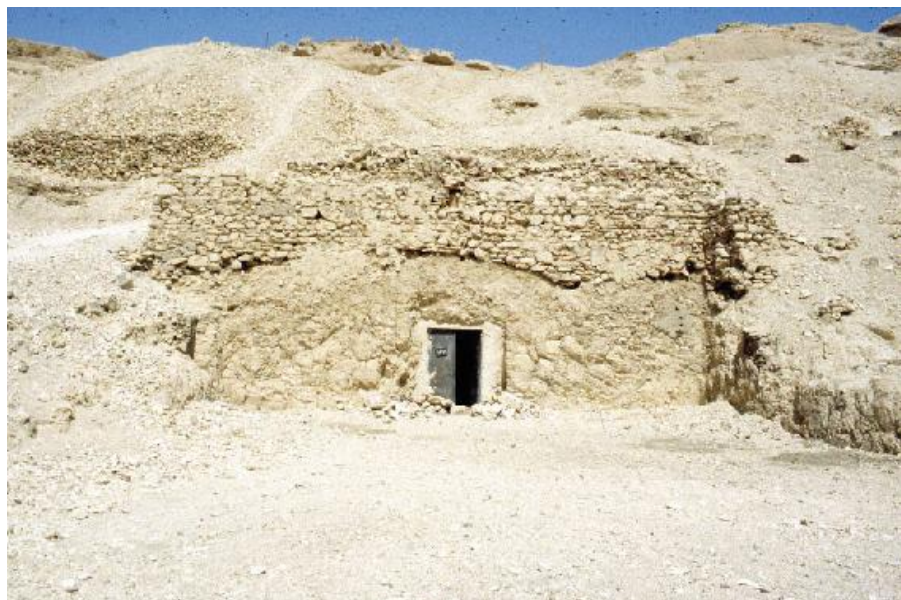


B: Early morning aerial view of Sheikh Abdel Qurna from the south showing the location of TT99 and the disposition of the surrounding tombs © Bruce Allardice

COLOUR PLATE 2



A: TT99 from the south-east in 1992



B: TT99 from the east in 1992

COLOUR PLATE 3

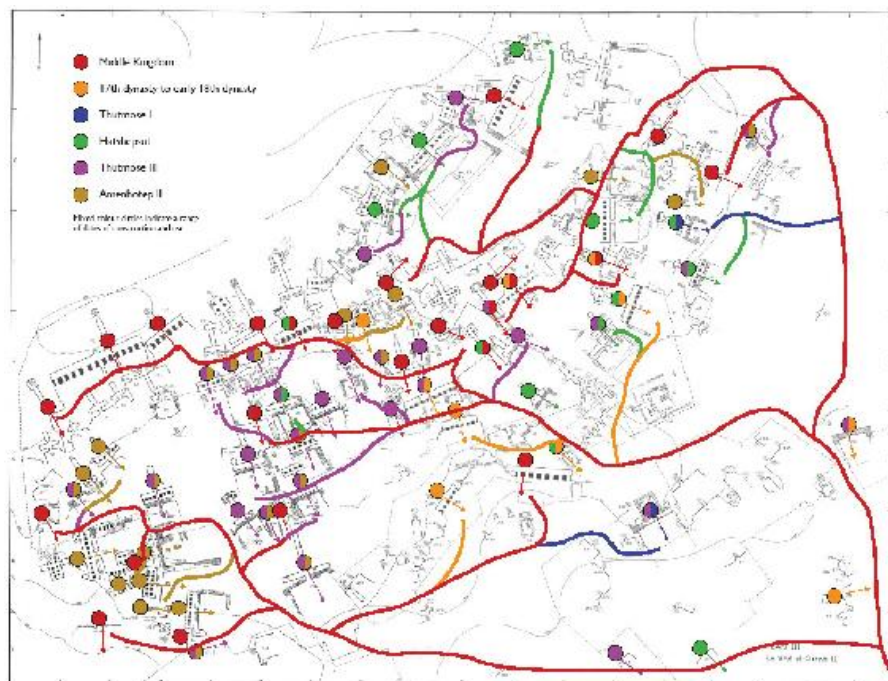
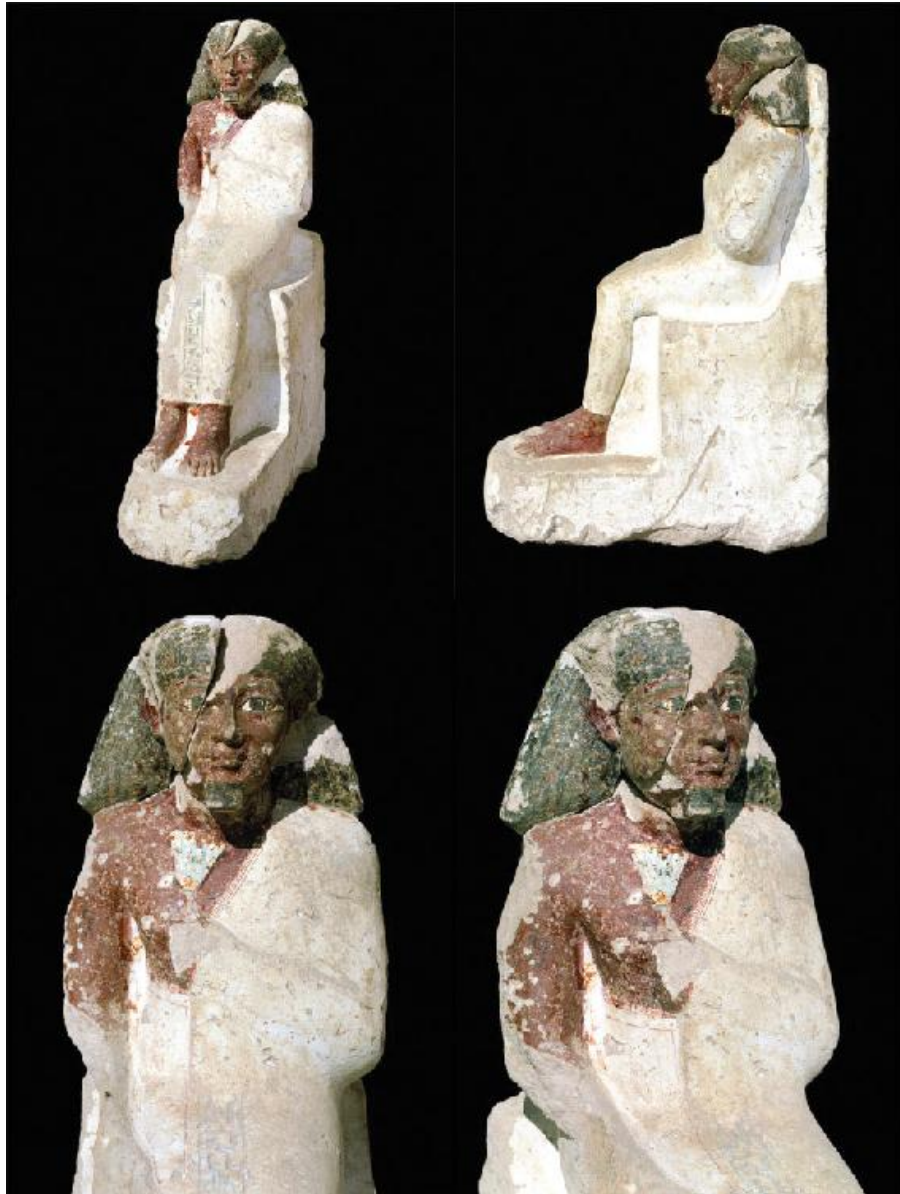


Diagram of the earlier 18th dynasty tombs and putative access paths in Sheikh Abdel Quurna plotted on Friederike Kampp's map of the area (p. 37)



*Views of the reconstructed statue of Amenhotep, 99.93.0308 and associated fragments
Now Cairo Museum JE 99148. See [p. 20](#)*



*Views of the reconstructed statue of Amenhotep, 99.93.0308 and associated fragments
Now Cairo Museum JE 99148. See [p. 20](#)*

COLOUR PLATE 6



*A: Rear room, south end from next to Pillar A
Wall 13 is in the centre, and Shafts B and A in front of it*



*B: Rear room, looking south from north end
Pillar A is in the centre, and Shaft E at the bottom right corner*



*A: Rear room, looking south from north end, adjacent to Shaft C
Pillar B is in the centre and Shaft E to its right*



B: Rear room, looking north, with Pillar B in the centre, from adjacent to Shaft B

Wall 16 is to its left, Wall 17 is at the rear, and Shaft D is below the excavation tripod

COLOUR PLATE 8



A: Rear room, ceiling above Wall 12.

This also illustrates the crack resulting from a fault running across the ceiling



B: Rear room, ceiling above left end of Wall 16.

This shows the crack resulting from a fault running across the ceiling and through the northern abacus

COLOUR PLATE 9



A: Rear room, ceiling above right end of Wall 16.

This shows a smaller crack resulting from fault running across the ceiling



B: Rear room, join of Walls 13 and 14



C: Rear room, join of Walls 17 and 18

Both images show rock faults and attempted ancient repairs

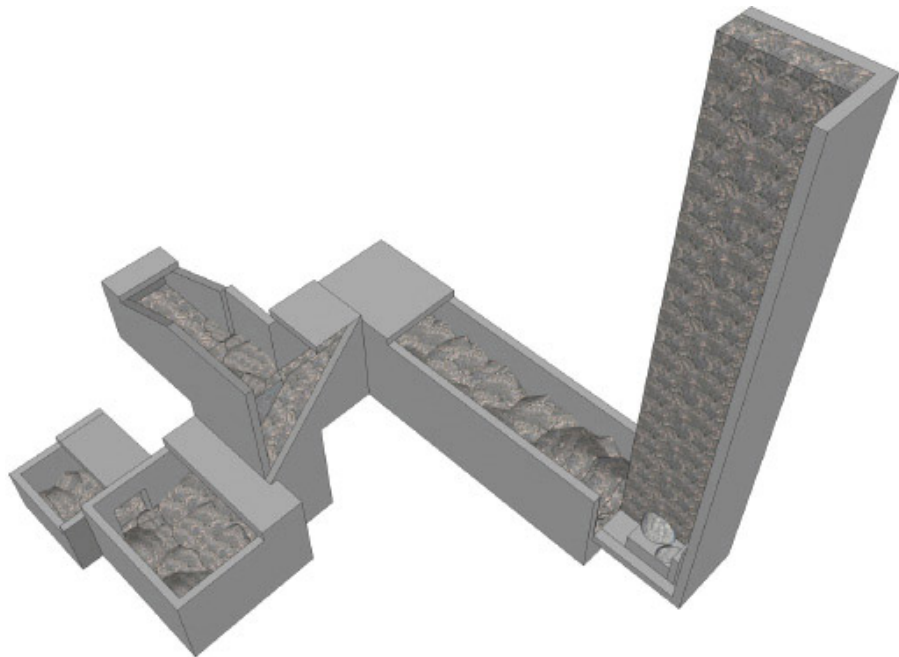
COLOUR PLATE 10



A: The Shaft I complex after all burials completed (p. 77)



B: The Shaft I complex after robbery at the end of the New Kingdom (p. 81)



C: The Shaft I complex after robbery in the 19th century ad (p. 82)

3D model by Helen Strudwick

COLOUR PLATE 11

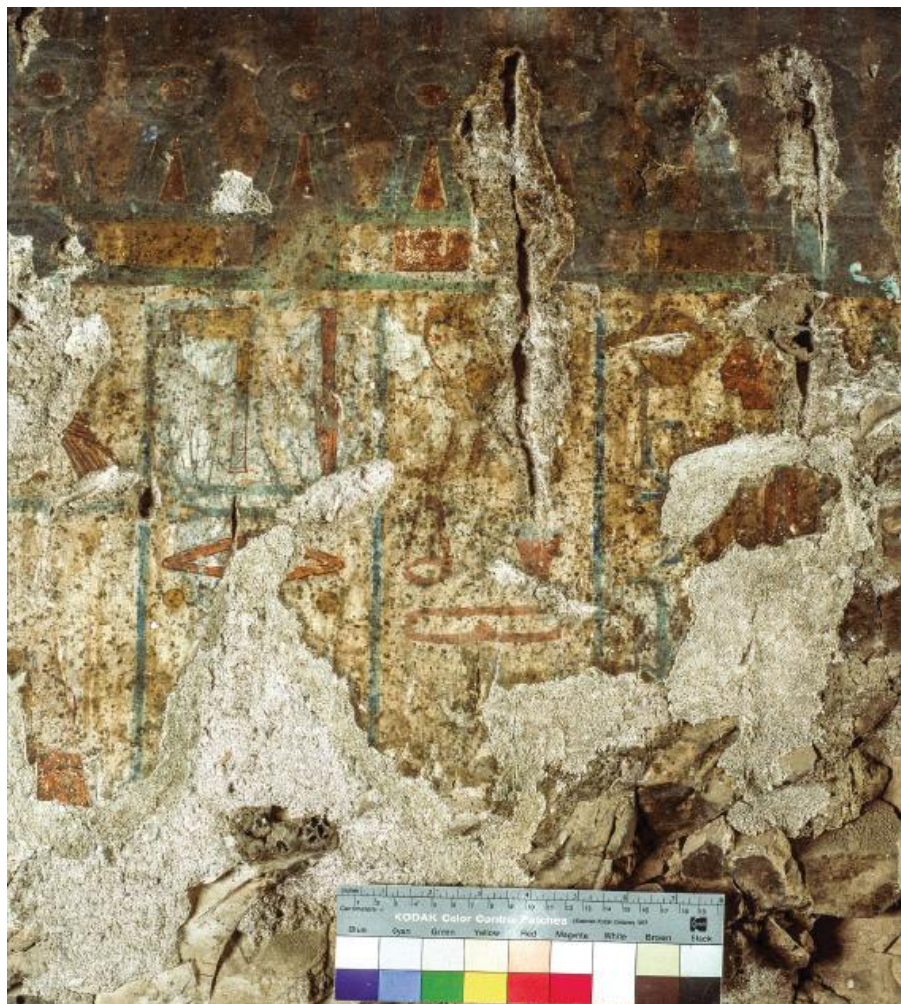


A: Wall 1, left, remains of making a burnt offering and text (Sc. 1.1, p. 86)



B: Wall 1, right, receiving dues (Sc. 1.2, [p. 88](#))

COLOUR PLATE 12



A: Wall 1, detail of [Text 1.1](#) showing restorations (p. 87, [p. 62](#))



B: Wall 1, detail of [Text 1.2](#) showing red marks ([p. 88](#))



A: Two sample joining fragments of the false door of Senneferi (99.02.0002 and 99.02.0009; [p. 92](#))

B: Fragment of text relating to the royal figure on the stela (99.97.1107; [p. 110](#))



A: Fragment of stela from excavations of the Université Libre de Bruxelles in the area of TT29 ([p. 107](#)).

© ULB, used courtesy Laurent Bavay / ULB

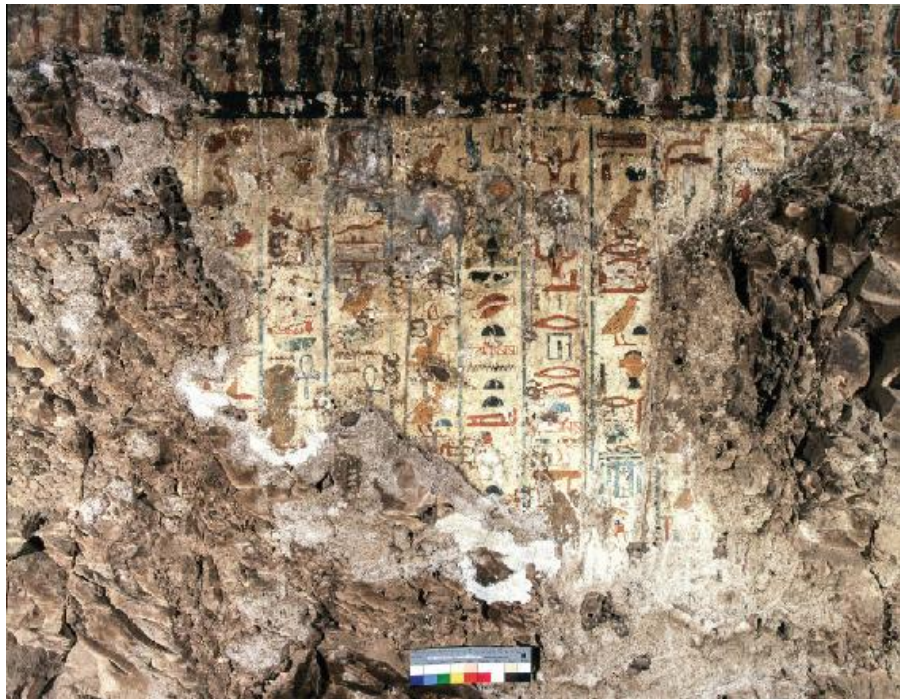
B: Three larger fragments of the stela text (p. 113)

Right: 99.97.0014

Left: 99.97.0013a

Bottom: 99.97.1325b

COLOUR PLATE 15



A: Wall 3, centre, part of Text 3.2 (p. 99)



B: Wall 3, detail of 𐎗 sign in [Text 3.2](#) (p. 99)

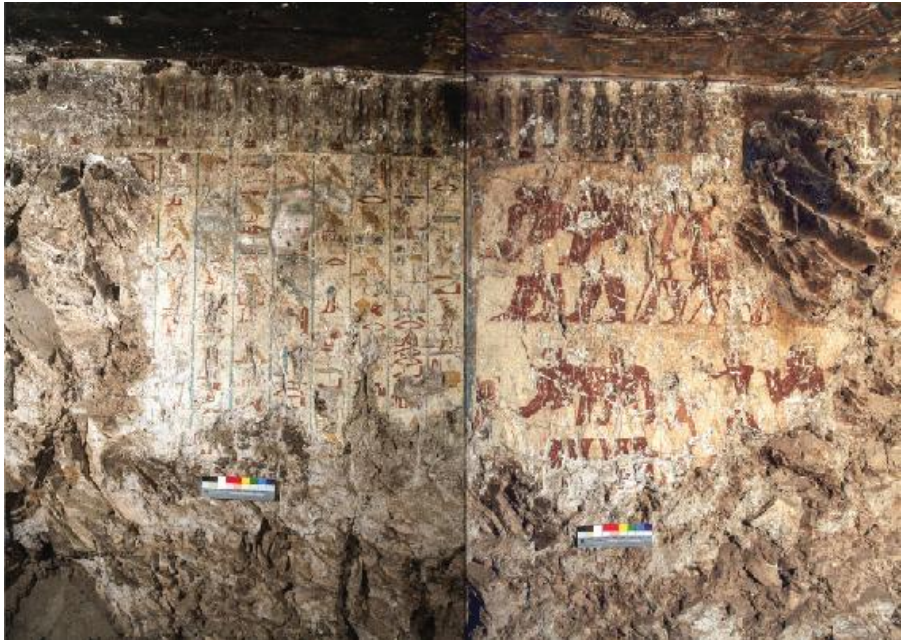


C: Wall 4, detail of 𐎗 sign in [Text 4.2](#) (p. 101)

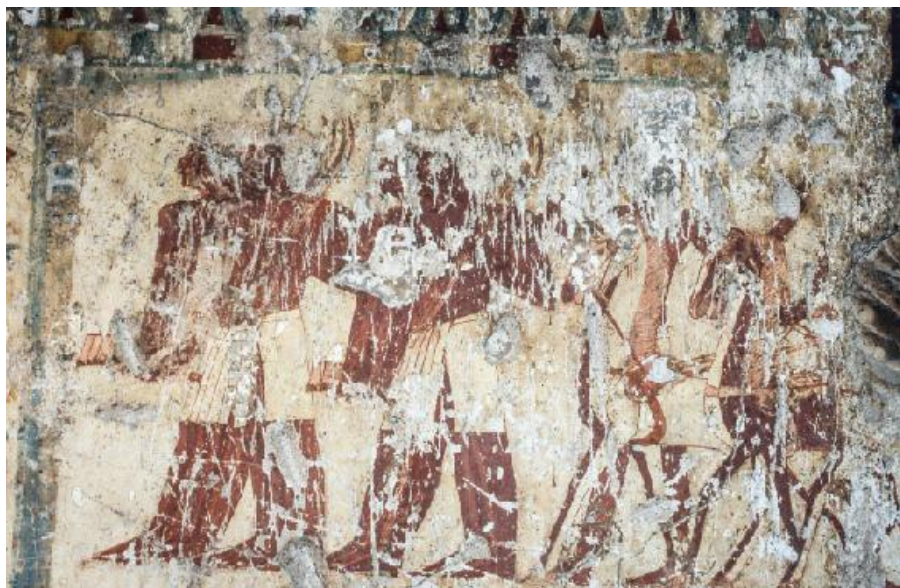


D: Wall 4, detail of unusual ᵀ sign in [Text 4.2](#) ([p. 102](#))

COLOUR PLATE 16

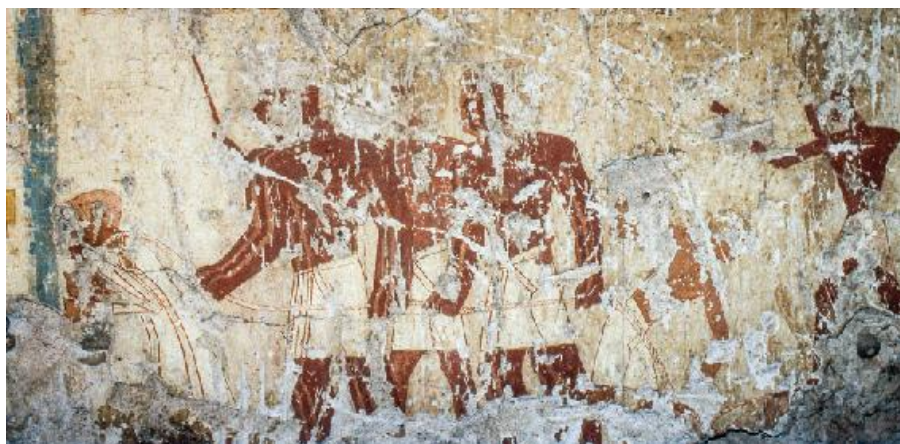


A: Wall 4, text and men carrying wood (Sc. 4.1, 4.1ab, [p. 100](#))

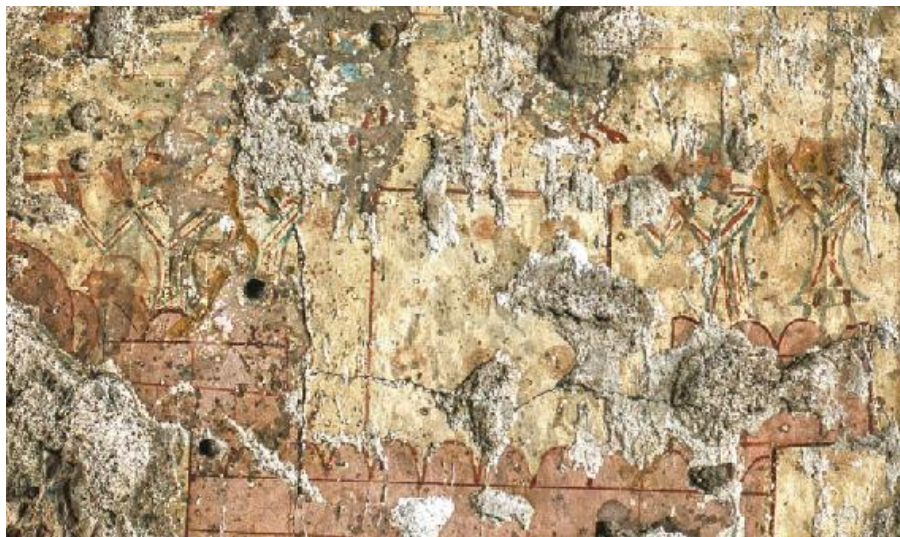


B: Wall 4, Sc. 4.1.a, detail of men and horses (p. 102)

COLOUR PLATE 17

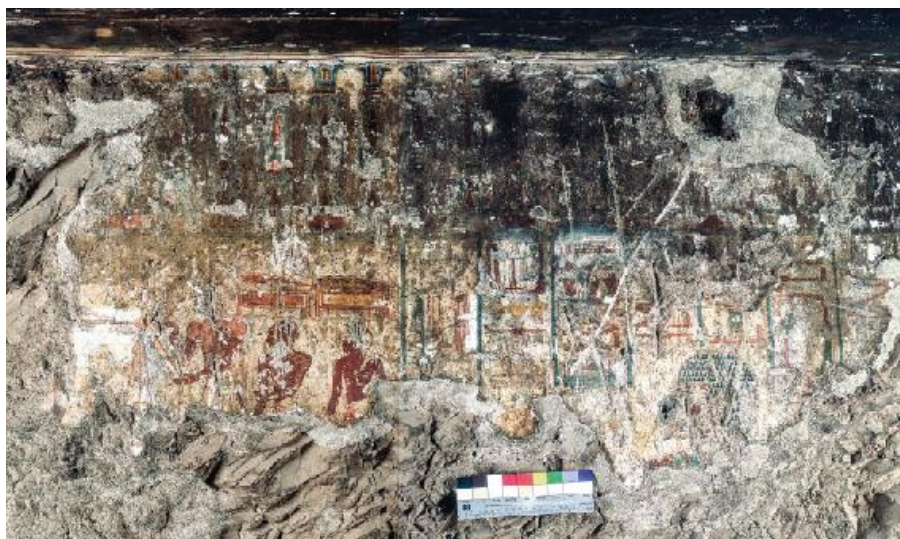


A: Wall 4, Sc. 4.1.b, detail of men bringing wood (p. 104)



B: Wall 5, top right, detail of figures on fortress ([p. 106](#))

COLOUR PLATE 18



A: Wall 6, surviving scene (Sc. 6.2, 6.2a, [p. 114](#))



B: Wall 7, left hand figures and texts, Senneferi and mother (p. 116)

COLOUR PLATE 19



A: Wall 7, figures of Osiris and right hand texts (p. 117)



B: Wall 9, Sc. 9.1.a, deceased viewing funerary equipment ([p. 119](#))

COLOUR PLATE 20



A: Wall 9, Sc. 9.1.a/b, funerary equipment ([p. 120](#))



B: Wall 9, Scene 9.2 (p. 121)

COLOUR PLATE 21



A: Wall 10, above doorway to Rear room (p. 122)



B: Wall 10, detail of winged sun disc ([p. 122](#))

COLOUR PLATE 22



A: Wall 12, overview of decorated area ([p. 123](#))



B: Wall 12, Sc. 12.1.a, Bes and bed-making scene ([p. 124](#))

COLOUR PLATE 23



A: Wall 12, biographical text, [Text 12.1/2](#) ([p. 126](#))

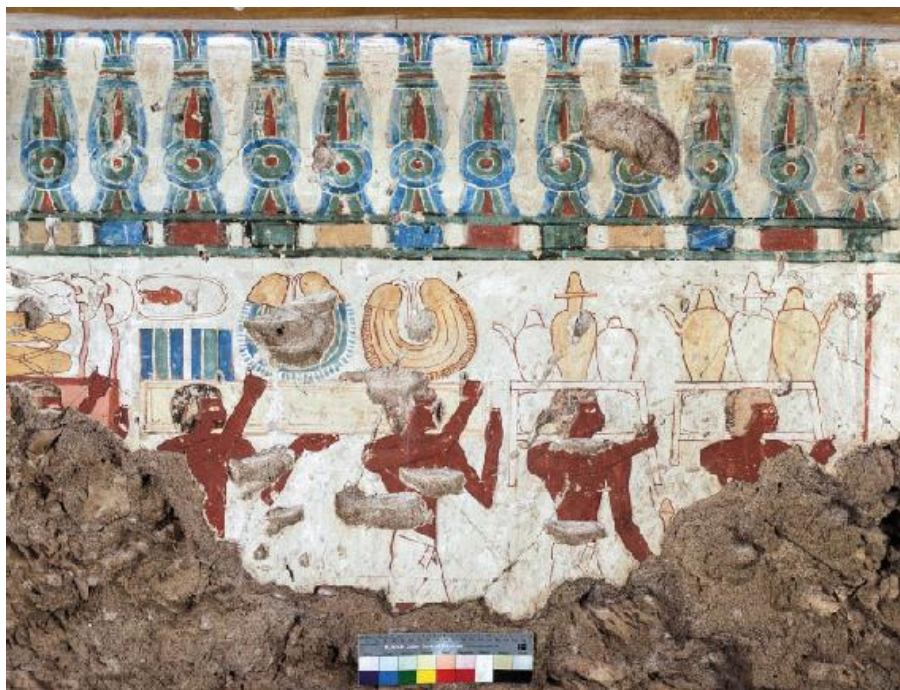


B: Wall 13, decorated area (p. 128)

COLOUR PLATE 24



A: Wall 13, detail of *Text 13.1* (p. 129)



B: Wall 13, Sc. 13.1.a, procession of men bearing funerary equipment (right; [p. 129](#))

COLOUR PLATE 25

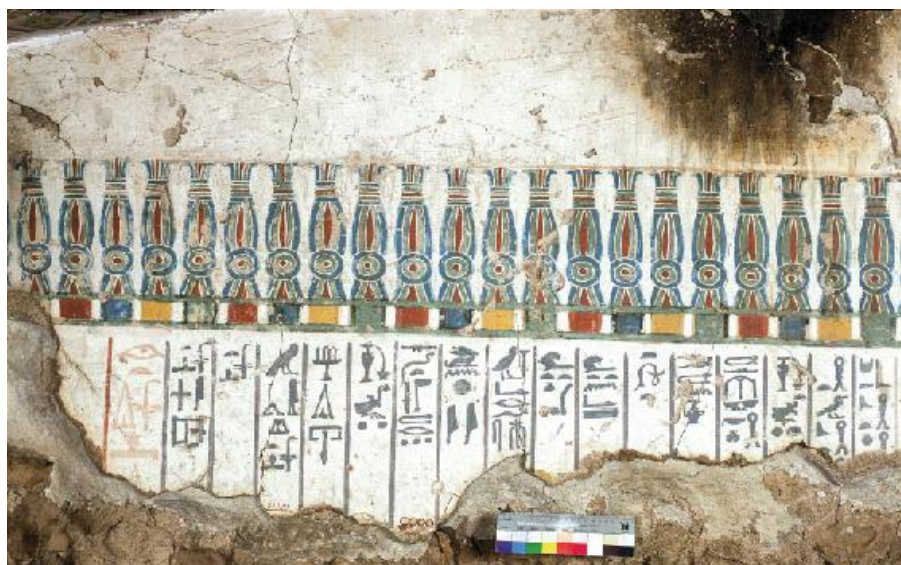


A: Wall 13, Sc. 13.1.a, procession of men bearing funerary equipment (left; [p. 129](#))



B: Wall 14, Sc. 14.1.a, offering list (right; [p. 133](#))

COLOUR PLATE 26

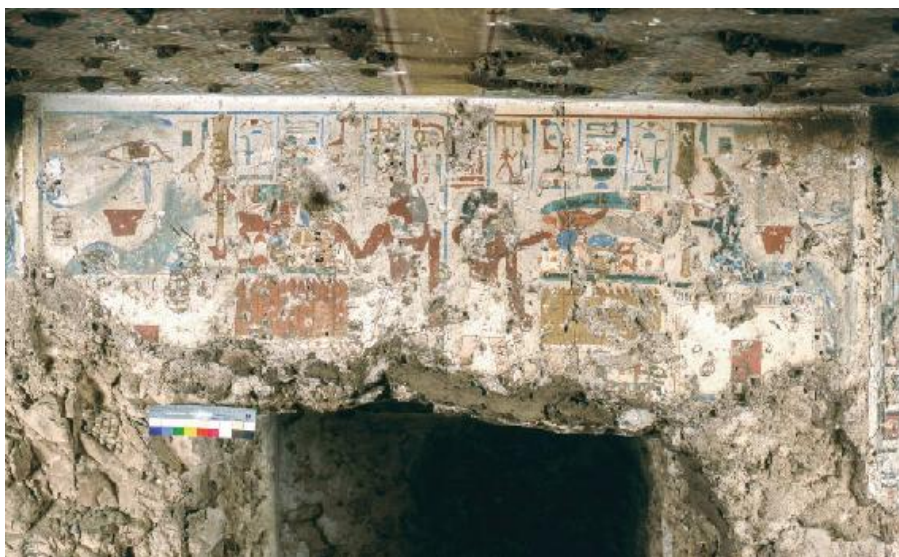


A: Wall 14, Sc. 14.1.a, offering list (left; [p. 133](#))



B: Wall 15, including adjacent areas of Wall 14 (left) and Wall 16 (right) (p. 134)

COLOUR PLATE 27

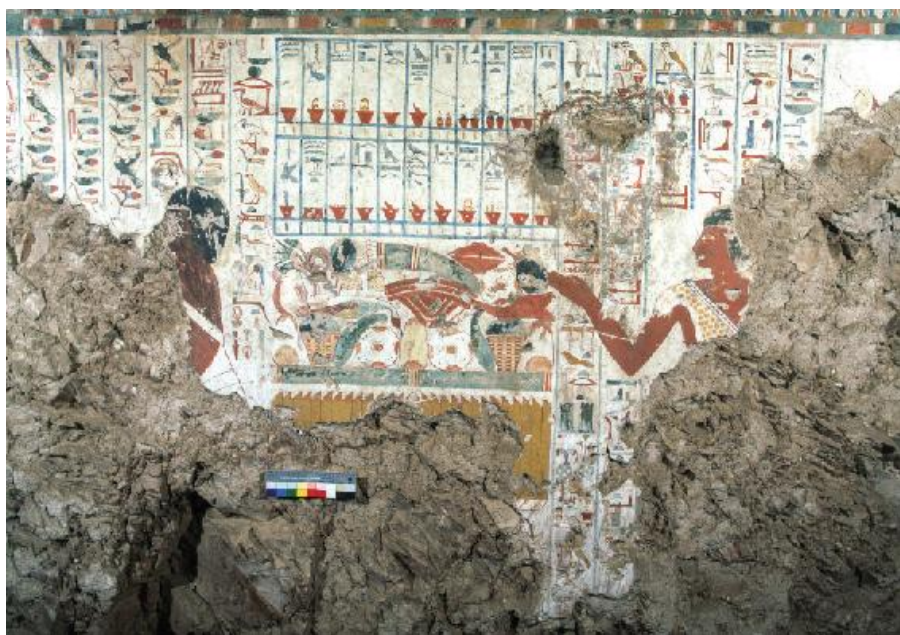


A: Wall 15, Sc. 15.1/2 (p. 135)



B: Wall 16, Sc. 16.1 part 1, libation scene, with part of [Text 16.1](#) and 16.2 ([p. 137](#))

COLOUR PLATE 28



A: Wall 16, Sc. 16.1 part 2, offering scene and parts of [Texts 16.3](#) and 16.4 ([p. 138](#))

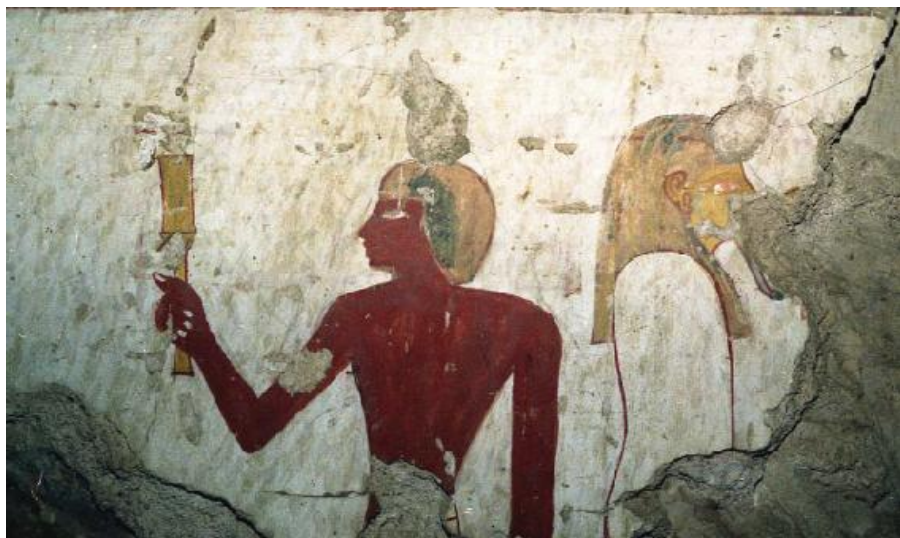


B: Wall 16, Sc. 16.1.a/b, offering bearers and rites before mummies (p. 139)

COLOUR PLATE 29



A: Wall 16, Sc. 16.2, remains of possible second rites before mummies scene (p. 141)



B: Wall 16, detail of Sc. 16.1.b ([p. 140](#))



C: Wall 12, detail of [Text 12.2](#) ([p. 126](#))



D: Wall 16, detail of [Text 16.2](#) (p. 138)



E: Wall 16, detail of [Text 16.4](#) (p. 139)



A: Wall 17 (p. 142)



B: Wall 17, detail of left part of *Text 17.1* (p. 142)

COLOUR PLATE 31



A: Pillar AE ([p. 144](#))



B: Pillar AN and part of southern abacus ([p. 144](#))

COLOUR PLATE 32



A: Pillar AW (p. 145)



B: Pillar AS (p. 146)

COLOUR PLATE 33



A: Pillar BE (p. 146)



B: Pillar BN (p. 146)



A: Pillar BW (p. 147)



B: Pillar BS, with part of northern abacus and part of [Ceiling text 10](#) (p. 148)

COLOUR PLATE 35



A: Beginning of southern abacus (p. 148)



B: Beginning of northern abacus (p. 148)



C: Detail of [Ceiling text 9](#) in Passage, with name of Senneferi in the centre ([p. 158](#))



D: Detail of [Ceiling text 2](#), Front room north, west side, with name of Haydjehuty, father of Senneferi ([p. 152](#))



E: Detail of [Ceiling text 10](#) in Shrine showing change in orientation ([p. 158](#))

COLOUR PLATE 36



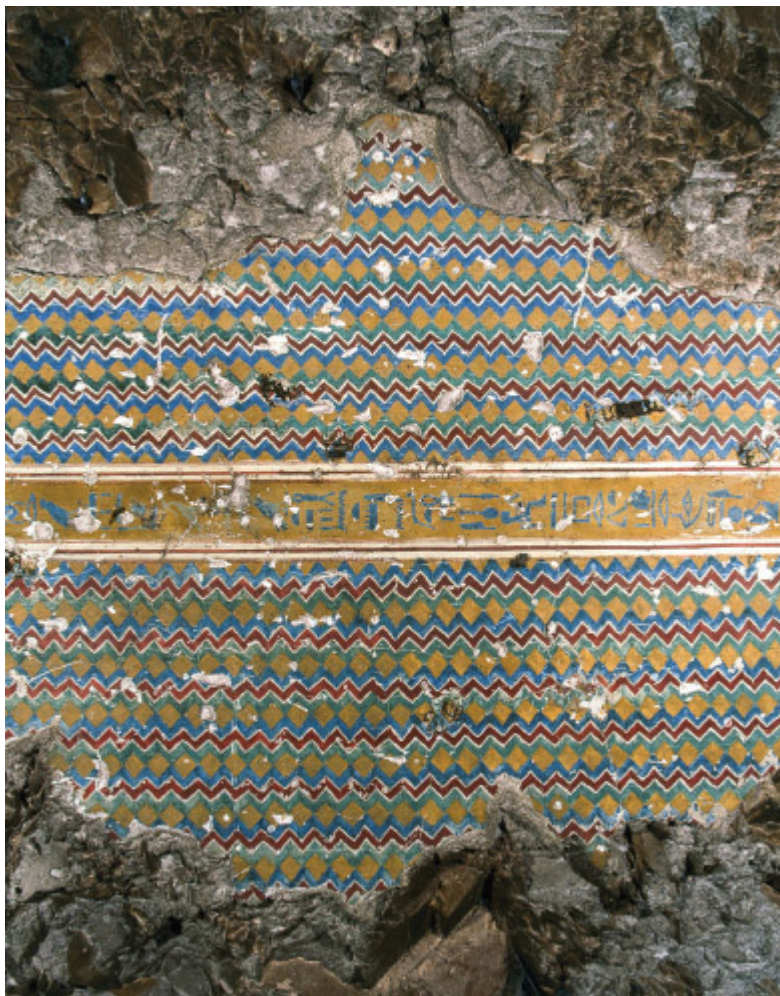
A: Pattern P1, above Wall 4 in Front room ([p. 149](#))



B: Pattern P2, above Wall 18 in northern section of Shrine (p. 149)



C: Pattern P1, southern area of Shrine ([p. 149](#))



D: Pattern P4, above, in Passage (p. 151)

COLOUR PLATE 37



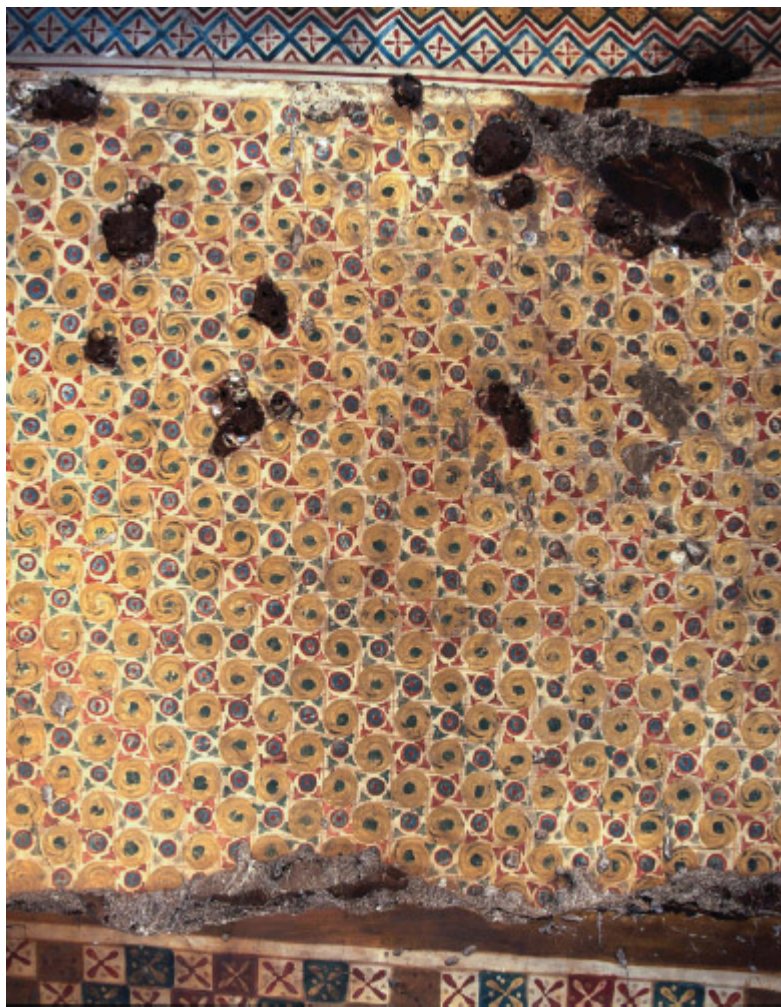
A: Pattern P3, above, in northern section of Shrine ([p. 149](#))



B: Pattern P5, above, west of Pillar A ([p. 151](#))



C: Pattern P6, above, east of Pillar A ([p. 151](#))



D: Pattern P7, above, east of Pillar B (p. 151)

COLOUR PLATE 38



A: Vignette aus Tb 1, Rolle 1



B: Vignette aus Tb 85, Rolle 1

COLOUR PLATE 39



Leichentuch Fragment 99.98.0612

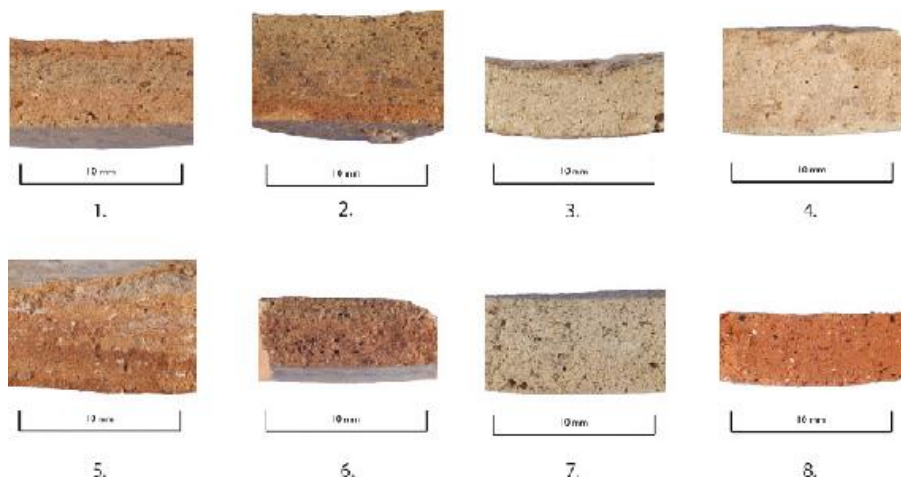
COLOUR PLATE 40



Leichtentuch Fragment 99.98.0616

COLOUR PLATE 41

MARL A4



MARL A2



9.



10.



11.



12.



13.

Fabrics: Marl A4 and A2

1: Canopic Jar 2 (Shaft I cat. no. 2), 2: Canopic Jar 4 (Shaft I cat. no. 4), 3: Loop-handled Jar 2 (Shaft I cat. no. 9), 4: Single-handled Jar 6 (Shaft I cat. no. 13), 5: Single-handled Jar 1 (Shaft I cat. no. 14), 6: Pilgrim Flask 2 (Shaft I cat. no. 19), 7: Bottle C (Shaft I cat. no. 26), 8: Marl Jar 4 (Shaft I cat. no. 33), 9: Loop-handled Jar 1 (Shaft I cat. no. 8), 10: Single-handled Jar 3 (Shaft I cat. no. 15), 11: Pilgrim Flask 1 (Shaft I cat. no. 20), 12: Pilgrim Flask 3 (Shaft I cat. no. 21), 13: Marl Jar 2 (Shaft I cat. no. 30)

COLOUR PLATE 42

MARL A3



1.



2.

MARL B



3.

MARL D



4.



5.

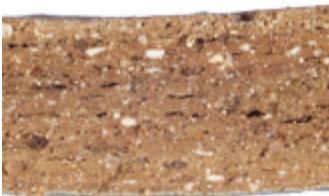


6.



7.

MARL F



8.



9.

Fabrics: Marl A3, B, D, F. 1

Long-necked Jar 1 (Shaft H cat. no. 1), 2: Long-necked Jar 2 (Shaft H cat. no. 2), 3: Marl Jar 5 (Shaft I cat. no. 35), 4: Footed jar (Shaft I cat. no. 32), 5: Amphora 2 (Shaft I cat. no. 39), 6: Amphora 6 (Shaft I cat. no. 43), 7: Amphora 2 (Shaft H cat. no. 4), 8: Amphora 1 (Shaft H cat. no. 3), 9: Amphora 11 (Shaft I cat. no. 46)

OASIS



1.



2.



3.

IMPORTS



4



5.

A: Fabrics: Oasis wares and Imports

1: Oasis Amphora 8 (Shaft I cat. no. 48), 2: Oasis Amphora 12 (Shaft I cat. no. 49); 3: Oasis Amphora 1 (Shaft H cat. no. 5), 4: Imported flask (Shaft I cat. no. 112), 5: Canaanite Amphora 1 (Shaft I cat. no. 113)



B: Silt jar 5 from Shaft H (Cat. no. 37)

COLOUR PLATE 44



A: Loop-handled jar 1 from Shaft I (Cat. no. 8)



B: Single-handled jar 6 from Shaft I (Cat. no. 13)



C: Imported flask? (Imported vessel 2) from Shaft I (Cat. no. 112)



D: Wavy-necked jar 1 from Shaft H (Cat. no. 6)



E: Wavy-necked jar 5 from Shaft H (Cat. no. 10)

COLOUR PLATE 45



A: Alabaster vessel A as partially reconstructed



B: Interior of three fragments forming alabaster vessel A showing oily residue



A: Opening of the mouth ostraka fragments ([p. 268](#))



B: Carved wooden beard made to be attached to the face of a coffin (99.98.0639, [p. 183](#))



C: Fragment of the frontal section of a coffin wig, with the upper part of an ear (99.98.0436, [p. 184](#))



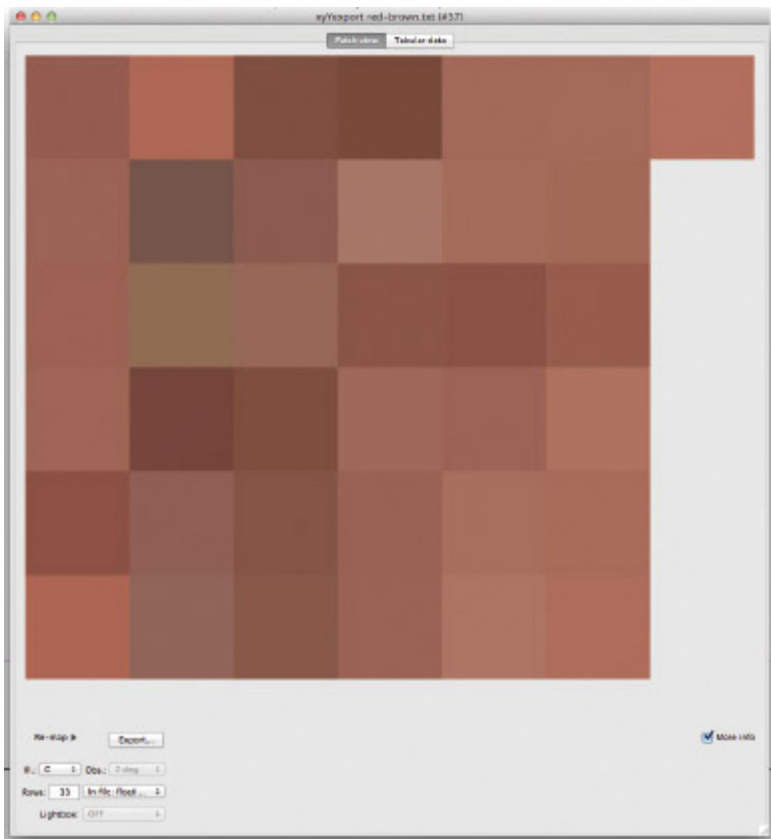
D: Coffin fragment with an unidentified motif carved into the plaster substrate (99.98.0667, [p. 185](#))



A: Canopic box fragment 99.98.0679b ([p. 282](#))



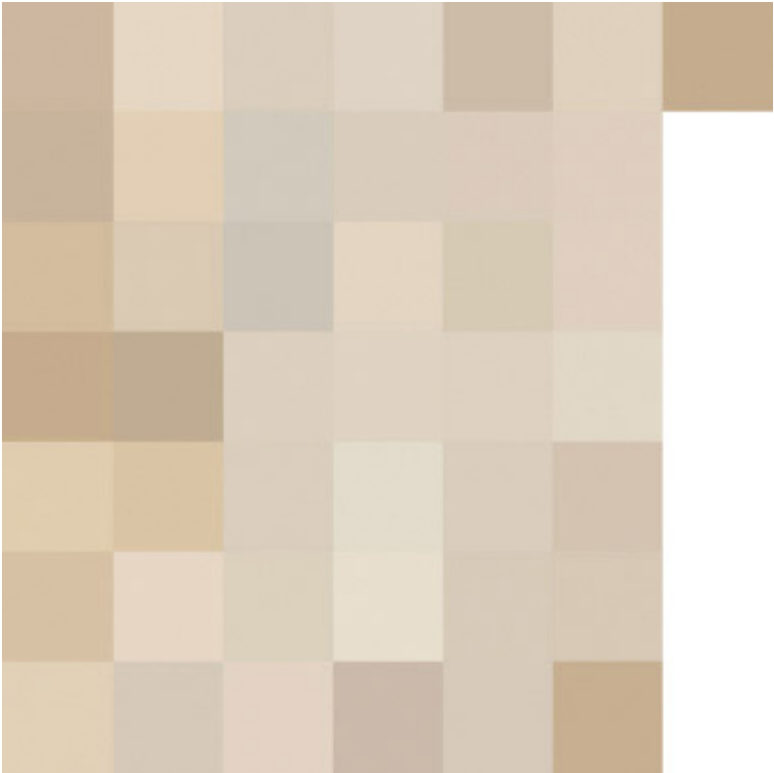
B: Skull from a female mummy from Shaft I. Plaster has been applied to the lower part of the face giving it a 'puffed cheeks' appearance. The reason for this unusual treatment is unclear and there is otherwise nothing unusual or pathological about the skull. The identification as Senneferi's wife or mother is suggested above (p. 319)



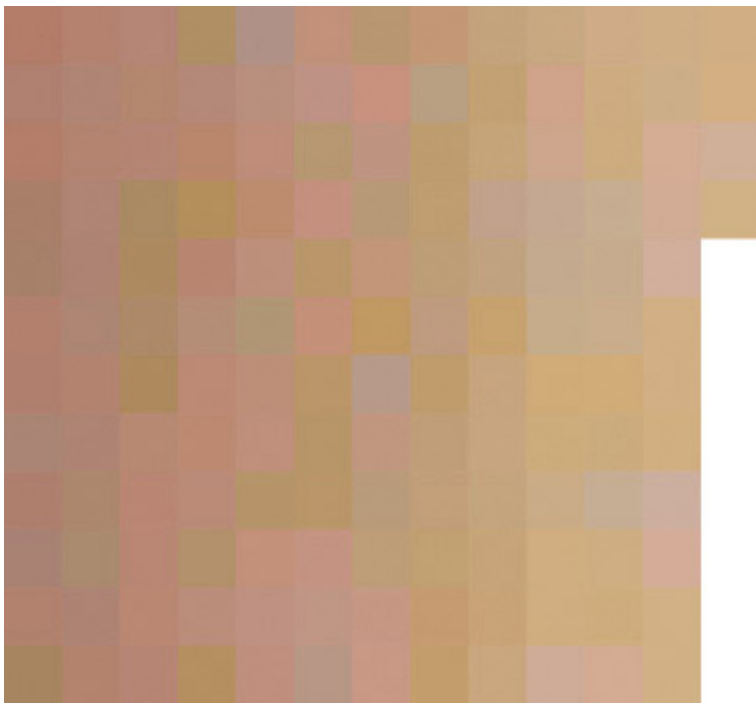
A: A screen image of a sample patch diagram showing the range of values broadly covered by the term 'red-brown'



B: A patch diagram showing a mosaic of all readings broadly classified as ‘blue’



C: A patch diagram showing a mosaic of all readings of the scene background colour in TT99



D: A patch diagram showing a mosaic of all readings broadly classified as 'light brown'